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**The Contemporary Perception of
Text-Music Relations in Motets c.1500**

by

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Thesis to be presented for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy
University of Glasgow,
Faculty of Arts, Department of Music

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Ad Paulum, qui mihi
Gloriam
Dei in
Musica demonstraverat.

Abstract

The goal of my dissertation research is to uncover a *tertium quid* between two inadequate modern positions on the function of words within motets produced by the so-called 'Josquin generation' of composers whose careers ended around 1520. Modern reception has usually approached these motets retrospectively, through the text-focused perspective of the post-Reformation era. Where this has not been the case, they have been appreciated as proto-symphonic 'absolute music' – an equally anachronistic position. My dissertation presents a more contemporary view of the relationship between words and music, informed by contemporary writings on the subject and formal analysis.

The formal structures of music and poetry often overlap and need not indicate a superior function of one or the other. The salient formal elements of late-fifteenth century motets readily lend themselves to the setting of formally divided text, be it poetry or prose. Likewise, motet texts, and particularly compiled ones, are readily divided for the purposes of musical setting. In some instances we can postulate a priority of text or of music but in many more instances it is impossible and perhaps anachronistic to judge, given the way both words and music function towards the same goal of formal coherence. Composers certainly went to some effort to compile or compose meaningful texts for their motets. It is clear from the settings of these texts, however, that composers were not operating with an unwritten theory about word-tone relations—certainly not an agenda to make music and words relate in more than a general way.

Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis embodies the results of my own special work, that it has been composed by myself and that it does not include work forming part of a thesis presented successfully for a degree in this or another university.

Signed:

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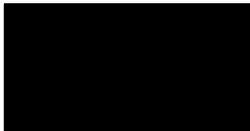
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As far as possible, I have included within the footnotes of the dissertation the thanks due to the many who offered suggestions about particular topics. I will therefore reserve my thanks here for those who contributed in more general ways.

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I owe the greatest share of debt to my parents, who have endured my long-term absence, increasing single-mindedness, and general irresponsibility by being long-suffering, supportive, and unceasingly helpful in every way imaginable. I feel now, more acutely than ever, that whatever successes I have are a result of their dedication to giving me the very best of everything.

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Finally, I am indebted to the grace of God, whose forbearance is the model for those mentioned above. Any truth expounded below can be better understood as general revelation, any goodness that comes from it, common grace, and any beauty found in music hitherto gone unnoticed, nothing less than an echo of the glory of God.

List of Abbreviations

AM – Acta musicologica

CMM – Corpus mensurabilis musicae

DR – Douay-Rheims Bible

EM – Early Music

EMH – Early Music History

JAMS – Journal of the American Musicological Society

JM – Journal of Musicology

KVNM – Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis

MD – Musica disciplina

MoRM – Monuments of Renaissance Music

MoM – Monuments of Music and Music Literature in Facsimile

MQ – Musical Quarterly

MSD – Musicological Studies and Documents

MT – Musical Times

RBM – Revue belge de musicologie

RMF – Renaissance Music in Facsimile

TVNM – Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis

Chapter One

Introduction

To accomplish the goal laid out by my title, I will begin to explore a *tertium quid* between two inadequate positions on the function of words within the motets written by the so-called 'Josquin generation' of composers, whose careers ended around 1520.¹ Our modern reception has often approached these motets retrospectively, through the text-focused lens of the post-Reformation era. Where this has not been the case, they have been appreciated as proto-symphonic 'absolute music' – an equally anachronistic position. One reason why modern reception has often been led to anachronism may stem from trends in theoretical writing over the last quarter of the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth centuries.

Music theorists of the late fifteenth century rarely mentioned the relationship between words and music in their writing and when they did, it was only in the most general of terms. Hardly ever did they imply the necessity of a moment-by-moment tandem relationship between the text and the music. This conspicuous omission in the contemporary theoretical literature does not support the all-too-commonly-accepted position that the composers of the Josquin generation evaluated their church music according to clarity of text setting and small-scale relationships between words and music. These evaluative criteria *are* supported by mid-sixteenth-century

¹ I use the term 'motet' here in the general way as it is used in modern writings on polyphonic music c.1500. This term 'motet' herein nominates the set of short, sacred or semi-sacred works with Latin texts, polyphonic in setting, which are not part of larger scale sacred works (i.e. mass settings). The term is also meant to set motets apart from laude, on the basis of musical though not necessarily textual content. For a more detailed definition see C. Wolff, J. Roche, G. Dixon and J. Anthony, 'Motet, §II Renaissance', in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie, 2nd edn, vol. 17 (2001), pp. 202-15.

theorists who discuss the relationship between words and music at length but whose relationship to late fifteenth-century composers is, naturally, minimal.

Yet, it would be dangerous to posit that late fifteenth-century *composers* were uninterested in word-music relationships simply on the grounds that late fifteenth-century *theorists* refrain from writing about such relationships in detail. Firstly, there has yet to be established a clear link between theoretical writing and contemporary compositional practice. The relationship between these two things, in the Renaissance as in any age, is hard to define. Secondly, such a hypothesis rests on an argument from silence: the theorists infrequently mention word-music relations therefore they and their contemporaries are uninterested in them. On its own, such a hypothesis is faulty because this silence from the theoretical literature communicates (what all silence does:) nothing. Yet, their silence on the issue of word-music relationships was broken by discussion of another sort.

While the theorists and, more frequently, other writers on music did not discuss the relationship between words and music, they did discuss music's purely musical attributes (i.e. *harmonia*, *concordia*, *dolce*, etc.). They praised these attributes of music without mentioning music's ability to set text and this omission of one thing for the sake of another *can* communicate something to us. Indeed, what it would communicate is a notion of absolute music. As will be demonstrated further on, this *musica quâ musicae* may take the shape of neo-Platonic cosmology, of absolute notions of harmony and ratio, or even in restoring the soul to the body.

Again, however, we must address the relationship between theory and compositional practice. While the theorists and men of letters might have

been focusing on a type of absolute music, composers of motets show signs, beginning with their choice and compilation of text, that they cared a great deal for the combination of words and music. More importantly, the compositional techniques that characterise motets of this era contribute equally to musical and textual clarity, both in terms of form and intelligibility. For example, the point of imitation that provides the listener with a familiar phrase also accommodates a single line of poetry so that the stanza is clearly divided into lines by virtue of that point of imitation. The appearance of a *cantus firmus*, creating new texture and lending framework for free polyphony in other voices, also provides a formal division in the music that can correspond to a formal division in the text. Passages of homophony that declaim text so clearly are also useful as musical climaxes, pronouncing a resounding series of sonorities in contrast to the equal-voiced polyphony that surrounds them. Whether composers thought of their settings as text-driven or music-driven—the subject of much debate—is perhaps an anachronistic question in itself. Instead, we might try to understand how composers wrote music which fluctuated both in the amount and the way in which it connected to text. Does the evidence suggest an unwritten-but-understood theory about word and music relations? Does it suggest a purely musical interest on the part of composers, concordant with contemporary writings about music *quâ* music? Does it suggest a free relationship between words and music, where composers intertwined them and addressed them separately in accordance with their compositional interests?

While some of the findings of this research may be applicable to other music of the late fifteenth century, there are several reasons why I focus on

motets. In explaining this choice, it is helpful to recall Howard Mayer Brown's article on their devotional use:

Composers working during the last quarter of the fifteenth century wrote many more motets than previous composers had done. At any rate, far more have come down to us. This apparent explosion of activity coincided with the founding, reorganization, or revitalization of a number of cathedral or princely chapel choirs. Moreover the character of the motet as a musical genre also seems to have changed at about the same time. By far the largest number of motets composed before 1475 set texts celebrating the Virgin Mary, or else they were compositions written to celebrate particular political or social occasions. After 1475, many other kinds of texts were set to music²

The importance of the motet as a genre, however, is not the only feature that makes them useful for this study. Motet composers had a wide choice of texts due to the less restricted function of the genre. Of course, a vast amount of secondary literature precedes this work on the subject of motet function. Jacquelyn Mattfeld's address of the 'liturgical motet',³ Anthony Cummings's re-evaluating the position of the motet in the liturgy,⁴ Howard Mayer Brown's evocative article concerning the devotional purposes of motets,⁵ and Bonnie Blackburn's contribution⁶ present the several possible ways these polyphonic works might have been used. John Brobeck's article on motets in the French Royal court argues strongly for the flexible nature of motet function, although Brobeck also points to a liturgical use in France.⁷ As Brobeck puts it, the term 'motet' has become somewhat of a 'catch all'. It was

² H. Brown, 'The Mirror of Man's Salvation: Music in Devotional Life about 1500', *The Renaissance Quarterly*, 43 (1990), 744-73 (p. 744).

³ 'Some Relationships between Text and Cantus Firmi in the Liturgical Motets of Josquin des Prez', *JAMS*, 14 (1961), 159-83.

⁴ 'Toward an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet', *JAMS*, 34 (1981), 43-59.

⁵ 'The Mirror of Man's Salvation'

⁶ 'For Whom Do the Singers Sing?', *EM*, 15 (1997), 593-609 (pp. 594-95).

⁷ 'Some 'Liturgical Motets' for the French Royal Court: a Reconsideration of Genre in the Sixteenth-Century Motet', *MD*, 47 (1993), 123-57. For a discussion of all this literature within the context of text-music relations, see my 'Text-Tone Relations'.

not with intent to evoke a 'catch all' that I chose to focus on motets but their flexibility is of great benefit to the goals of this research.

The motets written around 1500 received their texts from a vast body of sacred and semi-sacred literature, both contemporarily composed and from older sources. The flexibility of text choice allows an easier understanding of the value composers and their contemporaries placed on words. If there is a choice in which text to set, then the choice of text betrays an evaluative process that occurred in the minds of the composers. I restrict my case studies to texts in which the hand of the composer or one of his contemporaries is evident. This especially includes motets with texts that have been compiled from various different liturgical and biblical sources, as the compilation process gives an interesting picture of the importance of text.

In the second chapter I pursue the implications for word setting in an age that seemed to produce little sign of any consciousness towards the process, and then I examine the shift towards text-music relations that occurred thereafter. In the third chapter I explore the possible freedom (or lack thereof) a composer had in choosing text, recognising the constraint of liturgical demands, the devotional interests of their patrons, and the restricted lifestyle of the serving class. By exploring the freedom of the composer on aspects of text selection, we can better understand the presence of personalised motets (motets with allusions to the composers themselves). These motets give us a rare chance to see composers work with texts that must have been especially valuable to them. The next four chapters contain a series of case studies based on motets with texts compiled from various pre-existing sources. The first of these chapters (chapter four) focuses on motets

with Advent texts. These texts show theological craftsmanship in their compilation. Both the settings and texts contribute to a formal structure, so that the superiority of one or the other becomes unclear, while the variability of the ways to relate text and music becomes very clear indeed. The second case study (chapter five) focuses on two Marian motets. The first motet has a musical form that is crafted around a pre-existing poetic form and the second has a musical form that, only on occasion, connects to the formal divisions of the compiled text. The third study (chapter six) is devoted to a single motet by Jacob Obrecht with a compiled text about the dedication of a church. In this chapter I show the connections in aesthetic function between the motet (with a text that speaks of 'singers before the altar') and a portrait of Obrecht that was once part of an altarpiece. This case study is particularly helpful because of a rare bit of contemporary criticism by Mattheus Herbenus that addresses the very motet in question. The fourth study (chapter seven) is an investigation of Heinrich Isaac's *Prophetarum maxime*. After a close examination of the text and its musical setting, I examine the contexts surrounding the seven original sources for the motet. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of text-underlay in each source, showing how scribal practice can inform our thinking on word-music relationships.

There are many reasons why a survey such as this one might be undertaken, spanning from an attempt to increase our 'collective knowledge' to the 'construction' of a likely fiction about musical aesthetics in the late fifteenth century. My attempt at this dissertation, however, is based on the much simpler belief that many of the motets of the late fifteenth century are beautiful things but, like all beautiful things, the most fulfilling appreciation of

them will not come to those who do not understand what they are. C. S.

Lewis could put it so simply in his *Preface to Paradise Lost*:

The first qualification for judging any piece of workmanship from a corkscrew to a cathedral is to know *what* it is – what it was intended to do and how it is meant to be used. After that has been discovered the temperance reformer may decide that the corkscrew was made for a bad purpose, and the communist may think the same about the cathedral. But such questions come later. The first thing is to understand the object before you: as long as you think the corkscrew was meant for opening tins or the cathedral for entertaining tourists you can say nothing to the purpose about them.⁸

In recent decades, this particular view of criticism has come under fire by scholars who would stress the impossibility of understanding ‘what’ an object of art, literature, or music *is*, at least in the way it was understood by its contemporaries.⁹ Music is, after all, more complicated than a corkscrew. While many have valiantly defended the older models of scholarly inquiry,¹⁰ only to receive the damning label of ‘positivist’,¹¹ it seems likely that musicology will give up trying to understand what music ‘was intended to do’ because this seems too aloof. This is like the man who becomes an anarchist because he can never keep all of the state’s laws perfectly. Moralising aside, I believe that rich—and indeed the richest—pleasure might come from

⁸ *A Preface to ‘Paradise Lost’: Being the Ballard Matthews Lectures Delivered at University College, North Wales, 1941, Revised and Enlarged* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 1.

⁹ The arguments for subjectivist musicology are too numerous to list. The one I mention here is, I believe, the best, and has been voiced by, among others, the early music theorist Peter Schubert in ‘Authentic Analysis’, *JM*, 12 (1994), 3-18. After explaining what ‘authentic analysis’ is (the scare-quotes are his), he then claims that ‘the problem with this approach is that we have no original thinkers’ (p. 3). And for Schubert, even if we did, they would have no preferential treatment. ‘Are writings contemporaneous with a given repertoire privileged for the analysis of that repertoire? What is the nature of that privilege?’ (p. 4). He concludes that ‘[i]n order not to show bad faith with the past, it might be reasonable to try to come up with theories that do not conflict openly with at least *some* theories of the period.’ (p. 16)—a generous concession.

¹⁰ For instance, Margaret Bent and, among other writings, her address to the American Musicological Society in November 1986, published as ‘Fact and Value in Contemporary Scholarship’, *MT*, 127 (1986), 85-89.

¹¹ Joseph Kerman used this label for Bent in *Musicology* (London: Fonatan, 1985), pp. 116-20.

understanding a work on its own terms and even if we never achieve this, the closer we come to doing so, the richer our pleasure will be. Some will argue that I come from a generation of scholars who have neither the necessary training (which begins in grammar school, not as a post-graduate) nor the patience (which is worn away by stimulating fictive 'readings' that, according to Rose Rosengard Subotnik, require a 'different' kind of patience¹²). That may be so, but again, to be unable perfectly to attain a goal does not change the fact that it *is* the goal.

¹² 'Musicology and Criticism', in *Musicology in the 1980s*, ed. D. K. Holoman and C. V. Palisca (New York: Da Capo, 1982), pp. 145-60.

Chapter Two

Words from the Theorists

1. Key issues of the day

The relationship between words and their musical setting is a multi-faceted one. Words can relate to their setting in terms of prosody, so that the accent or measure of their sound when spoken accords with the accent or shape of the melody.¹ Words and music can be appreciated simultaneously, as is often the case with recitative. Words can be related to their setting in general mood, as when the composer adopts a mode appropriate for mourning when setting the *De profundis*.² Most recognisable, albeit no less complicated, is the relationship between words and music whereby a musical setting complements the meaning of the text in a representational way, such as in the late sixteenth-century madrigal or in some nineteenth-century lieder. Music can also be written as an intentional means of presenting words intelligibly, as is the case with laude or congregational hymns.³ Furthermore, familiar words can be contemplated in abstraction from their musical performance, as when one muses on a poignant phrase from the libretto of an opera while the action still proceeds on stage. There is another possibility – one with which we are perhaps more reluctant to come to terms. Words can

¹ An extreme case of this type of prosodic relationship can be found in a set of compositions by Petrus Tritonius written to illustrate the nineteen poetic metres in Horace's Odes. The compositions were published in 1507 under the title of *Melopoiae sive harmoniae tetracenticae* (modern edition in R. von Liliencron, 'Die horazischen Metren in deutschen Kompositionen des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 3 (1887), 26-91).

² See below on Gaffurius. He prescribes the second mode (Hypodorian) to matters of lamentation, placing him alongside most medieval theorists. Incidentally, Josquin's setting of *De profundis* is in mode two.

³ An overlooked article which devotes a great deal of discussion to the relationship between poetry and music in the lauda is G. Cattin, 'Le Laude', in *Teatro, musica, tradizione dei classici*, Letteratura italiana, 6 (Torino: Einaudi, 1989), pp. 313-18.

be entirely unrelated to their setting, as when a composer writes a musical work with a purely musical structure and then he (or another) adds a text to it. Examples of this can be seen in various *contrafacta* such as Josquin's *Plusieurs Regretz*, which bears the text 'O Virgo Genitrix' in *RISM 1559* and 'Sana me Domine' in *Leipzig, Bibliothek der Thomaskirche MS. 49, 111 Aa 19*. Whether or not such text changes are always contrary to the composer's intent is neither here nor there. The possibility of text interchange is all that need be established. This is not the place for a discussion of *contrafacta* as a phenomenon – arguably, at no period in history more practised than in the first half of the sixteenth century – but their presence demonstrates the complex relationship between words and music in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.

Of these different types of relationships, many occur in motets of the late fifteenth century. Both words and music are means to the same end (in the case of a motet, to glorify God and to promote the splendour of a court), both agree in general mood, and both significantly contribute (perhaps equally so) to the ontology of the work. It would be very easy to see the two parts of a motet as inseparably linked and while it may be the case that they are, it is very hard to see which part, if any, took precedence in compositional choice and in reception. Viewed from a contemporary perspective, however, things look different. At a technical level, music theory around 1500 concentrates on just that; as is well known, there is scarcely any discussion of the function and development of words in respect to notes. That is to come later. Meanwhile, on a higher (and perhaps metaphorical) plane, there is an abundance of humanist writing about the benefits of music, but here again the

discussion is always about music in its own right. There is little expectation that music should echo the prosody of words, and still less that it should somehow express their specific meanings (as opposed to their broad 'sentiment'). These matters too are for a later generation.

All this seems to indicate a presumption of music's primacy over words to an extent that compels us to re-evaluate the role of the latter in the years around 1500 (and indeed long before) in terms that are subliminal rather than consciously formulated. In what follows, I shall first review known writing on the topic of words and music over a span of approximately 120 years around the central date of 1500. By considering a period so greatly exceeding that on which this thesis is focussed (c. 1480-c. 1520) I wish to call attention to the degree that contemporary assumptions about the relationship between words and music changed as the sixteenth century unfolded. The magnitude of the shift has sometimes been underestimated, I think, by present-day writers in search of conveniently itemized sets of rules that can be back-projected to earlier times chiefly in order to rationalize the positioning of words in modern editions (for which task such a convenient set of rules is almost mandatory). I shall then review some of the literature from around 1500 on music's function and benefits. The aim is to see what the two, taken together, can tell us about how the period saw the function of words when set to music. In the chapters that follow, however, we shall see whether or not this theoretical and philosophical writing is concordant with motets contemporary to it.

2. Writing about words and music

Theorists writing in the twenty-five years before 1500 scarcely ever addressed the function of words in music directly. They did discuss the prosodic properties of words, albeit academically. They did so with an acute awareness of their historical tradition – though not by supplying practical advice about application. Over the first half of the sixteenth century, however, there seems to be a trend in theoretical writing, seconded in contemporary writings about music by non-musicians, which leads to Zarlino’s well-known *Le Istitutioni* where he discusses semantic properties of words in a way that suggests their semantic content should be preserved and presented during performance. This trend is worth understanding, in reference to late fifteenth-century music, because it often provides the rationale behind our current understanding of this music as increasingly text-focused. Although the trend post-dates the music in question, and its applicability to this music is certainly not beyond question, the trend does demonstrate when this focus on text began to occur in theoretical writings. To understand this trend, we must first review the well-known writings of the late fifteenth-century theorists, though the relevancy of their comments to the topic at hand seems at first an oblique one.

2.1 A Venetian fragment of c. 1440, and the authority of the positioned word

Though music theorists of the late fifteenth century rarely discuss text-tone relations, it is not true that the fifteenth century was devoid altogether of writing about even the most technical aspect of text-tone relations—text

underlay. In the late 1970s Don Harrán became aware of an added folio in a Venetian theoretical manual dating 'partly from the late fourteenth century (fols. 50^v-64^r) and partly from the fifteenth (fols. 1^r-48^v, that is, inclusive of the added folio)'.⁴ Based on notational practice and style of the musical examples found on this added folio, Harrán dates the folio's contents to c. 1440, though its copying and subsequent inclusion in the Venetian manuscript (*Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. 336, coll. 1581, hereafter Ven336*) must have been somewhat later in the century (Harrán argues 1470s-1480s).⁵ The manuscript into which the folio is inserted is a copy of two theoretical treatises, Guilielmus Monachus's *De preceptis artis musicae* and Antonius de Leno's treatise on counterpoint. The latter was copied first, as mentioned above, and yet Harrán argues that Antonius might have been the author of the added opening folio. Harrán had good reason to be pleased with his find. This folio seemed to be the missing link that connected the underlay theory of the sixteenth century back to the music of the fifteenth.

The folio itself has been published twice in facsimile and translated, now for the third time, in Jonathan King's recent article on texting practices.⁶ I cannot justify repeating it here, though I will attempt a brief summary of its content. The theorist begins by asserting that there is no rule for underlay, save that we should follow what is written. (This very statement, combined

⁴ 'In Pursuit of Origins: the Earliest Writing on Text Underlay (c. 1440)', *AM*, 50 (1987), 217-49 (p. 218)

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 234

⁶ It first appeared in facsimile in Harrán's 'Intorno a un codice veneziano quattrocentesco', *Studi musicali*, 8 (1979), 41-60, then in transcription and translation in *Word-Tone Relations*, pp. 67- 75, then in facsimile, transcription, and translation in 'In Pursuit of Origins', and most recently in transcription and translation in King's 'Texting Practices in Manuscript Sources of Early Fifteenth-Century Polyphony', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 124 (1999), 1-25 (pp. 3-4). It has also now appeared in transcription and German translation in Thomas Schmidt-Beste's *Textdeklamation in der Motette des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).

with the simplicity of tone and vernacular text implies an elementary audience, perhaps of choir boys.⁷) This opening remark pushed aside, the theorist then goes on to assert what seem like rules, however self-evident. Among the less self-evident (and therefore more informative) are the reminders that we may place syllables ‘two or three or four beats away from another as you please’, that ‘the syllable should always be pronounced with the note which it has in the middle[...]’ (a rule that is reworded, stated again, and then inverted for the instruction of scribes instead of singers: ‘always insure that the notes of the melody come at the middle of the syllable’), and the well-known ‘never[...]place a syllable below a ligature[...]other than at the beginning of the figure.’⁸ For all its value in filling what would otherwise be silence from fifteenth-century theorists on the subject of text-underlay, there are a number of reasons why the value of this folio might be over-estimated.

Jonathan King addressed one of the problems with interpreting the musical examples in this folio, namely that they could all be read in any mensuration signature. King points out the impossibility, therefore, of making connections between underlay and mensural organisation. Nevertheless, King points to the obvious values of the musical examples, particularly the ones aimed at teaching singers how to read scribal intention in underlay. King notes two lessons we can take from these musical examples. First, when facing a melisma, it is best to trust the underlay presented by the scribe (what the treatise writer calls ‘coluy che l’ha a notare’) and sing syllables as they occur in the source – wherever they might be. Secondly, the folio gives us

⁷ Harrán argues this in ‘In Pursuit of Origins’, p. 225.

⁸ ‘ij o iij o iijj tempi como ti piase’; ‘che sempre conven proferir la sillaba sotto quella nota che yè per mezo’; ‘sempre che la nota del canto venga per mezo dela silaba’. Text and translation, King, pp. 3-4.

musical examples of how to deal with repeated notes and rests. We see that scribal indication trumps here too, allowing rests within words, though prescribing a new syllable for a repeated note (see example 1).

example 1



first musical example from Ven336



third musical example from Ven336

The main distinction between this theoretical writing on text-underlay and its sixteenth century counterparts is the opening sentence of the folio:

È da saper como non è reson
nessuna in dever assetar le parole a
nullo canto altro che l'intelecto de
coluy che l'[h]a a notare:

One should know that there is no rule
according to which one must adapt
words to a melody other than the
understanding of whoever has to
place them.⁹

While Harrán would like to under-value this opening statement in light of the advice that follows on underlay,¹⁰ I would suggest that this opening line is the thesis statement of the theorist. Essentially it is one of theoretical abdication. Theory abdicates to practice, either of scribal rendering or of compositional intent. The noteworthy part of the theoretical statement is the emphatic reminders that singers are to sing what is written on the page and

⁹ King, p. 3.

¹⁰ 'One would have never known [that this were our new document on text underlay] from the incipit alone—there the sentence '*it should be recognized that there is no logic in the way to set words to any melody*' might indicate that the only relation between notes and syllables is one of chaos. But in the original the sentence continues with the qualifier '*except*', which changes the picture entirely. 'In Pursuit of Origins', p. 218.

the governing principle here, as King points out, is 'coluy che l'ha a notare'. I have adopted King's translation, but Harrán published two himself. The controversy, as always, is in the question of 'notare': to compose or to scribe? To indulge in this controversy, I believe, is to miss the point. King may argue that 'notare' refers to scribes but, whether scribe or composer, the decision-making about text-underlay is left to them and therefore this theoretical document does not provide us new information as to how composers, or indeed scribes, might have thought about this underlay process. There are really only two prescriptions for the scribe or composer in this folio. The first is to place syllables beneath the notes they are meant to be sung to and the second is not to place syllables on the second part of a ligature. Beyond this, as King points out, text-underlay is governed solely by 'l'intelecto de coluy che l'ha a notare'. This does not imply chaos, as Harrán first suggested, but it does imply a lack of ability on the part of a theorist to actually articulate what this 'l'intelecto' might entail. There is no reason to believe that composers had a chaotic sense of text-tone relations but there is also no reason to see this relationship governed or even informed by theory, given that the theory of this folio shows a decidedly taciturn approach to theorizing text-underlay.

2.3 Tinctoris and music's autonomous moral power

With only this anonymous folio for precedent on the theoretical rules for aligning syllables to notes (the aspect of text-tone relations most applicable to practice), it is unsurprising to find no detailed discussion of words in music when surveying the works of Johannes Tinctoris. As a theorist, it would be difficult to undertake the topic in a broader way if even the more positive issue

of text underlay was beyond theorising. It is little wonder that in Don Harrán's monograph on word-tone relationships, Tinctoris receives only cursory commentary throughout.¹¹ Harrán does discuss Tinctoris's *Complexus effectuum musices* (Naples, 1480),¹² positing, 'the effect of music, for Tinctoris, depends on the combination of its sounds with words of a specific moral content.' Noting Tinctoris's insistence that music improves morality, Harrán assumed that the improvement of morality must result from sacred words set to music and not the music itself. One such example of moral improvement is illustrated in chapter nine of the *Complexus*:

Nono: Musica diabolum fugat. Unde *Primi Regum* 16^o capitulo: 'David tollebat cytharam et psallebat manu sua; refocillabaturque Saul et levius habebat, recedebat enim ab eo spiritus malus.' Super quo rhetor quidam hos versos edidit:

Rex David in Saule sedavit daemonis iram,
Ostendens citharae virtutem carmine
miram.'

Ninth: music drives away the devil. Hence in *First Kings* (Ch. 16): 'David used to pick up his lyre and play on it; Saul would revive and feel calmer, and the evil spirit would leave him.' A teacher of rhetoric wrote these lines about it:

King David soothed a devil's wrath in Saul
In melody displaying the lyre's wondrous
power.¹³

Tinctoris often used examples, as in the case of David playing the Psalms for Saul, where sacred texts are set to music and the result is a morally beneficial one. Tinctoris gave twenty 'effects' like this one which, in one way or another, suggest that music does affect the moral life of mankind. The *Complexus* was written, however, as a defence of *musica* itself, in particular its *armonia* without reference to musical *poetice*, *poetama*, or *verbum*. Tinctoris defended the position that music itself precipitates moral living 'by the sweetness of concord [*armonia*e] to contemplation of the joys

¹¹ D. Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations*, pp. 93-94, 137-40, 164-65, 184-85.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

¹³ Text and trans. from E. Carlerius and J. Tinctoris, 'On the Dignity' and 'The Effects of Music', ed. by R. Strohm, trans. by J. D. Cullington (London: Institute for Advanced Musical Studies, 1996), pp. 56 and 72.

above, which is the summit of a better life'.¹⁴ The musical events cited throughout the *Complexus* were often settings of texts with a 'specific moral content', but this semantic content never piques Tinctoris's interests.

Though later theorists discussed the prosodic properties of text alongside a discussion of musical rhythm,¹⁵ Tinctoris's *Proportionale Musices* (Naples, c.1475) contains no systematic discussion of poetic meter.

2.3 Le Munerat and grammatical accent in chant

While Tinctoris did not supply us with his position on music in relationship to prosody, we know that elements of Latin prosody in sacred music must have been a matter of some debate. Thanks again to Harrán, we now know of the theologian-turned-music-theorist Jean le Munerat who addressed just such a debate.¹⁶ Le Munerat was a scholar who, while never earning his Masters in Theology from his alma mater, the Collège de Navarre, secured a great deal of respect in Paris during the last quarter of the fifteenth century. In his *De moderatione et concordia grammaticae et musica*, Le Munerat attempts to:

Ad investigandam veritatem. et sedandam discordiam. que frequenter in ecclesiis super observat(i)one me(n)sure seu quantitatis sillabaru(m) oritur (volunt enim q(ui)dam q(uod) quecunq(ue) sillaba longa vel brevis est secundu(um) precepta grammaticae prosodie vel prosodi[a]ce: tam i(n) simplici littera q(uam) in littera notis seu notulis modulata: longa vel brevis suo modo pronu(n)cietur: quod qui vellet observare

...investigate the truth and settle the dispute, of frequent occurrence in the churches, over the observance of the measure or quality of syllables. Some believe that whatever syllable is long or short according to the rules of grammatical accentuation or of prosody, both in plain speech and in speech sung to notes or neumes, ought to be pronounced after its measurement as long or short. Yet for anyone to observe this, all graduals and

¹⁴ [Capit. 11], 'Armoniae quidem dulcedine movetur mens ad contemplationem gaudiorum supernorum quae summa pars est vitae melioris', from *On the Dignity*, p. 72, trans. p. 56.

¹⁵ On Gaffurius and Ornithoparchus, see below. Discussion of prosody is in no way unique to discourse about musical rhythm and is part of a tradition of literature at least as old as Augustine's *De Musica* where the saint lists and discusses every possible division of the metrical foot.

¹⁶ *In Defence of Music: The Case for Music as Argued by a Singer and Scholar of the Late Fifteenth Century* (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989).

oporteret om(n)ia gradalia et antiphonarios
destruere: et nova seu novos condere: cum
i(n) ipsis passim super syllabas breves multe
note: super longas vero unica tantu(m)
adiiciatur)

antiphonaries would have to be destroyed
and new ones compiled, for here and there in
the former several notes are assigned to
short syllables but only one note to long
ones.¹⁷

The author goes on to lament the practice of grammarians who try to impose the rules of prosody on words even after they have been set to music. When the tract was written in 1490 the author admittedly could not find a rational argument for the subjugation of prosodic rules to melodic ones. His argument was essentially experiential. Later, in *Qui precedenti tractatu* (1493), Le Munerat recalls or discovers the Platonic argument suggesting that things with a greater completeness of order should rule over things with a lesser one when the two combine.¹⁸ Thus music should rule over words in the context of song. It is of interest, however, that Le Munerat based his initial argument on practice and not reason. This suggests that, in practice, the church music to which he was accustomed already overruled the prosody of Latin texts. Le Munerat even betrayed the sensibilities of composers with whom he was acquainted, writing, 'Nor is it possible for music to follow the measure or quantity of speech syllables. Here, I reckon, the musicians who prepare new works daily, will back me up: they know, ordinarily, for the details of writing part music how difficult it is for them to observe this.'¹⁹ Le Munerat preserves in theory what is already evident in practice, namely that chant of

¹⁷ Text and trans., *ibid.*, p. 81.

¹⁸ Le Munerat may have come to his argument in the second tract through Plato's *Timaeus*, which was beginning to be published in Latin translation, Marsilio Ficino's 1470s *Theologica Platonica*, or of his own accord.

¹⁹ 'Nec esset ei possibile sequi mensura(m) seu q(uam)titate(m) syllabarum littere. Sapiu(n)t hic mecu(m) puto musici de minutis vulgariter de rebus factis: qui quotidie nova condu(n)t: q(uam) difficile esset eis illud observare', *ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

the late fifteenth century was less obedient to the prosody of Latin than to musical forces.

2.4 Gaffurius and the correlation of musical and verbal sentiment

Franchinus Gaffurius, writing in Milan six years later, addressed verbal prosody in his discussion of musical rhythm in book two, chapter one of *Practica Musicae* (Milan, 1496).²⁰ Here Gaffurius systematically explained every possible combination of metrical feet. Gaffurius's ends were rather different than Le Munerat's. This second book of *Practica Musicae* is dedicated to cataloguing the development of the notation of mensural music and its first chapter functions in Gaffurius's argument as a historical review of the development of mensural notation out of the classical divisions of metrical feet. Gaffurius does not seem to directly attempt a discussion of the prosodic properties of text as they relate to actual music contemporary to him. Given the attention to which he gave this subject, however, we must assume that the prosodic properties of texts were of substantial importance to the theorist in his understanding of the development of contemporary musical notation, if perhaps not to music itself.

Gaffurius also makes comment on the semantic properties of text. For instance, he writes:

Studeat insuper cantilenae compositor
cantus suavitate cantilenae verbis congruere:
ut quum de amore vel mortis petitione aut
quavis lamentatione fuerint verba flebiles pro
posse sonos (ut Veneti solent) pronuntiet et
disponat. huic enim plurimum conferre
existimo: cantilenam in quarto aut sexto tono
seu etiam in secundo dispositam: qui quidem
toni cum remissiores sint: noscuntur

Moreover, the composer of a song should
take care that words are set in an appropriate
way to music, so that sentiments of love,
longing for death or any lamentation will be
set with and sung to doleful sounds (as is
customary in Venice)...but when words
represent anger and admonishment, it is
fitting to produce sharper and harsher sounds
which are usually ascribed to the third and

²⁰ For an English translation see Franchinus Gaffurius, *Practica musicae*, trans. by C. Miller, MSD, 20 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1952), pp. 69-72.

huiusmodi effectum facile parturire. Quum vero verba indignationem et increpationem dicunt: asperos decet sonos et duriores emittere: quod tertio ac septimo tono plerumque solitum est ascribi. Verum laudis et modestiae verba medios quodammodo sonos expetunt primo atque octavo tono quamdecenter inscripta.²¹

seventh tones. Words of praise and moderation in a certain way require moderate sounds and are considered appropriate to the first and eighth tones.²²

Gaffurius's singular prescription for composers, however, was that there should be a correspondence between mood of the music and meaning of the text. This seems chiefly to have been accomplished by choice of mode and thus the prescription is general to the work *en masse* and not specific to the musical-phrase level. He did not state that the listener must simultaneously be able to receive the meaning of the words alongside the music, only that the two should not contradict one another in mood or sentiment. Neither did he suggest that composers must aid the preservation and presentation of the meaning of the text used in their compositions.

Gaffurius's words seem simply to re-echo what every school boy of the day would have known from his Cicero, namely that 'it is most important for the speaker to modify his delivery in correspondence with the variations of his matter and also of his language'.²³ The speaker's 'gestures and glances...will be most efficacious if they harmonise with the class of speech and conform to its effect and its variety'.²⁴

In addition to its usefulness in making content and presentation conform, variety of expression is important for the rhetorical potency of music.

²¹ [III.xv], cited from *Practica Musicae*, MoM, 2nd series, 99 (New York: Broad, 1979) [Facsimile of Milan, 1496, no pagination]

²² trans. by C. Miller, pp. 149-50.

²³ 'Quae quidem oratori et cum rerum et cum verborum momentis commutanda maxime est.' Cicero, *De partitione oratoria*, trans. by H. Rackham, 2 vols (London: Heinemann, 1942) II, 330-31. The catechistic method Cicero uses in this work, a dialogue between himself and his son, would have been particularly effective in the medieval educational environment, already used to the mnemonic technique of catechism.

²⁴ '...motu corporis, vultu, quae plurimum valebunt si cum orationis genere consentient eiusque vim ac varietatem subsequantur', *Ibid.*, pp. 330-31.

Tinctoris records this in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, referencing Cicero, as well as Horace's *Ars poetica*.²⁵ Tinctoris lists possible ways to vary musical content, explains that the variety should unite into a single motet or mass (i.e. not be so disparate that the parts cannot work together), and gives examples of several works which achieve the desired variety.²⁶ It is not hard to connect Gaffurius's mandate with Tinctoris's desire for musical variety. As texts vary in sentiment, so should musical production—partly for synchronization between text and music (i.e. Gaffurius's motivation) and partly for the rhetorical effect created by variety in the music itself (i.e. Tinctoris's motivation).

2.5 Ornithoparchus and the correlation of musical and verbal semantics

Moving forward two decades, in 1517 Andreas Ornithoparchus devoted the third book of his *Musica active micrologus* to a discussion of the prosodic properties of text.²⁷ Like Gaffurius, Ornithoparchus developed his discussion out of the natural accent of words according to the classical prosodic tradition.

While an entire book of Ornithoparchus's four-book work is given to the rules of syllabic accent, largely for application to intoned chant recitation, very little in the work discusses the semantic properties of text. One of Ornithoparchus's 'ten precepts necessary for every singer' does address semantics, however, in which he writes, 'Thirdly, let every singer strive to

²⁵ [III.viii] *Johannis Tinctoris Opera theoretica*, ed. Albert Seay, 3 vols. in 2, *Corpus scriptorum de musica*, vol. 22 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1975-78), II, 155.

²⁶ He references works by Dufay, Fauges, Regis, Busnois, Okeghem, and Caron. See *ibid.*, p. 156.

²⁷ A. Ornithoparchus and J. Dowland, *A Compendium of Musical Practice/Musica active micrologus*, ed. by G. Reese and S. Ledbetter (New York: Dover, 1973), pp. 80-91.

conform his voice to the words, so that with mournful sentiments he is mournful and when merry sentiments, insomuch as he is able, he should be merry.²⁸ Ornithoparchus's precept requires *singers* to contemplate the semantic meaning of the text during performance. It is unclear in what way the singers were to strive ('studeat') to change the timbre of their voices in accordance with the words however and this still does not speak to compositional practice, to which the singers would have been relatively subordinate. The singers would have had every opportunity to interact with the semantics of the words, especially on the basic level required by Ornithoparchus, given that they had access to the written text (or as much of it as it was presented in the musical source) and that they would have learned the text in the process of learning the piece.

2.6 Lanfranco and a systematic theory of text underlay

What we do not find in Gaffurius or Ornithoparchus (with the exception, for the latter, of intoned chant recitation) is any hint of what might be called a moment-by-moment or small-scale correlation of the music itself to the text. It lies outside their prescriptions altogether. Until this point nothing comprehensive had even been written about how to underlay the text, let alone about introducing text to music in a way that would preserve or augment its semantic properties in actual performance. It was not until Giovanni Maria Lanfranco's *Scintille di musica* (Brescia, 1533) that we find a systematic theory of text underlay (a full twelve years after Josquin's death). Lanfranco's underlay theory betrays his interest in a correlation between the words and the precise notes to which they are set. Many theorists followed after

²⁸ 'Tertium, vocem quisquem cantentum verbis conformare studeat: Ita ut in re lamentabili tristem hylari quatum potest iucundum concentum promat', *Ibid.*, p. 106. This occurrence was first pointed out to me in D. Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations*, p. 129.

Lanfranco's initial presentation of the rules of underlay, culminating in Zarlino's and later Stoquerus's more definitive sets. Allan Atlas summed up the rules nicely:

- (1) Semantic divisions of the text should coincide with the cadences of the musical phrases.
- (2) Every separate note that is a minim (a quarter note in our transcription) or larger should receive a syllable of its own.
- (3) A ligature should customarily receive no more than a single syllable.
- (4) A semiminim (eighth note) that follows a dotted minim rarely gets a syllable of its own; nor does the note that follows it.
- (5) In a series of semiminims, only the first gets a syllable, and this syllable is then sustained through the series and into the note that follows the semiminims.
- (6) If there are more notes than syllables, it is usually the penultimate syllable that has a melisma, the last syllable being assigned to the last note.
- (7) Words can be repeated if there are enough notes to accommodate them though the repeated words should be semantically and syntactically self-sufficient.²⁹

With these rules in place, music at least had the potential to relate directly to specific words, not just have general associations with the text *en masse*.

2.7 Vicentino and the expression of the meaning and emotion of words

²⁹ See *Renaissance Music* (New York: Norton, 1998), p. 288. Another summary of the 'rules' occurs in G. Towne, 'A Systematic Formulation of Sixteenth-Century Text Underlay Rules', *MD*, 44 (1990), 255-87. Where late fifteenth-century music is concerned, however, Frank Tirro's consideration of what musical sources tell us about the rules of text underlay is perhaps more fruitful than even this list. In his pioneering look at the motets of *Bologna*, *Archivio della Fabbrica di S. Petronio: Archivio musicale, mss. A. XXIX, A. XXXI, A. XXXV, A. XXXVI*, Tirro was led to coin a set of rules for text underlay which were somewhat different than the well-known sets by Lanfranco, Zarlino, Vicentino, and Stoker. Tirro calls these rules 'principi di stesura testuale dedotti dallo studio dei libri corali di Giovanni Spataro'. The idiosyncrasy of Spataro notwithstanding (he believed theoretical rules should be in subjection to the natural abilities of a good composer), Tirro's conclusion that underlay practice is more a result of personal traits of a composer than a consistent approach by scribes ('Le conclusioni di questo studio quindi, non riflettono alcun generale consenso tra i copisti, ma l'abitudine personale del solo Giovanni Spataro.' p. 41) seems broadly convincing. See 'La stesura del testo nei manoscritti di Giovanni Spataro', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 15 (1980), 31-70 (pp. 56-57).

Moving ahead another twenty-two years from Lanfranco, Nicola Vicentino presents a new end for music, namely that it exists only as a medium for expressing the meaning of words. In his *L'Antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome, 1555) Vicentino states:

Perche la musica fatta spora parole, non è fatta per altro se non per esprimere il concetto, & le passioni & gli effetti di quelle con l'armonia...

...Music composed to words is composed for no other reason than for expressing their meaning and emotions as well as the effects of the latter with [proper] harmony...³⁰

The shift in posture towards words seems clear and a distinction can therefore be made between this position and the one evidenced in writings from the opening of the century. Nevertheless, Vicentino does not explain to us how music does such a thing other than that it does so by means of harmony. Music in this sense could simply be an ornament to the words, a device to heighten their effect, or a vehicle for presenting them more clearly. Depending on the intent, the music itself could vary radically in its relation to the text. Vicentino's emphasis on semantic properties, while more focused on expressing the actual meaning (as opposed to mood) of the words, provides no more clarity for us in terms of listening practice.

2.8 Zarlino and the importance of music's connection to word-meaning

Vicentino's point was followed up, however, by the work of Gioseffo Zarlino. In book three, chapter twenty-six of *Le Istitutioni harmoniche* (Venice, 1558), as he explains the criteria for good music, Zarlino states:

La sesta et ultima (oltra l'altre, che si potrebbeno aggiungere) è, che l'armonia, che si contiene in essa, sia talmente

The sixth and last (aside from others which might be added) is that the harmony it contains should be so adapted to the speech,

³⁰ Quoted after D. Harrán, 'Vicentino and his Rules of Text Underlay', *MQ*, 59 (1973), 621-32 (p. 621). For a complete English translation see *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, ed. by C. Palisca, trans. by M. R. Maniates (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

accommodata alla Oratione, cioè alla Parole, che nella materie allegre, l'harmonia non sia flebile; & per il contrario, nelle flebili, l'harmonia non sia allegra.³¹

that is, the words, that in joyous matters the harmony will not be mournful and vice versa, that in mournful ones the harmony will not be joyful.³²

Taken out of context, Zarlino's sixth rule could refer to a general connection between text and music like the one cited in previous examples. In the context of *Le Istitutioni* as a whole, however, the meaning of the quote above is rather different. When, in book four, chapter thirty-three, Zarlino finally expands on this rule he writes:

Però quando io mi penso, che una Scienza, la quale hà datto leggi & buoni ordini ad altre scienze, sia alle volte in alcune cose tanto confusa, che a pena si può tollerare; io non posso fare, che non mi attristi. È veramente un stupore volire, & vedere le cantilene, che si trouano, le quali oltra che in esse si odeno nel proferire delle parole gli periodi confuisi, le clausule imperfette, le cadenze fuori di proposito, il cantare senza ordine, gli errori infiniti nello applicare l'harmonie alle parole, le poche osservationi delli modi, la male accomodate parti, li pasaggi senza vaghezza, li numeri senza proportione, li movimenti senza proposito, si trova anco in esse le figure cantabili accomodate in tal maniera alle parole, che'l cantore non si sa risolvere, ne ritrouar modo commodo, da poterle proferire.³³

When I reflect that a science which has given laws and good order to the other sciences is at times so confused in some things as to be barely tolerable, I cannot pretend it does not sadden me. It is really astonishing to *hear* in vocal compositions not only *confused sentences, incomplete clauses*, misplaced cadences, singing without order, innumerable errors in applying harmonies to words, little attention to the modes, passages without grace, rhythm without proportion, and movements without purpose, but to find also durations so assigned to words that a singer cannot discover or decide on a suitable way of performing the composition.³⁴

Two key factors emerge here. Firstly, Zarlino's complaint is specifically about music he 'hears' in the moment of performance. Secondly, in this

³¹ Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le Istitutioni harmoniche*, MoM, 2nd series, I (New York: Broude Brothers, 1965), p. 172.

³² Translation quoted after O. Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952), p. 230.

³³ Zarlino, facsimile, pp. 340-41.

³⁴ Gioseffo Zarlino, *On the Modes: Part IV of Le Istitutioni harmoniche*, trans. by V. Cohen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), p. 97 (*emphasis mine*).

performed music, one of the things that 'saddens' him is that it has 'confused sentences' and 'incomplete clauses'. This is no longer an abstract connection between the semantic meaning of the text and the mode of the music.

Zarlino's comment suggests that he expects to appreciate the semantic meaning of the text simultaneously with the music and that he finds this desire frustrated when composers break up sentences and clauses. Zarlino expects a relationship between words and music that is more than one where music and words are appreciated in parallel. The theorist expects a relationship where music supports the intelligibility of the text. Furthermore, he implies here that it is the composer's responsibility to allow for the preservation of sentence structure.

Earlier in *Le Istitutioni* he gives his judgment about the importance of the intelligibility of the text, writing:

Et se pur molti cantando insieme muovono l'animo, non è dubbio, che universalmente con maggior piacere si ascoltano quelle canzoni, le cui parole sono da i cantori insieme pronunciate, che le dotte compositioni, nelle quali si odono le parole interrotte da molte parti.³⁵

Although many singers singing together stir the soul, there is no doubt that songs in which the singers pronounce the words together are generally heard with greater pleasure than the learned compositions in which the words are interrupted by many voices.³⁶

Whether implying an importance in the preservation of textual prosody or semantics, it is clear that Zarlino understands the best-received works as ones that clearly relate to the text in a moment by moment way, not merely in a general one.

2.9 Interim conclusion

In reviewing theoretical writings from 1480 to 1558, the trend is towards emphasising the importance of a moment by moment relationship between

³⁵ Zarlino, facsimile, p. 75.

³⁶ *Le institutioni* [ll. 9] trans. by C. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 372-73.

words and music where music should preserve the semantic content of words. Put another way, it is a relationship involving continual intersections between words and music. This trend in theory is, of course, lived out stylistically in the development of music during the sixteenth century. It is tempting, therefore, to read backward and see the musical developments of the sixteenth century as ones already nascent in the fifteenth. While this is doubtless a truism, it is equally true to say that the theorists are conspicuously quiet during the late fifteenth century when it comes to word and music relations.

3 Writings on *musica*

To understand the reasons for the absence of theoretical writing, it is necessary to come to terms with the manner in which theorists, and others, speak of music's purely musical qualities (i.e. '*armonia*'). While contemporary men of letters do not give us any more insight than the theorists do into the relationship between words and music, they do at least give us some reason for the silence. If the reasons for an omission in theory can be understood, then the omission itself becomes meaningful. The reason is, perhaps, that the more cosmic, and therefore purely musical, qualities of music seem to merit philosophical consideration (or a rhetorical address) whereas words do not.

3.1 Leonardo da Vinci and the primacy of painting

In his well-known defence of painting, *Paragone*,³⁷ perhaps written in the 1470s, Leonardo da Vinci boasts painting as the greatest of all the arts, not just because of its representational (i.e. discursive) value, but because of its 'proportionalità'.³⁸ The *Paragone* is for Leonardo what the *Complexus* is for Tinctoris in that both works are rhetorical exercises written to prove the value of their respective arts.³⁹ The thirty-second chapter of the *Paragone* is devoted to discussing painting and music.⁴⁰ The crux of Leonardo's argument in chapter thirty-two is that, of painting, music, and poetry, painting is best because it can represent every part of nature and do so by being harmonious in proportion. Music is second best because it can present harmonious proportions but has no representational abilities. Poetry is least because it can only represent and this it does poorly, without recourse to proportion and harmony. Leonardo critiques poetry saying:

E per questo un medesimo tempo, nel quale s'inclue la speculatione d'una bellezza dipinta, non può dare una bellezza descritta, e fa peccato contro natura quell, che si de'e mettere per l'occhio, a uolerlo mettere per l'orecchio. Lasciaui entrare l'uffitio della musicha, e non ui mettere la scientia della pittura uera imitatrice delle naturali figure di tutte le cose.

Beauty cannot be described in words in the same time which it takes to view beauty in a painting. It is a sin against nature to want to give to the ear what is meant for the eye. Let music enter there and do not try to put in her place the science of painting, the true imitator of all the shapes of nature.⁴¹

³⁷ *The Literary Works of Leonardo Da Vinci*, ed. J. P. Richter, 2 vols (London: Phaedon, 1970), I, 14-100. Dating the *Paragone* is difficult because *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codex Urbinas Latinas 1270*, where the work first receives its title 'Paragone', was posthumously compiled from scattered sources by da Vinci's students. Nevertheless, the editor of the above edition considers its completion to have taken place in the 1470s.

³⁸ On Leonardo's 'proportionalità armonica' see B. Blackburn, 'Leonardo and Gaffurio on Harmony and the Pulse of Music', in *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman*, ed. B. Haggh (Paris: Minerve, 2001), pp. 128-49 (pp. 133-35).

³⁹ I am grateful to Gianluca D'Agostino for providing me with an offprint of his 'Nuove annotazioni su Leonardo e la musica', *Studi musicali*, 30 (2001), 281-320, which is the first of its kind and provides a more systematic consideration of Leonardo's musical writings than I could have included here.

⁴⁰ Emanuel Winternitz provides commentary on this and other music-related passages in *Leonardo da Vinci as a Musician* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 216-19

⁴¹ *The Literary Works*, p. 62.

It is important to notice that, in his evaluative hierarchy, harmony is above representation. Poetry is not a fit medium for representation on several counts, one of which is because music works better on the ears, *vis-à-vis* its *proportionalità*, than does poetry. *Proportionalità* is marred in poetry, not only because the poet delivers only one thing at a time (unlike polyphony), but also because the words are detached from one another in recitation.⁴² It is not that music is fit to describe, as poetry is, by entering through the ears, but that it is fit to present beauty—in the form of uninterrupted *proportionalità*—which is what the ears are best at perceiving.

One might begin to question whether or not Leonardo was referring to actual performed polyphonic music—our present subject. After all, some of his generalities about music might simply apply to conceptual music or even the harmony of the consecutive notes of a monophonic piece. Leonardo makes himself quite clear, however:

El poeta non può porre con le parole la vera figura delle membra di che si compone un tutto, com el pittore, il quale tel pone innanti con quella verità, ch'è possibile [*sic, recta*: possibile] in natura; et al poeta accade il medesimo, come al musico, che canta sol' un canto composto di quattro cantori, e canta prima il canto, poi il tenore, e così seguita il contr' alto e poi il basso; e di costui non risulta la gratia della propotionalità armonica, la quale si rinchiude in tempi armonici.

The Poet cannot create [establish] with words the real shape of the parts which make up a whole, as does the Painter, who can put them before you with the same truth that is possible in nature [in the concrete appearance of nature], and the same thing happens to the Poet [the poet encounters the same difficulty] as would to the Musician, if the latter would sing by himself some music composed for four singers, by singing first the soprano part, then the tenor part, and then following it by the contralto and finally the bass; from such a performance does not result [ensue] the grace [beauty] of harmony by proportions [musical harmony as produced by the consonance of several voices of different pitch as established by the acoustical proportions], which is confined to moments of harmony [endowed with harmony, i.e., chords].⁴³

⁴² Leonardo's thoughts on the way music and poetry unfold within time are discussed at length in B. Blackburn, 'Leonardo and Gaffurio'.

⁴³ Transcription and trans., Winternitz, p. 216-17. See also B. Blackburn, 'Leonardo and Gaffurio', pp. 134-35.

Here we learn that, for Leonardo, the greatest value of music is in harmony, but especially the harmony produced by polyphony—in this case, four-voice polyphony. Not a word is spoken, of course, about what song his hypothetical singer is singing. The song's text (if it had one) has no bearing on Leonardo's argument.

In the middle of the portion of the *Paragone* dedicated to music, Leonardo interjects a clarifying clause. He writes, 'meno degne sono anchora le parole ch'e' fatti' ('words are of less account than deeds'). Here he may have been thinking of Pomponius Gauricus's *De Sculptura*, 'Scriptores quidem agunt verbis, at vero Sculptores rebus: Illi narrant, Hi vero exprimunt explicant' ('Writers, indeed, put forth words, Sculptors, however, [put forth] things: one tells, the other, in portraying, explains).⁴⁴ He is again making the case that the arts which produce real things and not simply describe them are the best; thus he devalues the function of poetry and, ultimately, words.

Leonardo seems to present the arts which use proportion (i.e. not poetry) to be the ones best fitted for representation. Yet, nowhere in the *Paragone* does he allow music's ability to represent particular things. Furthermore, while he allows poetry the right to represent (i.e. have verbal description), he never affords music the opportunity to accentuate poetry's descriptive properties with the harmony and continuity that, to Leonardo, poetry is lacking.

When presenting the voice of the musician, who wishes his art to be esteemed as greatest, Leonardo simply reiterates:

Dice il musico, che la sua scientia è de essere equiparata a quella del pittore, perchè essa compone un corpo di molte membra,

The musician claims that his science is equal to that of the painter, for it too, is a body composed of many parts – the graces of

⁴⁴ Leonardo's words, trans., and Gauricus's words all from *The Literary Works*, p. 78..

del quale lo speculatore contempla tutta la sua gratia in tanti tempi armonici, quanti sono li tempi, nelli quale essa nasce e muore, e con quelli tempi trastulla con gratia l'anima, che risiede nel corpo del suo contemplante.

which may be contemplated by the observer in as many harmonic rhythms as there are, and with these rhythms which are born and die it delights the soul of man within him.⁴⁵

Leonardo focuses on 'tempo armonico' here, and while it could mean as little as 'steady beat',⁴⁶ it is certainly a mathematical, and therefore quadrivial, quality that takes Leonardo's interest.

In an article comparing Leonardo and Gaffurius (who both lived in Milan from 1484-99 and from 1506-13), Bonnie Blackburn pointed out a passage in Gaffurius's *De harmonia* (completed in 1500 and published in 1518) [IV.16] where the theorist follows Leonardo's example by comparing music to painting.⁴⁷ While the passage is actually an un-credited quotation of Aristides Quintilianus, Gaffurius's inclusion of it here must have indicated his agreement.⁴⁸ What is interesting, however, about Gaffurius's discussion of the relationship between music and other disciplines is that, unlike Leonardo, Gaffurius does not mention poetry. He mentions medicine and then moves swiftly on to more universal applications of music. If Gaffurius had been aware of Leonardo's similar comparison of the arts (and only circumstantial evidence corroborates their acquaintance), the theorist's omission of poetry here must have been intentional.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 77. Leonardo often focuses on the fleeting nature of music in his argument for the primacy of painting and yet ties the two arts together in that they both depict motion. Bonnie Blackburn's careful retort, however, endangers his argument: 'The painter, of course, has much the more difficult task: he must convey the appearance of motion, not motion itself. [...] Music, by contrast, is continually in motion and can never be grasped as a whole.' See 'Leonardo and Gaffurio', p. 140.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 136-39.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 142-43.

⁴⁸ The quotation was first identified by C. Miller in *De Harmonia Musicorum Instrumentorum Opus*, Musicological Studies and Documents, 33, (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology—Hänssler, 1997), p. 204. See also Leofranc Holford-Strevens's translation of the corresponding passage from the Greek in B. Blackburn, 'Leonardo and Gaffurio', p. 143.

Leonardo presents poetry as an art without harmony. If music's value is in *armonia*, and this *armonia* is often a medium for words, the latter of which are to be evaluated on non-harmonious grounds, then there is a duality in the judgement of sung poetry. Music is evaluated on the basis of *armonia* and the text is evaluated by its representational abilities. These two evaluations seem to be separate and consequently we can assume that the motet, to Leonardo, would have been divided by the two arts present in the work – that of music and that of letters.⁴⁹

3.2 Rhetoric: classical ideas and their reception in musical circles

This two-fold appreciation of expressive arts had long been a matter of consideration in the context of rhetoric, to which the musician turned again and again in order to justify his own actions.⁵⁰ As mentioned above, Gaffurius may have been thinking of Cicero when he required the mood of the music to match the content of the words. But the relationship between 'what is said' and 'how it is said', whether in the domain of song or oration, has never been a simple one nor should we believe that Gaffurius himself saw it as such, however clear cut his requirements.

The problem of division between verbal content and presentation method results from the purely ornamental yet persuasively important final part of rhetoric, *pronuntiatio*. Cicero defines *pronuntiatio* as 'ex rerum et

⁴⁹ Indeed, this notion is reflected in Le Munerat's *De moderatione* as well. He writes, 'Just as accent occurs without melody or, as its name implies, without melody adjoined to it, so melody occurs without accent. Indeed, they form separate sciences, though tending to submit and conform to a third, namely, the Divine Office.' ('Et sicut accentus est sine cantu seu preter cantu(m). ut nomen sonat: sic et cantus sine accentu. sunt enim scientie disparate: cum tame(n) in unius tertii: sc(illicet) officii divini tendant obsequiu(m) seu famulatum.') D. Harrán, *In Defence*, p. 82.

⁵⁰ Warren Kirkendale has argued for the increasing integration of music within rhetoric instead of its maintaining its more mathematical location within the quadrivium in 'Ciceronians versus Aristotelians or the Ricercar as Exordium', *JAMS*, 32 (1979), 1-44.

verborum dignitate vocis et corporis moderatio' ('the control of voice and body in a manner suitable to the dignity of the subject matter and the style').⁵¹ For an orator, the sufficiency of the argument itself is accomplished in the processes of *inventio*, *dispositio* (arrangement), and *elocutio*. The argument is then memorised (*memoria*). The final combination of the argument with gesture and tone of voice seems almost superfluous, given the completeness of the argument, yet it is through presentation that the argument is actually persuasive. St. Augustine recognised the difference between *pronuntiatio* and the more rational parts of oration. In *De ordine* he discusses the value of dialectics, in which:

in hac se ipsa ratio demonstrant, atque aperit quaesit, quid velit, quid valent...verum, quoniam plerumque stulti homines ad ea quae suadentur recte, utiliter et honeste, non ipsam sincerissimam quam rarus animus videt veritatem...oportebat eos non doceri solum quantum queunt, sed saepe et maxime commoveri. Hanc suam partem quae id ageret, necessitatis pleniorum quam puritatis, refertissimo gremio deliciarum, quas populo spargat, ut ad utilitatem suam dignetur adduci vocat rhetoricam.⁵²

Reason itself exhibits itself, and reveals its own nature, its desires, its powers...yet, because in the pursuit of the things which are rightly commended as useful and upright, unwise men generally follow their own feelings and habits rather than the very marrow of truth...it behoved that they be not only taught to the extent of their ability, but also frequently and strongly aroused as to their emotions. To the portion of itself which would accomplish this – a portion more replete with lack than with enlightenment, its lap heaped high with charms, which it would scatter to the crowd so that the crowd might deign to be influenced for its own good – to this portion, it gave the name rhetoric.⁵³

As Augustine hints, it is difficult, though necessary, to make connections between presentation method and the argument presented because the former is 'more replete with lack than with enlightenment.' Bearing in mind the difference between reason ('*ratio*') and that which is replete with lack ('*necessitatis*') of enlightenment, generalisations that require the orator to

⁵¹ *De inventione* [I.vii.9], trans and ed. H. M. Hubble (London: Heinemann, 1949), pp. 20-21.

⁵² *Opera omnia S. Aurelii Augustini* vol. 1 (Paris: Gaume Fratres, 1836), p. 576.

⁵³ Trans. D. P. Russell, in *Philosophies of Art and Beauty* ed. A. Hofstadter and R. Kuhns (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1976) p. 178.

connect his tone of voice to the content of the speech seem quite difficult to materialise without more specific instruction.

The same can be said about requirements to relate music and words without clear instructions about how to combine them in a suitable way. This is not to say that musicians and composers could not accomplish the act of relating music to words (anymore than it is to say that orators could not accomplish *pronuntiatio*) but simply that they did not see it as a 'task', other than in the most general of terms, and hence had no need to construct a theory. So, even when articulating a point about the relationship between words and music, the early theorists, like early rhetoricians, provide us with broad requirements without specific detail about how to act on them.

Augustine continues to divide communication into two distinct parts: sound and that which is represented by sound. In this, his thoughts were on music as well as simply sound. In chapter fourteen of *De ordine* he writes:

arista potentissima secernendi cito vidit quid inter sonum et id cuius signum esset, distaret. Intellexit nihil aliud ad aurium iudicium pertinere, quam sonum, cumque esse triplicem; aut in voce animatis, aut in eo quod flatus in organis faceret, aut in eo quod pulsa ederetur.⁵⁴

But reason being endowed with the keenest powers of discernment, quickly saw what difference there was between sound itself and that of which it was a symbol. It saw the jurisdiction of the ears pertained nothing more than to sound, and that this was threefold: sound in the utterance of an animate being, or sound in what breath produces in musical instruments, or sound in what is given forth in percussion.⁵⁵

While Augustine's authority in the late fifteenth century can hardly be underestimated, it is perhaps best to turn to a contemporary to see how his doctrine of rhetoric was understood. Rudolph Agricola (1443?-1485), the foremost importer of humanistic rhetoric to the Low Countries, adopted Augustine's perspective of division:

⁵⁴ *Opera omnia*, p. 577.

⁵⁵ R. P. Russell, pp. 178-79.

Duplex autem est in summe, quae percipitur ex oratione voluptas, quarum alia ex rebus de quibus dissertur nascitur, alia ex orationis percipitur genere. Res quae sensus oblectant notae sunt. Quisque enim sensus delectatur, eo quod est naturae suae proprium. Ut oculi, coloribus laetissimis. Aures, sonis mitioribus, et reliqui suo quisque obiecto. Sunt quaedam tamen quae et ad mentem pertingunt: quia vero propius ad sensuum naturam accedunt, et inter sensuum oblectamenta numerantur. Ut dies festi, spectacula, ludi, choreae, convivia, horti floribus consiti, verni temporis, gratia, fluminum per virentia prata decursus, primus iuventae decor, corpora pulchritudine conspicua, amore, ioci, concentus, saltationes, et omnia laetiorum annorum animorumque studia: quorum tamen maxime sunt liberalia, quae oculorum auriumque studia morantur. Reliqua, quia crassiora sunt, honoris non etiam plerumque ut quorum etiam nonnulla sine honoris non sint praefatione memoranda.⁵⁶

On the whole, the pleasure that one takes in speech is twofold: one part of it derives from the things that are the subject of the discourse, and the other from the kind of speech involved. That which gives pleasure to the senses is known, for each sense is delighted by what is proper to its nature, as the eyes are by the brightest colours, the ears by rather mild sounds, and each of the remaining senses by its particular object. There are certain things, however, that also reach as far as the mind, although they are also counted among the pleasures of the senses because they are closer to them by nature. These include: feast days, spectacles, games, choral dances, banquets, gardens sown with flowers, the grace of springtime, rivers flowing through verdant meadows, the first beauty of youth, bodies conspicuous for their loveliness, love relationships, jokes, harmonious songs, dances, and all the pursuits of happier years and minds. Still, of these things, those are really noble that hold the interest of the eyes and ears; others are more crass; and a great number are even quite vulgar, so that some cannot even be mentioned without our making some excuse to protect our honour.⁵⁷

What is particularly insightful from both Augustine and the contemporary voice of Agricola is that when the 'subject of discourse' and 'delight of sense' are divided, music still has a place in both parts. For Augustine, one must not only hear the sound but what it represents (and it represents, presumably, something of the *harmonia mundi* as heard through 'organa'). For Agricola, 'harmonious songs' and things that 'hold the interest of the...ears...also reach as far as the mind'. But this they do independently of 'the subject of the discourse'. To apply this analogically to motets, the music can excite the senses and it can touch the mind (*vis-à-vis* harmony), whereas the text set within the music can touch the mind only.

⁵⁶ R. Agricola, *De inventione dialectica libri tres* [III.iv] (Paris: Chevallon, 1538), fol. 191^r.

⁵⁷ Trans. by W. A. Rebhorn from *Renaissance Debates on Rhetoric* (London: Cornell University Press, 2000), p. 54.

Augustine's post-conversion works had more influence on the Middle Ages and Renaissance and there we find a similarly music-biased understanding of song as well. In *De civitate Dei* he explained the power of music, writing:

Erat autem David vir in canticis eruditus, qui harmoniam musicam non vulgari voluptate, sed fideli voluntate dilexerit, eaque Deo suo, qui versus est Deus, mystica rei magnae figuratione servierit. Diversorum enim sonorum rationabilis moderatusque concentus concordii varietate compactam bene ordinatae civitatis insinuat unitatem.

Now David was a man skilled in songs who loved musical harmony not for vulgar pleasure, but as a man of faith for a purpose whereby he served his God, who is the true God, by the mystic pre-figuration of a great matter. For the rational and proportionate symphony of diverse sounds conveys the unity of a well-ordered city, knit together by harmonious variety⁵⁸

Augustine discusses David as a man skilled in songs, calling to the reader's mind the Psalms. The modern reader at first assumes that it is the theological content of these Psalms that makes David 'as a man of faith...whereby he served his God.' Notice, however, that it is not the devotional text that interests Augustine here but the 'prefiguring' of 'the unity of a well-ordered city, [i.e. the city of God] knit together by harmonious variety'. Certainly, Augustine's meaning here is one of absolute music more than particularised music. Moreover, there is a distinction to be made between this and the way ideas about absolute music were employed in the late fifteenth century. Nevertheless, these absolute properties of music, with all their analogous powers, extend from Pythagoras through the Classical Greeks, inform the early church fathers, and are sustained through the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The abundance of discussion in the Renaissance about music's purely musical properties and all their cosmic and physiological values cannot have been wholly abstracted from music contemporary to such discussion.

⁵⁸ *Civ. Dei* [XVII/xiv], pp. 310-11.

3.3 Ficino and musical cosmology

Discussion of music quâ music is replete within the writings of Florentine Platonist Marsilio Ficino (1433-99). Perhaps of all those writing towards the end of the fifteenth century, Ficino most clearly demonstrates the prevalence in contemporary philosophy of music's purely musical qualities being praised, again compelling us to re-think how composers of the time saw the function of words in musical settings.

In a 1953 article on Ficino's spiritualising of music, D. P. Walker proposed that Ficino saw taste, smell, and touch as lesser senses primarily because 'they cannot transmit an intellectual content, which music can do owing to its text'.⁵⁹ While Walker's article was salutary in opening the eyes of the musicological community to the usefulness of Ficino's writings, his supposition that Ficino took interest in music primarily because of its ability to couch text should be reconsidered. It is not an interest in the text that makes music special to Ficino, else he would have mentioned it. Rather, Ficino has an interest in music's ability to display proportion, something that, for Ficino, taste, touch, smell, and even words themselves could not do because they only present one sensation at a time. This notion concords with Leonardo's priorities as mentioned above. Ficino never mentions the relationship between words and music as something that gives music an advantage over other media, in spite of our modern assumptions. Instead he praises music because of its proportional abilities.

⁵⁹ 'Ficino's *Spiritus* and Music', *Annales musicologiques*, 1 (1953), 131-50.

In *Music and Renaissance Magic*, Gary Tomlinson took issue with Walker's forty-year-old research⁶⁰ in order to posit his own 'magical' understanding of Ficino's cosmological appreciation of music:

The crucial misstep in Walker's interpretation of [Ficino's] *De vita* is his assumption of a functional difference between the words and the music of Ficino's song: in Walker's interpretation only words, not music, can convey rational significance.⁶¹

Tomlinson also acknowledged that:

[t]he overwhelming acceptance in the later scholarly literature of Walker's functional distinction of words and music gives pause, especially since, as I have said, Walker did not usually make any attempt to substantiate it with Ficino's own testimony.⁶²

This leads Tomlinson to conclude that:

By making the words the only intellectual element in Ficino's song, then, Walker implied that it could be demonic only by virtue of them. He neutralized the music of this song in the face of his dichotomy of spiritual and demonic magics, rendering it a subrational and therefore innocent force arranging or enhancing natural influxes with no appeal to invisible and perhaps unorthodox intelligences.⁶³

Tomlinson is right in at least two cases. Firstly, he is right to notice that Ficino ascribed a spirit-affecting function to music *quã* music— regardless of words. Secondly, he is right to see that by misunderstanding Ficino on this point—by reading Ficino's interest in music as an interest principally in the affecting power of words set to music—we misunderstand the cosmological significance of music *quã* music for Ficino and his near contemporaries.

When music has a direct bearing on the spirit of listeners, it takes pre-eminence over words, the latter having a bearing merely on the listeners'

⁶⁰ Tomlinson references Walker's later publication, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella*, 2nd ed., (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1975), though some of the findings there appear in print first in 'Ficino's *Spiritus* and Music', which he does not reference.

⁶¹ *Music in Renaissance Magic: towards a Historiography of Others*, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 101.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 105. Here Tomlinson refers to Walker's *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, pp. 43, 48, and 53.

mind. Nevertheless, Tomlinson is also right to suggest that there is no functional difference between the words and music, in the sense that both communicate rationally, though each through its own distinct medium.

As one reviewer of Tomlinson's book has already rehearsed, however, Tomlinson's ambiguous taxonomy in reference to words like 'magic' and 'demonic' leads to his shoehorning all of music's supernatural effects into the category of magic.⁶⁴ While a relatively minor flaw in an otherwise highly-influential book, it does 'give pause' because, as the same review has put it, '[...] what has remained stable in the Judeo-Christian tradition is the conception of magic as a false religion and/or false science; its inherently dangerous and illegitimate position has to be emphasised.'⁶⁵ In fact, music's supernatural powers were employed in safer and more legitimate disciplines than magic.⁶⁶ This makes Tomlinson's exploration of music's 'magical' (read 'spiritual') powers applicable to the musical mainstream of the late fifteenth century, not just the ecclesiastically illicit or theologically reprobate (and we would do well to remember that Ficino was neither). Practically every aspect of musical culture in the West was touched, in one way or another, by the Platonic, and ultimately Pythagorean notion that musical proportion was an allegory for cosmological proportion, which, having been made by the Creator, informed us of His character and influenced us in our living according to His divine intentions. This was not *occultus*, it was *vera religio*.

⁶⁴ See P. Gouk, '[review] *Music and Renaissance Magic: toward a Historiography of Others*', *EMH*, 13 (1994), 291-306 (esp. pp. 291 and 294).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

⁶⁶ As Gouk puts it, 'It is surprising that Tomlinson nowhere reminds his readers that music was a highly charged subject in the sixteenth century precisely because it was understood to inflame the passions and induce all manner of responses.' *Ibid.*, p. 295.

In a 1494 letter to his friend and pupil, Francesco Musano of Iesi,

Ficino gives a picture of his understanding of music :

Corpus quidem remediis medicinae curatur. Spiritus autem qui aereus sanguinis vapor est et quasi quidam anime corporisque nodus aeries quoque odoribus sonisque et cantibus temperat et alit. Anima denique tamquam divinum divinis theologiae mysteriis expiatur.⁶⁷

The body is indeed healed by the remedies of medicine, but spirit, which is vapour of our blood and the link between body and soul is tempered and nourished by airy smells, by sounds, and by song. Finally, the soul, as it is divine, is purified by the divine mysteries of theology.⁶⁸

For Ficino, song (along with 'airy smells' and sounds) was valued for the betterment of the spirit, but not the soul because it could not put forth the mysteries of theology. In the case of sacred song, the texts often discussed the 'mysteries of theology'. One is left, therefore, to assume that Ficino, certainly familiar with sacred music, did not consider the role of its texts within the medicinal work of song (perhaps its text was not even thought of as presenting 'the mysteries of theology' in this pre-Tridentine church climate). Instead he focuses on the non-corporal qualities of music (ergo the link between sound and smell) and sees these as primary.

We may assume that music was of great importance to the philosopher, because he evoked it on every occasion he could. For instance, he applied the thesis of his *Symposium* commentary (that Love is a universal binding force) to music when the chance presented itself. Ficino's commentary is hardly an exegesis. It is rather more like a contemporized version of the *Symposium* in which Ficino took opportunities given him by Plato's original structure to expand on the application of love. In reference to music, he has opportunity to analyse it on his own terms:

⁶⁷ *Epistolae Marsilii Ficini Florentini* (Koberger, 1497), fol. xvii.

⁶⁸ *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, trans. vars., 7 vols (London: Shepherd-Walwyn, 1975), I, p. 40

Idem in musica observatur: cuius artifices, qui numeri, quos numeros, aut magis, aut minus diligent, investigant. Ei inter unum ac duo, atque unum et septem minimum amorem inveniunt. Inter unum vero, tria, quattuor, quinque, ext, amorem vehementiorem reperiunt. Inter unum et octo vehementissimum. Ei voces acutas, et graves natura diversas certis intervallis et modulis sibi invicem magis amicas faciunt. Ex quo harmoniae compositio et suavitas nascitur. Tardiores etiam motus et velociores ita invicem temperant, ut amici potissimum fiant, et rhythmum concinnitatemque exhibeant.

It may likewise be observed in music, in which artists investigate what ratios love, to a greater or lesser degree, what other ratios; they find the least affection between the first and second steps in the scale and between the first and the seventh. They find a rather strong affinity between the first and third, fourth, fifth, or sixth, but the strongest between the first and eighth. By certain intervals and modes they make high and low voices, naturally different, blend together better. From this, smoothness and sweetness of harmony derive. They so resolve slower and faster tempos that they become the fastest friends and produce agreeable rhythms.⁶⁹

Unsurprisingly, Ficino notices that the interval that 'loves' the most is the octave, and that lesser in love are the intervals of third, fourth, fifth, and sixth. It is important to bear in mind that it is incorporeal, unsubstantiated music that interests Ficino. He is interested in the formal relationship between two or more variables. (Where the love poetry of his day, so often set to music, would enter in his argument is very hard to see.)

Ficino's appreciation of music as an insight into an unsubstantiated Music is spelled out explicitly on several occasions in his writings, notably in his commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*.⁷⁰ In it, he writes of the power of melody to draw the soul to itself, something only possible when one hears 'not only

⁶⁹ Jayne, pp. 55 and 150.

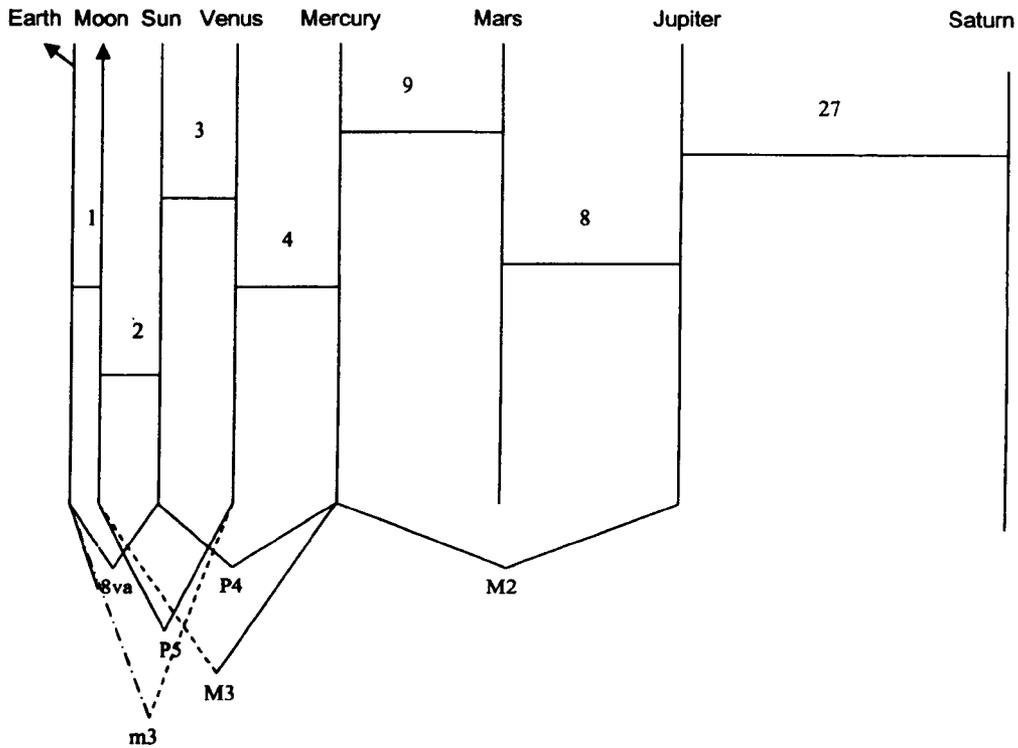
⁷⁰ Another instance of Ficino's contradistinction between music one hears and the Music contemplated referentially through such substantiated music can be found in a letter to *Peregrino Agli* where he writes: 'But the soul receives the sweetest harmonies and numbers through the ears, and by these echoes is reminded and aroused to the divine music which may be heard by the more subtle and penetrating sense of the mind[...]but [the soul] uses the ears as messengers, as though they were chinks in this darkness. By the ears, as I have already said, the soul receives the echoes of that incomparable music, by which it is led back to the deep and silent memory of the harmony which it previously enjoyed [in heaven]. See *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, trans. by vars., 7 vols (London: Shepherd-Walwyn, 1975), I, p. 45. ('Per aures vero concentus quosdam numerosque suavissimos animus havrit. Hisque imaginibus ad monetur atque excitatur ad divina musicam acriori quodam mentiset intimo sensu considerandam[...]verum iis i tenebris auribus velut rimulis quibusdam ac cunctiis utitur hisque imagines ut saepe iam diximus musicae illius incomparabilis accipit. Quibus in eius qua antea fruebatur harmoniae intimam quandam ac tacitam recordationem reducitur.' See *Epistole* (Venice, 1495), fol. 4^v.)

the voices but also contemplates the ratios of the voices: for the one who moves the heavens tempers them according to harmony'.⁷¹ Ficino seems to understand the ratios of music as most important, even above the actual sound of the music. We are then left to wonder if he could have ever applied his ideas about music to actual music contemporary to him. Nevertheless, when given such a strong account of what is important in music from a contemporary voice, we cannot lightly assume that his suppositions were purely academic. Surely hearing 'the voices' must imply an actual performance. Ficino would have been exposed to motets by Isaac and, if we take Ficino at his word, those voices he heard would have sparked contemplation about cosmic ratios and the tempering of the heavens.

Ficino uses the musical implications tacitly present in Plato's *Timaeus* as a springboard for a lengthy discussion on the links between the harmonious proportions of the planets and the Pythagorean musical scale.⁷²

⁷¹ 'Quo non voces solum, sed et rationes vocum percipiuntur: sed atisque perturbationibus coelesti contemperat harmonie.' *Opera*, p. 1455.

⁷² See Plato, *Timaeus*, trans and ed. by R. G. Bury (London: Heinemann, 1929), esp. pp. 67-83.



Plato presents the number series 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 8, 27 as the distances of the planets respective to one another. So, the moon is one unit away from the earth, the sun is two units away from the moon, Venus is three units away from the sun, etc. (see figure above).

Plato notes that there are proportions spelled out by these distances between the planets but does not label them as musical. Ficino, who played 'lyre' for Lorenzo de Medici⁷³ and was convinced of the generally beneficial values of music,⁷⁴ seizes this opportunity to write on the musical ideas Plato left unsaid.⁷⁵

⁷³ Cf. P. O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and the Arts 2*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), p. 157 and E. Lowinsky, 'The Concept of Physical and Musical Space in the Renaissance', in *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, ed. by B. Blackburn, 2 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), I, 6-18.

⁷⁴ See Amman Peter, 'Music and Melancholy: Marsilio Ficino's archetypal music therapy', *Journal of Analytical Psychology*, 43 (1998), 571-89.

⁷⁵ In his translation of *Timaeus*, H. D. P. Lee makes note of the fact that Plato all but explains that it is a musical distinction he is trying to make when outlining the proportional relationships

Chapter twenty-eight of Ficino's commentary on the *Timaeus* explains the link between the organisation of the world and the organisation of music, considering 'musical consonance to be made in the element in the middle of all, and through circular motion, this indeed to arrive on the ears.'⁷⁶ He then goes on, in chapter twenty-nine, to differentiate between what we hear: *proportio aequalitatis* and *proportio inaequalitatis*. Ficino finds that the ratios of 2:1 (that of the octave), 3:2 (that of the fifth), and 4:3 (that of the fourth) are most perfect and are also the ones first found in the cosmos.⁷⁷ With such a significance put on the purely musical qualities of music, it is easy to see why words might receive less discussion in contemporary writings than their more cosmologically-significant settings.

3.4 Erasmus and the denigration of music

Yet, not all men of letters from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century were as approbatory of music *quâ* music. Turning to a later scholar, we find a more negative view of music and its merits. Desiderius Erasmus described the music-focused environment of chapel choirs in his 1513 commentary on I Corinthians, writing:

At nunc in nonnullis regionibus totos dies psallitur spiritu. Nec modus, nec finis cantionum: quam vix intra sex menses audiatur concio salubris[...]. ut omittam interim huiusmodi musices genus in ductum esse in cultum divinum, ut ne liceat quidem ullam vocem liquido percipere. Nec iis qui cantillant otivum est attendendi qui canant.

[...]Quid aliud auditur in monasteriis, in Collegiis, in Templis ferme omnibus, quam

In some countries the whole day is now spent in endless singing, yet one worthwhile sermon exciting true piety is hardly heard in six months[...]not to mention the kind of music that has been brought into divine worship, in which not a single word can be clearly understood. Nor is there a free moment for singers to contemplate what they are singing.

[...]What else is heard in monasteries,

between the distances of the planets. Cf. *Timaeus and Critias* (London: Penguin, 1971), p. 48.

⁷⁶ 'musicam consonantiam in elemento fieri omnium medio, perque motum, et hunc quidem orbicularem ad aures pervenire.' *Opera*, p. 1453.

⁷⁷ In chapters 27-33 Ficino uses notably musical terminology. For the three ratios mentioned, he uses *duplum*, *sesquialtera*, and *sesquitertia*.

⁷⁸ *Opera omnia*, ed. J. Clericus, 8 vols (Leiden, 1703-06), vi, 731c-32c.

vocum strepitus? Atque aetate Pauli non cantus erat, sed pronuntiatio duntaxat. vix a posterioribus receptus est cantus, sed tali ut nihil aliud esset, quam distincta modulataque pronuntiatio, cuiusmodi superest etiamnum apud nos, qua sonamus in cananoe Sacro Precationem Dominicam: et linguam, qua haec canebantur, vulgus adhuc promiscuum intelligebat, respondens Amen. Nunc vulgus qui aliud audit quam voces nihil significantes?

[...]In sacram aedem velunt in theatrum concurritur ad deliniendas aures.

[...]Ad haec quum in hoc recepta sit in Ecclesiam musica sobria, quo verborum sensus efficacius influant in animos auditorum quibusdam hoc quoque pulchrum videtur, si unus alter caeteris admixtus ingenti boatu vocis efficiat, ne verbum ullum percipiatur.⁷⁸

colleges, and almost all churches, besides the clamour of voices? Yet in St. Paul's time there was no song, only speech. Later song was accepted by posterity, but it was nothing else than a distinct and modulated speech (such as we presently use in the Lord's Prayer), which the congregation understood and to which it responded. But what more does it hear now than meaningless sounds?

[...]People flock to church for their aural delight.

[...]In addition, when temperate music is used in church in this way, so that the meaning of the words may more easily come to the listener, it also seems a fine thing to some if one or other part, intermingled with the rest, produces a tremendous tonal clamour so that not a single word is understood.⁷⁹

It seems evident that Erasmus is not merely noting the practices of a certain church but is universal in his description. Perhaps the text-focused Latin scholar was complaining to fellow theologians (the readership of his biblical commentary) about the prominence of polyphonic music which had, according to his account, become prevalent in 'monasteries, colleges, and almost all churches'. Such music undermined congregational piety by obscuring the sacred text. In an increasingly rationalised religious climate, Erasmus seems to imply the reception of the sacred text would have been necessary for spiritual growth. His distaste for music concords with his noted role in attempting to reform the Catholic Church.

Erasmus provides us with evidence that while 'musica sobria' may have decreased textural obscurity, the integration of another voice (perhaps a secular *cantus firmus*?) can easily undo what was accomplished by the

⁷⁹ Trans. C. A. Miller, 'Erasmus on Music', *MQ*, 52 (1966), 332-49 (pp. 338-39).

otherwise textually-lucid compositional technique. Even the accomplished Latinist could not understand the words. He represents the voice of a reformer, foreshadowing future changes in style. Erasmus was obviously bemoaning a situation not too dissimilar to the one discussed by Zarlino in *Le Istitutioni*, where music obscures sacred texts. Zarlino, by contrast, addresses an audience of musicians in hopes to correct old faults still in practice. He complains of music that still obscures words, even though some styles had moved away from such obscurity by the mid-century.

3.5 Luther and his effect on the role of words in music

There is a theological reason for the subjugation of music's *harmonia* to the semantic properties of the words set to it that would explain the trend in theoretical writings of the sixteenth century. It would be spuriously convenient to identify the Reformation as the single impetus for change in musical thinking but at the same time its obvious ramifications are germane to understanding the developing aesthetic of motets as church music.

Martin Luther's innovations to church music were novel in the emphasis placed on congregational singing.⁸⁰ This is because the congregation's musical participation with the singing of sacred text was paramount to Luther, for it aided the 'simple and...the young folk who must be daily exercised in the scriptures and God's word...for the sake of such we

⁸⁰ The impact of the Lutheran Reformation on church music has been well essayed elsewhere. I will therefore only allow a cursory mention of it and the Roman theological response. For more recent discussions among musicologists and theologians respectively, I would point the reader to R. A. Leaver, 'The Lutheran Reformation', in *The Renaissance from the 1470s to the End of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by I. Fenlon (London: MacMillan, 1989), pp. 263-85 and H. Robinson-Hammerstein, 'The Lutheran Reformation and Its Music', in *The Transmission of Ideas in the Lutheran Reformation*, ed. by H. Robinson-Hammerstein (Blackrock: Irish Academic Press, 1989), pp. 141-71. For a discussion of the development of the concept of the 'Word' see R. Waswo, *Language and Memory in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 207-83.

must read, *sing*, preach, write and *compose*'.⁸¹ Congregational singing, however, did not replace Luther's well-known love of performed polyphony, and this he makes clear in a prefatory letter he wrote for Georg Rhau's 1538 *Symphoniae iucundae*, a book of fifty-two motets for each Sunday of the church year. Yet, even in this context the verbal message is still of paramount importance to Luther. When praising music, Luther writes:

Unde non frustra Patres et Prophetæ verbo Dei nihil voluerunt esse coniunctius quam Musicam. Inde enim tot Cantica et Psalmi, in quibus simul agunt et sermo et vox in animo auditoris, dum in caeteris animantibus et corporibus sola musica sine sermone gesticulatur. Denique homini soli præ caeteris sermo voci copulatus donatus est, ut sciret, se Deum laudare oportere verbo et Musica, scilicet sonora prædicatione et mixtis verbis suavi melodiae.⁸²

Thus it was not without reason that the fathers and prophets wanted nothing else to be associated as closely with the Word of God as music. Therefore, we have so many hymns and Psalms where message and music join to move the listener's soul, while in other living beings and bodies music remains a language without words. After all, the gift of language combined with the gift of song was only given to man to let him know that he should praise God with both word and music, namely by proclaiming through music and by providing sweet melodies with words.⁸³

Granted, earlier in the preface Luther speaks of music's purely harmonious value, just as Tinctoris did. The excerpt above, however, seems clear. Luther – like Vicentino some seventeen years later – understood the chief end of music (and in Luther's case, motets) to be a medium through which words could be presented.

The similarity in positions between Vicentino writing in 1555 and Luther writing in 1538 can be explained if they are considered alongside the reforms of the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Pope Paul III formed the Council as an authoritative voice against the Reformation but it also served as a reforming

⁸¹ *Deutsche Messe (emphasis mine)*, *Luther's Works* vol. 53, ed. by U. S. Leupold (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), p. 62. 'Wer meyst aber geschichts umb der eynfeltige und des jungen volks willen, wilchs sol und mus teglich inn der schrift und Gotts wort geubt und erzogen werden[...]umb solcher willer mus man lesen, singen, predigen, schreyben und tichten.' *D. Martin Luthers Werke* vol. 19, ed. by P. Pietsch (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1897), p. 73.

⁸² *Luthers Werke*, vol. 35, p. 484.

⁸³ *Luther's Works*, vol. 19, p. 323.

body in its own right, pronouncing unlawful any kind of music in worship that obscured sacred texts.⁸⁴ In confirming the need to reform church music, the Council only seemed to reissue what was already being said by music theorists like Vicentino and Zarlino, not to mention the voice of earlier scholars like Erasmus, namely that words are of chief importance in music and they should be heard clearly. The church granted its authority to such a position but its presence was already felt before the Council met.⁸⁵

3.6 Humanism and the study of Latin pronunciation

Applicable to a discussion of Latin music, there is also an increased interest in the prosodic properties of Latin that burgeons in the last few years of the fifteenth century and sees fruition only in the sixteenth. Often lumped under the vague category of 'humanism', the specific movement towards reforming the pronunciation of Latin provides an interesting connection to the discussion of the prosody of text within music theory.

The movement of *recta pronuntiatio* was first fostered among language theorists of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Spanish grammarian Antonio de Nebrija dedicated his 1503 *De vi ac potestate*

⁸⁴ In particular the session of 11 September 1562, canon eight: 'propterea sacerdotes, dum missarum solemniam agunt, non velunt citato cursu inculcatisque verbis haec percurret, sed apte distincte graviterque singula pronuntiare studeant, ut ab illis, dum haec aguntur, Deum cogitare; atque ibi cordet ore eos ad esse omnes intelliguntur, sic tamen, ne clamoroso vocis strepitu audientium fervorem frangant. Verum ita cuncta moderentur, ut, missae sive plana voce sive cantu celebrentur, omnia clare matureque prolata in audientium aures et corda placide descendant.' *Concilii Tridentini Actorum* (Freiburg: Herder 1901-), VIII (1919), p. 927. That such a canon against 'clamoroso vocis strepitu[...]frangant' was necessary suggests that even current music was not yet as clear in the declamation of text as the doctors would have liked. Cf. K. G. Fellerer, 'Church Music and the Council of Trent', *MQ*, 39 (1953), 576-94.

⁸⁵ It bears mentioning that Le Munerat's tract would likely have received papal censorship, had it been written after 1562.

litterarum to the rectifying of 'falsa prolatio'⁸⁶ and connecting the correct symbols with the sounds for which they stand. Not only interested in a debate among grammarians, Nebrija intended his innovations to reach to a broad public.⁸⁷ Nebrija's attempts at reforming the phonetics of the Latin curriculum were not immediately accepted but there is some reason to think that the Venetian printer Aldus Manutius sympathised with Nebrija. Manutius suggested, in a 1508 print of his Greek grammar, that moderns were mistaking the pronunciation of both Greek and Latin.⁸⁸ The broadest dissemination of the views of *recta pronuntiatio* did not occur, however, until the publication of Erasmus's treatise *De recta pronuntiatione* in 1528. Erasmus argued for the necessity of a common pronunciation of Latin and Greek that accords with classical models.⁸⁹

Because *De recta pronuntiatione* is largely dedicated to Latin prosody, it is not surprising that Erasmus tied in musical connections when discussing length of syllable and feet, following in the tradition of Augustine's *De*

⁸⁶ From the dedicatory introduction. See *De vi ac potestate litterarum*, ed. trans. [ESP] and facsim. by A. Quilis and P. Usabel (Madrid: Historia de la Lingüística Española, 1987), p. 33.

⁸⁷ There is some evidence that he may have linked himself to the great reformers of 'musica' (in a grammatical sense of the word) of antiquity. The key phrase from the dedicatory epistle is 'So if a prejudice has for them so much force that they do not wish to yield before my evident reasoning it is only, kind and good Father, what Antigenidas answered to his disciple when the crowd received him coldly, 'for to you I sing and for the Muses.' ('Quod si praeiudicato opinio apud illos tantum valet, ut neque evidentissimis rationibus meis velint cedere illud reliquum est, Pater optime atque humanissime, quod Antigenidas [f]rigenti ad populum discipulo dixit, ut tibi canam et musis.') Though hitherto unmentioned in the scant literature on Nebrija, it is Cicero's *Brutus* that he quotes (par. 187) when referring to the Greek flute player Antigenidas. Nevertheless, Nebrija probably knew that the musician was a reformer in his own right, changing the entire nature of Greek music, as is chronicled in Pliny's *Natural History* [XVI.170], Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius* [I.6], and Theophrastus's *Enquiry into the Plants* [IV.11.11].

⁸⁸ See B. C. Verstraete's introduction to the translation of *De recta pronuntiatione*, ed. by J. K. Sowards, trans. by B. C. Verstraete, *Collected works of Erasmus*, 26 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1985), p. 355. The author cleverly notes the chronological correlation between Manutius's publication espousing 'recta pronuntiatione' (1508) and Erasmus's presence with the Venetian scholar in the same year.

⁸⁹ Thomas Schmidt-Beste has connected the influence of Erasmus on the pronunciation of text to the changing relationship between words and music in the latter part of the fifteenth century, though more on this below. See also Schmidt-Beste's *Textdeklamation*, p. 36.

Musica.⁹⁰ Here Erasmus ties in the metrical accent of syllables with musical rhythm. He also suggests that the phrasing and tempo of an oration adhere to essentially musical forms and makes syllabic divisions of words based on what he understood to be musical principles. Erasmus betrayed what seems to have been a common conception by 1528, namely that 'those who are good at music enunciate better than others, even when they are not singing'.⁹¹ From this, we can guess that contemporary singers were trained to achieve exceptionally clear articulation, though the ramifications this had on the presentation of musical texts is certainly unclear given Erasmus's account of singing in his commentary on I Corinthians.

By the middle of the sixteenth century the movement of *recta pronuntiatio* had come to its zenith and was causing crisis on the campus of Cambridge. So heated was the debate for and against the new pronunciation that the University's chancellor, Stephen Gardiner, had to take drastic measures to prohibit the reformed pronunciation.⁹²

It is important to remember that the movement for *recta pronuntiatio* did not have any real supporters during the period in which the Josquin generation would have received their education in grammar. In fact, with the exception of the use of the vernacular to help teach it, Latin was taught to schoolboys of the mid-fifteenth century through basically the same method as it was to Leonin and Perotin.⁹³ Erasmus's comment on singers' diction was

⁹⁰ Ibid., 422-25.

⁹¹ 'Ut autem qui musices periti sunt, rectius pronuntiant etiam, non cantantes...' *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* 1/4, ed. by M. Cytowska (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing, 1973), p.40; trans. by Verstraete, p. 398.

⁹² For a documentation of the debate at Cambridge, see J. Cheke, *De pronuntiatione Graecae potissimum linguae disputationes cum Stephano Vuintoniensi Episcopo* [Stephen Gardiner] (Basel, 1555).

⁹³ Cf. R. Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (Cambridge:

written about singers born around the turn of the century and the effects of his interest in Latin pronunciation would only be felt by the next generation still (that of Vicentino and Zarlino). Their own increased sensitivity to prosody may be yet another reason why music with clear text-setting receives praise from this later generation, during which the movement for *recta pronuntiatio* blossomed—as did the reception of these fifteenth-century composers.

Nevertheless, as Thomas Schmidt-Beste has argued, it is not just the changing pronunciation of Latin, but the complex way it is then applied to music that creates the confusion in word-tone relations in motets.⁹⁴ He suggests that the sound of Latin, in relationship to its context as sung poetry or prosody, may inform us about the very nature of composition in the fifteenth century. As Schmidt-Beste puts it, it is not a development in the art and style, in reference to the way text is placed in composition, but rather a change in the sound of text itself.⁹⁵ This may be so, and certainly in the case of 'Die Frage der 'französischen' Endbetonung',⁹⁶ as he has termed it, the sound of Latin must inform underlay (a French scribe or composer may underlay text in one way, based on their understanding of accent and number of syllables, while an Italian scribe or composer might underlay the same text differently). It remains clear, however, that the broadest changes in Latin pronunciation occurred in the sixteenth, not the fifteenth century, and the changing

Cambridge University Press, 2001), esp. 'The Fifteenth Century: an Era of Failed Reform', pp. 124-72 where the author presents the surprising traditionalism found even in Niccolò Perotti's 1475 *Rudimenta grammatices*. I have recently compared the latter to the pseudo-Donatus primers often known as *lani* in an attempt to verify Black's position. Perotti's method of education certainly seems remarkably similar to the medieval pseudo-Donatus in its reliance on catechistic style of grammar teaching and also on memorisation of key sacred passages.

⁹⁴ Textdeklamation, p. 496.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 35-40.

relationship between words and music, if partially a result from these changes in Latin pronunciation, must have occurred in the sixteenth century as well.⁹⁷

3.7 Tinctoris (again) and music as adornment of words

At the beginning of this chapter I suggested that one of the problems with accepting an inextricable link between words and music in motets is that contemporary theory does not speak to this relationship beyond the most general terms. This may be true, but even general terms can sometimes be enlightening. For a closing example, we might conveniently return to Tinctoris's *Complexus*—a work more related to humanistic writings on *musica* than music theory in its more technical sense.

In an age when man still recognised the pleasure of God as the chief end of all creation, it is no surprise that Tinctoris began his *Complexus effectuum musicæ* (Naples, ca. 1480) praising music's ability to do just that – 'musica Deum delectat.'⁹⁸ This first effect made plain, the theorist goes on to posit his second effect, 'musica laudes Dei decorat' (which for the moment I shall translate as 'music adorns the praises of God').

In the first effect, music pleases God autonomously, through sweetness and harmony, but in the second effect music must work alongside something else, namely the praises of God. Tinctoris goes on to cite examples from classical sources as well as those of the 'vera religio' and in all of his examples it is a verbal praise that music adorns ('*decorare*'). Tinctoris

⁹⁷ David Fallows has argued, on the contrary, that it is pronunciation itself, and not its application to music, that creates the discrepancies in underlay we commonly encounter. See 'French and Italian accentuation in Josquin's motets', in Nicoletta Guidobaldi, ed., *Regards croisés: Musiques, musiciens, artistes et voyageurs entre France et Italie au XVe siècle* (Paris and Tours 2002), pp. 105-118

⁹⁸ 'Music pleases God', '*On the Dignity*', pp. 68-69.

took the meaning of '*decorare*' for granted. It was not his purpose to explain the term. Consequently, the classical and biblical citations in the *Complexus* give little insight into his understanding of the ambiguous word.⁹⁹

Both in Classical and Renaissance contexts, two related meanings emerge for '*decorare*'— one of decoration and one of honour. The term '*decorare*' finds its closest cognate in our 'to decorate' as the verb is used by the military in relation to medals. The best way to define the verb within Renaissance Latin is to see it in context, and no better context can be found than Lorenzo Valla's *Discourse on the Forgery of the Alleged Donation of Constantine*.¹⁰⁰ The *Donation* itself uses the verb in its honorific sense when conferring on the clergy the same rank as the senators:

"Viris etiam diversi ordinis reverendissimis clericis sanctae Romanae ecclesiae servientibus, illud culmen singularis potentiae et praecellentiae habere sancimus, cuius amplissimus noster senatus videtur gloria adornari, id est patricios, consules effici. Nec non in ceteris dignitatibus imperialibus eos promulgavimus *decorari*.

"And we decree also, as to these men of different rank, the most reverend clergy who serve the holy Roman church, that they have that same eminence of distinguished power and excellence, by the glory of which it seems proper for our most illustrious Senate to be adorned; that is, that they be made patricians, consuls, —and also we have proclaimed that they be *decorated* with the other imperial dignities.¹⁰¹

In this sense, it is rank that adorns and '*decorari*' is used almost interchangeably with '*adornari*'. Valla chides this honorific use of '*adornari*', however, as a barbarism:

Utrum magis insequar, sententiarum an verborum stoliditatem?

Which shall I censure the more, the stupidity of the ideas, or of the words?

⁹⁹ Tincoris cites Virgil, Pompeius, Quintilian, David, and Ambrose.

¹⁰⁰ Written in 1440 and extant in *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codex Vaticanus 5314* (dated 7th Dec. 1451). Editio princeps: 1517 (by Ulrich von Hütten).

¹⁰¹ L. Valla, *Discourse*, ed. and trans. by C. B. Coleman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922), pp. 102-103 (*emphasis mine*). I have retained Coleman's distinction between 'decorate' and 'adorn' in translating '*decorari*' and '*adornari*'.

Sententiarum audistis. Verborum haec est; ut dicat senatum videri adornari, quasi non utique adornetur, et quidem adornari gloria;

You have heard about the ideas; here are illustrations of his words. He says, "It seems proper for our Senate to be adorned" (as though it were not assuredly adorned), and to be adorned forsooth with "glory."¹⁰²

When he uses '*decorare*' himself it has a much more cosmetic sense. In demonstrating that the copious details of the forgery in themselves undermine its credibility he writes:

Atque ut per omnes numeros fabula impleatur, dantur clericis equi, ne asinario illo Christi more super asellos sedeant; et dantur non operti sive instrati operimentis coloris albi, sed *decorati* colore albo.

And that the story may be filled in in every respect, horses are given the clergy,—lest they sit on asses' colts in that asinine way of Christ's! And they are given horses, not covered nor saddled with coverings of white, but *decorated* with white color.¹⁰³

Whether or not Tinctoris meant his '*decorare*' in this more cosmetic sense, one could not argue with the universality of his axiom for Renaissance devotees. What we can perceive of his nuanced meaning is salutary for modern attempts at understanding the sacred music of his generation because in using this word, he combines a purely cosmetic notion of decoration (as we would now use the term) and a highly honorific sense of giving a holy thing what it deserves. What he does *not* do with his verb, however, is create a relationship of dependence between words and music. In Tinctoris's sense, '*musica*' and '*laudes Dei*' both work towards the same end—'*delectare Deum*', but they do so in different ways.

4 Conclusion

¹⁰² *ibid.*, pp. 114-15.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*(*emphasis mine*).

Most of the writing about music from around 1480 to 1520 tends to highlight its cosmic or absolute properties. While in the late fifteenth century, we see comparatively little interest in a relationship between words and music when it comes to theoretical writing, nevertheless, the interest in music's purely musical values fills in this void. It is through this very emphasis on musical values that we may explain why musicians saw no reason to theorise about the subject of word-music relations. The omission means that the subject *either* did not merit discussing *or* was not rationalised in a way that allowed it to be mentioned. *Either* the words were of so little interest to musicians that they had no use for a theory to describe their relationship to music *or* the relationship of words to music involved a process that had not yet been codified enough to create a theory. It seems that to decide which option accurately reflects the way motet texts related to their musical settings, we must examine motets themselves—how their texts were chosen and set. When laid to scrutiny, as will be demonstrated below, the diligence with which these texts were chosen betrays the profound importance of text in relation to the motet, thus undermining, in some ways, a position of absolute music. Yet for all the care, at times, in text selection, the formal features of motets betray musical structure to be a plausible reason for much of what we might call 'sensitivity to text'. Even where this musical soundness actually contributes to text-intelligibility or corresponds to poetic or semantic structure, there is some reason to regard musical organisation as an equal, if perhaps not superior, force in the construction of motets. Most importantly, however, textual and musical organisation need not always be at odds with one another, regardless of the composers' or listeners' prioritising.

Chapter Three

The Composer's Role in

Selecting Motet Texts

1. Patronage and the freedom of the composer

Contemporary theoretical writing outlines general thinking about words and music but the bearing that theory has on compositional practice is not always clear. It stands to reason, therefore, that investigating the way composers set words to music (or music to words) would prove of great benefit to this discussion. I will attempt such an investigation below. Before doing so, I should review what we know about the degree of choice exercised by composers over the texts they set. It is generally assumed that, as Howard Mayer Brown put it, 'unhampered by the unchanging words of the Mass Ordinary', composers of motets were 'free to choose the text that most stimulated [their] imagination'.¹ If this were the case, then the choice of motet texts might inform us as to their importance in the work overall. Brown's assumption, however, has never really been scrutinised. Moreover, it would be mistaken to regard the freedom Brown describes here as one synonymous with the 'unhampered' creativity enjoyed by composers from the nineteenth century onward. The notion of freedom for the fifteenth-century musician is a complicated one. There is a great deal of evidence already uncovered that suggests their lives to have been circumscribed by their position as the servants of their patrons. The pertinent question is: were the terms of their patronage such that they governed the texts set in motet composition?

¹ Regarding Josquin in *Music in the Renaissance* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1976), p. 122.

It is perhaps helpful to remember how closely musicians were tied to their patrons. There is a great deal of difference between a patron-artist relationship where an independent artist is commissioned to complete a specific work from within his own domicile, and a relationship where the artist is a live-in servant.² Most of the musicians of the fifteenth century about whom we have significant biographic detail were boarding 'employees' of a church or court. They were on a set annual salary and were required to complete musical tasks as needed. As such, their obedience to the wishes of their patrons seems a matter of sustenance. The way this dependency affected composition is proportionate to how explicitly patrons defined their 'job requirements'.

The dependency that existed between a patron and artist could not be considered one-way. Persons of political power, both secular and ecclesiastical, wished to develop the best and most talented *cappellae* they could, for the glory of God or the splendour of their court. In the case of the church, as Roger Bowers has suggested, there was little choice about the matter of whether or not to sing the liturgy. This was a major requirement and function. Large churches, therefore, simply had to employ singers for the singing of the liturgy as well as to sing in side chapels endowed by wealthy benefactors.³ It was from the comfort of these necessary singing positions that 'composers' developed.

In the case of patrons like Ercole d'Este of Ferrara, Galeazzo Maria Sforza in Milan, and Alexander VI in Rome, the demand for an excellent

² See R. Bowers, 'Obligation, Agency, and *Laissez-Faire*: The Promotion of Polyphonic Composition for the Church in Fifteenth-Century England', in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by I. Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 1-2.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

chapel is evidenced by the lively exchange of singers between the courts. There is an abundance of evidence to suggest that singers changed hands without the permission of their patrons. Such activities show that, though a servant, the musician had liberties unusual to his class.

For instance, in 1491 the singer Filippo de Primis left the court of Ercole I and joined the Papal Chapel in Rome. Ercole did not wish to be without Filippo's services and had his ambassador to Rome bring it to his Holiness's attention that the singer actually left Ferrara without permission. The scene is recounted in a letter to Ercole from his ambassador where the latter describes the Pope's action to dismiss the offending singer.⁴ The Pope seemed to think it impolitic to keep a singer who ended up under his patronage as a run-away.

It also seems that Ercole might not have had the same scruples. In a 1475 letter to Ercole, Galeazzo Sforza writes:

Because we are certain that your Lordship would neither wish nor permit that any of your singers should steal away any of ours ...we must advise your Lordship that a certain Michele Feyt, a singer of ours, has left our service [along with] a Don Daniele, another one of our singers.⁵

The records of Ercole's own *cappella*, however, note the hiring of 'Michele cantore' in an entry contemporary to this letter. As Lewis Lockwood pointed out, it seems that in 1491 the Pope was graciously doing what Ercole himself had not done sixteen years prior. Even the ethics of the aristocracy would bend to keep a good singer.

⁴ The letter is reproduced in L. Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, pp. 194-95 where the bishop who was ordered to dismiss Filippo expressed his displeasure at the dismissal, evidently because he thought highly of Filippo and also because 'this was the habit of all singers, to leave their posts with and without permission, that anyone can excuse them, as they do it every day, and that the chapel had greater need'.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

As Paul and Lora Merkley have recently demonstrated, the verifiably acrimonious recruiting practices of Galeazzo Sforza did not leave him in any position to complain.⁶ His attempts to steal singers from the Neapolitan chapel in the period from November 1472 to the summer of 1474 left serious wounds between his court and the court of Ferrante—an outcome only surprising if we underestimate the value of singers to patrons. In 1473, Ferrante was sufficiently incited by Galeazzo's pilfering to delay signing a treaty—one that, according to Galeazzo, was maintaining peace between Milan and Venice.⁷ Almost beyond belief, however, is the correspondence that verifies Galeazzo's approval to entice virtuoso tenor Jean Cordier from the Neapolitan chapel in May 1474—a year after Galeazzo begged, in his own hand, no less, for the King's kindness in the matter of the treaty.⁸ While the scandal with Naples continued, Galeazzo recruited in Rome and Ferrara, as well as his endeavours further abroad, in France, Burgundy, and even England.⁹ Galeazzo's aggressive recruiting practices and willingness even to risk diplomatic relations for the sake of his chapel should demonstrate the importance of singers and the freedom concomitant with such importance.

The practice of singers relocating according to their own free agency was not isolated to Italian *cappellae*, as the biography of Alexander Agricola

⁶ See *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, Studi sulla storia della musica in Lombardia, III (Brepols: Turnhout, 1999), pp. 41-64. Particularly incriminating is the letter dated 6 November 1472 from Galeazzo to his ambassador to Naples, Francesco Maletta, explaining that Francesco should financially encourage singers of the chapel there to come north to Milan. Galeazzo goes so far as to encourage Francesco to '[a]bove all take care that neither his most serene majesty the king nor others might imagine that we have been the cause of removing the singers from those parts' (ibid., p. 42). Unfortunately for Galeazzo, letters enticing singers from the Neapolitan court to Milan were intercepted by the King's agents and Ferrante was very displeased. See ibid., pp.43-53.

⁷ See the transcription of the autograph letter from Galeazzo to Ferrante in ibid., pp. 52-53.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 53-54.

⁹ On Rome, Ferrara, France, and Burgundy, see ibid., pp. 64-77. For recruitment in England, see the letter of introduction for one of Galeazzo's musicians to the court of Edward IV in ibid., p. 60.

proves. In 1491 Agricola left his patron, Charles VIII of France, without permission, taking up a position as a colleague of Isaac's in Florence.¹⁰ Not satisfied there, yet still technically a servant of Charles VIII, Agricola left Florence in 1492 to sing and write for King Ferrante I in Naples. Ferrante, however, wished for the good will of France and therefore honoured Charles's request to return the singer. Ferrante was careful to protect Agricola, writing of his return that he 'certo vene voluntieri'.¹¹ Later Agricola obtained permission and finally returned to Italy, first to Florence and then to Naples.¹²

In a sense, singers were obviously bound to the households of their patrons but these examples point to the mobility, licit or otherwise, that went on in the lives of well-respected musicians. Mobility afforded a certain amount of freedom and thus was perhaps especially attractive for musicians interested in securing a position that would afford the opportunity to compose. Within the confines of an established *cappella*, however, the musician's day-to-day life was theoretically restricted by contract.

Hundreds of documents record the particular terms of employment expected of a musician. One such example comes from the records of the Baptistery in Florence in 1482, providing an itemised contract for singers:

Item, the herewith inscribed singers, together with the other singers of the convent are obliged to rehearse those things they themselves sing in the church, whether it be a mass, a motet, or a magnificat, etc. and that is for every occasion on which they must sing in the church not only on feast days, but also on ferial days. And if one of them absents himself, he should be noted down and fined two *soldi*, etc.

¹⁰ See M. 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. by J. LaRue (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 665-73 (pp. 668-69).

¹¹ A. Atlas, 'Alexander Agricola and Ferrante I of Naples', *JAMS*, 30 (1977), 313-19.

¹² A. Atlas and A. Cummings, 'Agricola Ghiselin and Alfonso II of Naples', *JM*, 7 (1989), 540-48. The letters supplied in the above three articles work together to fill in the period from 1490-1495 in Agricola's life.

Item, each time one of the above said or herewith inscribed singers is absent, whether at mass, at vespers, or at lauds, he incurs a fine of one *carlion* for each time (if on a ferial day), and of two *carlini* for each time (if on a feast day), and in case some or all of the same singers are absent from singing either in the church or in the chapel because they wish to sing in another church or in another place at that hour, then each one of them will incur a fine of one gold ducat, and having observed all these things the same singers may sing and teach and do what they please in whatever suitable place and in whatever church they so please.¹³

In addition to noting what the singers must do, the record indicates that outside these stipulations of practice and performance (which were certainly time-consuming) the singers had the option to do with their talents whatever they liked. The clause was probably intended to give singers the freedom to perform elsewhere but those among them who were capable would have been free to compose and distribute copies of their works, provided this did not interfere with their duties to the Baptistery.

The musical requirements of the above contract are merely practical – the singers cannot absent themselves from performance or practice of ‘those things they themselves sing in the church’. There is no requirement of a specific repertoire to be sung. There are instances, however, of musicians having the subject matter of their repertoire limited by contract. Such an instance occurred in Florence Cathedral.

In 1971 Frank D’Accone unveiled several documents attesting to the terms under which musicians worked in the cathedral. The records from 1st December 1501 read as follows:

...and the said chapel is obliged to sing figural music only every Saturday morning at the mass of our Lady in the chapel [situated] between the two front doors; and *laudi* in the same chapel on the evenings of all feast days, as they have begun to do and as is

¹³ Cited after F. D’Accone, ‘The Singers of San Giovanni’, p. 333.

customary; and [second] vespers on every feast day, and mass in the choir on all solemn days in the said manner, that is, in figural music; and on those solemn occasions to sing all of those things that seem appropriate to the reverend chapter of canons of the said church, and especially [during] Holy Week, all of those songs and responsories that are customarily sung as well as any others deemed necessary by the aforesaid reverend chapter...¹⁴

In the Cathedral, the singers' repertoire was limited to the things already sung, or 'deemed necessary...by the chapter'. While this contract refers to performance and not composition, it stands to reason that the 'necessity' of the canons must indeed have been the mother of invention.

We cannot speculate on what types of things composers might have been required to set within the category of 'others deemed necessary' because these documents largely refer to performance, not composition. Moreover, it is hard to know what texts were 'necessary' in respect of the normal uses of motets. As noted, the question of motet function has been discussed with some controversy in musicological literature.¹⁵ Motets may have functioned within public worship on exceptional occasions, as well as in private or semi-private worship within courts or endowed side chapels. It is generally accepted, however, that locating a motet's text within the liturgy does not confirm the performance of the work within that slot of the church calendar. Given the lack of genre description in the above contract, one is left to wonder whether the chapter of the cathedral requested specific texts to be sung based on the requirement of liturgy or simply that some sort of 'figured' music should be sung, given how well it ornamented important feast days. Furthermore, the contract could amount to a stipulation for motets with strictly

¹⁴ After F. D'Accone, 'The Musical Chapels at the Florentine Cathedral', p. 3.

¹⁵ See chapter one, notes 2-7.

liturgical texts but it is difficult to imagine, based on this contract alone, that the chapter might have dictated texts compiled from various liturgical and biblical sources, as is the case with many motets preserved in manuscripts associated with the Cathedral.¹⁶

A record that seems to have applied specifically to pieces we would now label as motets comes from Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence. In April of 1480 Matheo Pauli was paid eight *libras*, fifteen *soldi*, and ten *denari* '[...]pro scripturis et intonaturis cannis [sic] figurati pro Lamentationibus Hieremie et responsis ipsarum lamentationum et aliarum rerum compositarum predicte ebdomode'. ('for writing and singing figured songs on the Lamentations of Jeremiah and responsorials of these lamentations and of the other things written for that week.')¹⁷ Pauli was salaried as a singer, so 'pro scripturis' here might simply mean 'for copying'. Strictly speaking, 'pro scripturis' means 'for writing' but in this context, given that the 'writing' is specified 'for that week', it might imply original composition. It could therefore be inferred that Pauli was paid to set texts from the categories outlined in the contract.

Allowing that the record describes composition, the prescription of a category like '*pro Lamentationibus*' still leaves an amount of choice. The categories mentioned, however, may not have been the only prescription given to Pauli. We might read between the lines and assume the canons of Santa Maria del Fiore had already explained which Lamentation texts were required. Perhaps, then, Pauli already knew, and therefore specific texts were omitted here, given that the record was post factum and that the canons already had the settings in hand when the record was written. Nevertheless,

¹⁶ For one example from Florence, *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale II.1.232*, see chapter six on Isaac's *Prophetarum Maxime*.

¹⁷ From A. Seay, 'The 15th century Cappella at Santa Maria del Fiore', p. 51, trans. mine.

the vagueness of their record suggests thematic rather than specific prescription.

2. Occasional motets

Heinrich Isaac composed at least fifty motets. Of those, we know that several were composed for particular events. *Virgo prudentissima* (a 6), for example, was likely composed in connection with coronation of Maximilian I in 1507 and *Optime divino/ Da pacem/ Sacerdos et pontifex* was probably for the meeting of Cardinal Mattäus Lang and Leo X in 1513.¹⁸ These two motets, whether commissioned or not, can only be linked, however, to an event. There is no specific text dictated, though in the case of the latter, it is the text compilation process that helps us to discern the event for which it was conceived. More prescriptive in text is Isaac's *Quis dabit capiti meo aquam?*, which was composed to commemorate the death of Lorenzo de' Medici.¹⁹ In this instance, Isaac set a poem by Angelo Poliziano. It is not known whether Isaac was asked to set this text or whether he chose to honour the great *paterfamilias* by setting a poem written by Lorenzo's dear friend. If he was required to set the text, he at least had the flexibility to substantially alter it, as has been rehearsed by George Warren Drake.²⁰ Of course, Isaac did set *Un di lieto gia mai*, a poem by his patron Lorenzo but there is a vast difference in genre between the ballate and the motet.²¹ Furthermore, we have no way of knowing the degree of collaboration that went into such a ballate and whether

¹⁸ See R. Strohm and E. Kempson, 'Isaac, Henricus', in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 12, pp. 580-82.

¹⁹ See A. Atlas, 'A note on Isaac's *Quis dabit capiti meo aquam?*', *JAMS*, 27 (1974), 103-10.

²⁰ See G. W. Drake, 'The Ostinato Synthesis: Isaac's Lament for Il Magnifico', in *Liber amicorum John Steele: a Musicological Tribute*, ed. by G. W. Drake (New York: Pendragon, 1997), pp. 57-85. where the author discusses the (possibly intentional) discrepancy between Poliziano's poem and Isaac's motet.

²¹ See F. D'Accone, 'Heinrich Isaac in Florence: New and Unpublished Documents', *MQ*, 49 (1963), 464-83 (p. 467).

Isaac requested permission to set Lorenzo's poem or whether Lorenzo requested Isaac to do so.

Looking to Obrecht's career we see much the same thing. He composed *Mille quingentis* as a memorial to his father, *O preciosissime* perhaps for the Holy Blood procession in Bruges, and *Inter preclarissimas virtutes* as an application to an Italian court.²² Of his twenty-seven motets, however, we know the events surrounding only a handful and in all cases it is only the event we know and not an actual text requirement. In the case of *O preciosissime*, the text for such a procession was not mandated by liturgical use, so the composer might have chosen from many texts on the blood of Christ.²³ As for *Mille quingentis* and *Inter preclarissimas*, which will be discussed below, their uses are so personal that it is impossible to think of their texts being mandated by someone else, though the necessity of occasion merits their being compiled and set to music.

As for Josquin, of course, there are many known occasional motets, though our knowledge of them is perhaps more a result of scholarly attention to Josquin than of Josquin's attention to occasional motets. In 1969 Edward Lowinsky argued that two were specifically requested of Josquin by his patron, Ascanio Sforza of Milan: *Fama malum* for the wedding of the Duke of Milan, and *Absalon fili mi* for the condolence of Alexander VI.²⁴ Although

²² R. Strohm, *The Rise of European Music 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 486-87 and 633. See also R. Wegman, 'Music and Musicians at the Guild of Our Lady in Bergen op Zoom c. 1470-1510', *EMH*, 9 (1990), 175-249 (p. 210n) and R. Wegman, *Born for the Muses: Jacob Obrecht, Life and Masses* (London: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 288n. For *Mille quingentis* and *Inter preclarissimas virtutes* see below. For another motet with a text that gives some clues on its original use, see chapter five.

²³ R. Strohm., *The Rise of European Music*, p. 486.

²⁴ E. Lowinsky, 'Josquin des Prez and Ascanio Sforza', in *Congresso Internazionale sul Duomo di Milano Atti*, ed. by M.L. Gatti Perer (Milan, 1969), pp.17-22 as referenced in *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival Conference*, ed. by E. Lowinsky and B. Blackburn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 24.

Josquin's relationship with Ascanio has since been questioned,²⁵ and Josquin's authorship of *Absalon* has been all but refuted,²⁶ we may nevertheless note that composition seems to result more from the event than from a dictated text, for reasons beyond dispute.

The example of *Absalon filii mi* is useful because the mood of its music seems closely attuned to the sentiment of the text – both communicate mourning. Yet, as Meconi argues, the text-music relationship in *Absalon* amounts to general mood, not text declamation.²⁷ Meconi uses this distinction to point to La Rue as the more-likely composer but the distinction is equally useful when considering the role of a text in an occasional motet. In the case of *Absalon*, it seems important for the composer to capture the general mood of the text in the form and even range of the piece. It was not as important to declaim the text clearly.

²⁵ Lowinsky's suggestion of this relationship was unsubstantiated in 'Ascanio Sforza's Life, A Key to Josquin's Biography and an Aid to the Chronology of His Works', in *Josquin des Prez* pp. 31-75. William Elders suggested its validity in an argument from negation in 'New Light on the Dating of Josquin's Hercules Mass', *TVNM*, 48 (1998), 172-49 (p. 114 et seq.). In 1998, Paul Merkley and Lora Matthews (now Merkley) presented new document evidence supporting Josquin's presence in Milan in 1484 (in 'Iudochus de Picardia and Jossequin Lebloitte dit Desprez: the Names of the Singer(s)', *JM*, 16 (Spring, 1998), 200-226. In the *Josquin Companion*, ed. R. Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), Sherr (informed by Adalbert Roth's forthcoming 'Jossekijn van Kessel e Josquin des Prez') filled in some detail of Josquin's whereabouts in the years between 1484-c.1495 when Josquin seems to travel with Cardinal Ascanio Sforza from Milan to Rome. However the relationship ended (and it certainly did by 1503 when Josquin was recorded as a member of the Este court in Ferrara), Josquin's association with Ascanio was long-lived, if we may believe that the 'Josquin Dascanio' of Petrucci's *Frottole libro primo* (1504) and the 'Josquin d'Ascanio' of *Frottole libro tertio* (1505) are indeed Desprez (see Sherr, pp. 16-17).

²⁶ The contest began with Jaap van Benthem in his 'Lazarus versus Absalon: about Fiction and Fact in the Netherlands Motet (for William Elders)', *TVNM*, 39 (1989), 54-82, (p. 66 et seq.). Independently, Joshua Rifkin came to similar conclusions—namely, that *Absalon* had been misattributed and would more readily fit into La Rue's œuvre—in his 'Problems of Authorship in Josquin: Some Impolitic Observations with a Postscript on *Absalon, filii mi*', in *Proceedings of the International Josquin Symposium, Utrecht 1986*, ed. W. Elders (Utrecht, 1991), pp. 45-52. The attribution to La Rue, however, was questioned by N. Davidson in 'Absalon filii mi Reconsidered', *TVNM*, 46 (1996), 42-56. The most conclusive summary of the argument against Josquin and concomitant refutation of Davidson's article came from Honey Meconi in 'Another Look at Absalon', *TVNM*, 48 (1998), 3-29. Meconi admittedly did not give watertight evidence of an attribution to La Rue (in the face of current evidence, this would be impossible) but she does make plain the many facts that point clearly against an attribution to Josquin.

²⁷ 'Another Look at Absalon', p. 11.

There are some reasons to think that Josquin set *Misericordias Domini in aeternum* as a consolation for the dying Louis XI.²⁸ That he may have done this for reasons spanning from sincere lament to political expedience is not beyond speculation. His connections with the court of Paris, however, still remain shrouded in mystery and there is no reason to suspect that Josquin was required to set the French monarch's beloved Psalm cento.²⁹ It is in situations like this, however, that we see the difference between the modern and Renaissance 'choice' of texts to set.

Indeed, the example of Josquin is an apt one for more than just the facts of his political connections. It has often been noted that Josquin's corpus displays noteworthy stylistic variety, often grouped into three distinct categories.³⁰ This is, no doubt, partly the result of his exposure to a variety of musical institutions. Earlier scholars theorised that these three stylistic groupings were the result of the development of a maturing compositional style.³¹ This maturation process was hypothesised, however, without the benefit of more recent discoveries about Josquin's life, in light of which, it seems that the composer's style was more eclectic than gradually

²⁸ See P. Macey, 'Josquin's *Misericordias Domini* and Louis XI', *EM*, 19 (1991), 183-77.

²⁹ Jenny Thomas has argued, in a paper entitled 'Never mind the Gap' given at the 2004 Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, that the gap of sources surrounding Josquin's biography corresponds to the dearth of sources in the court of Louis XI and may, by negation, link Josquin there. Paul Merkley has also argued for a relationship between Josquin and the later French court of Louis XII based on Josquin's appointment as dean of the chapel of Condé in 'Josquin Desprez in Ferrare', *JM*, 18 (Autumn, 2001), 544-83.

³⁰ Most recently, Ludwig Finscher adopted a tripartite division of Josquin's four-voice motets, based on stylistic principles and text (i.e. psalm motets in contradistinction to other texts) rather than chronology, in his article for *The Josquin Companion*, pp.249-69 (see p. 251).

³¹ See especially M. Antonowycz, 'The Present State of Josquin Research', in *Report of the Eighth Congress of the International Musicological Society*, ed. J. LaRue (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961), I, 53-65, where he divides Josquin's style into three distinct periods based on chronology. See also H. Osthoff's *Josquin des Prez*, 2 vols (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1962-65).

progressive.³² In his third and most mature style, Josquin was once described as, 'a brilliant thinker, a splendid architect and colourist in sound, and a profound interpreter of text'; the lattermost quality is evident in much, though by no means all, of his music.³³ In sixteenth century anecdotal testimony, Josquin was presented as a slow composer, only publishing 'after much deliberation and with manifold corrections'.³⁴ Yet we know that his works vary in style and, as applies here, text-music relationships in a way that might superficially undermine this testimony, at least as it could be universally applied to his corpus.

We might assume that whatever Josquin's predilection towards composing slowly and with consideration, he must have been forced, at times, to produce more quickly—occasional motets are, after all, the result of occasions that come up quickly and require a prompt musical response. This is not the place for another stylistic study of Josquin, but it is pertinent to this discussion to consider the varieties of text-music relationships in his corpus as possibly connected to the pressures on him to write promptly (whether self-imposed or otherwise). In light of the variety we find in Josquin's text treatment, we may tentatively assume that this deliberate and careful composer was willing either to: (a) submit a work before he had considered

³² See also Richard Sherr's introduction to *The Josquin Companion*, p. 6. The most radical change in our understanding of Josquin's 'developing style' resulted from Thomas Noblitt's assertion (in 'Die Datierung der Handschrift Mus. Ms. 3154 der Staatsbibliothek München', *Die Musikforschung*, 27 (1974), 36-56) that *Ave maria...virgo serena* was copied into a German source as early as 1476. Joshua Rifkin subsequently produced paleographical evidence for a modified copying date c. 1484 in 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin's *Ave maria...virgo serena*', *JAMS*, 56 (Summer, 2003), 239-350. Even so, to find out that this motet, which would fall stylistically into Antonowycz's third and most mature period, is actually among the earliest motets ascribed to Josquin, would demonstrate Josquin as more eclectic (or advanced) than ever previously considered.

³³ Antonowycz, p. 57.

³⁴ Heinrich Glarean, *Dodekachordon*, trans. by C. Miller, (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1965), p. 265. See also, Rob Wegman's chapter, 'Who Was Josquin?', in *The Josquin Companion*, pp. 21-50 (p. 35 et seq.)

how to articulate its text in a way that we would now describe as sensitive (b) submit a work that would hold together based on musical merit, whatever the merit of the text treatment may be.

In his 1521 *Opus Macaronicorum...*, the comic poet Teofilo Folengo makes a list of some works written by Josquin and mentions a request from the Duke of Ferrara that Josquin compose a *Miserere*.³⁵ In this context Folengo could only mean Ercole I. Of the 102 motets (currently) attributed to Josquin, we know only of this one text prescription from a patron and a relative handful of situations requiring him to set a fitting text for a specific occasion. Thus, there seems little evidence that he was frequently required to write settings of specific texts, even if he was required (by his patron or his conscience) to set texts suitable to the patron's occasional needs. This suggests the validity of Howard Mayer Brown's assertion that the composer enjoyed some freedom of text choice.

3 Composer's texts

While there are examples of patrons requesting a motet for a specific instance that would certainly dictate the textual content if not the text itself, their number is small compared to the number of motets still extant from the period. Of course, many motets are simply settings of liturgical texts copied directly from various uses. While their choice is of some interest, their presence is not a surprise. It is therefore beneficial to focus on texts that show an element of composition or compilation in and of themselves in order to illustrate the role of words in motets.

³⁵ See L. Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, p. 261.

Relevant to the foregoing discussion is the existence of some motets with texts whose content suggests that they might have been written by the composer. These motet texts, and the music to which they were set, provide special insight into the way composers chose and manipulated texts while working outside liturgical demands. I will now endeavour a short examination of several motets with such texts. They are certainly exceptional in the repertoire and it is difficult to conceive how such motets could be used. The craft with which the texts themselves were prepared, however, betrays the high value of the texts to the composers.

3.1 **Compère: Omnium bonorum plena**

Sometime before accepting his post in Milan in 1474, a young Loyset Compère wrote *Omnium bonorum plena*, a setting of a prayer to the Virgin asking blessings for a list of musicians.³⁶ In addition to providing clues about Compère's life before his post in Milan, the motet also provides insight into how a text, presumably from the composer's own hand and thus of some importance to him, was to be joined with a musical setting. The poetry is as follows:

1] Omnium bonorum plena,
Virgo parensque serena,
quae sedes super sidera,
pulchra prudensque decora.

Full of all good things,
Serene virgin and mother,
Who sits above the stars,
Lovely, wise and gracious.

5] Assistens a dextris Patris,
Caeli terrae plasmatoris,
in vestitu de aurato
nullius manu formato,

Seated at the right of the father,
The creator of heaven and earth,
In golden raiment
Not made by hands,

cf: De tous biens plaine

Nullus tibi comparari
10] potest certe nec aequari,
cui voce angelica

Surely none can be compared
with you, nor equalled,
You to whom the angelic voice

³⁶ For dating *Omnium bonorum plena* see L. Finscher, *Loyset Compère (c.1450-1518): Life and Works*, MSD, 12 (Neuhausen- Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1964), pp. 14 and 138.

dictum est Ave Maria.

Proclaimed 'Hail Mary'.

Turbata parum fuisti,
sed consulta respondisti,
15] ecce ancilla Domini
sicut refers fiat mihi.

Little troubled were you,
But, asked, replied,
'Behold the handmaid of the Lord.
As you say, so be it with me.'

Dulcis fuit responsio
data caelesti nuntio,
per quam statim concepisti
20] natum Dei et portasti

Sweet was this reply
Given to the celestial envoy,
So that you straightaway conceived
The son of God and bore him.

Illum nec non peperisti
et post partum permanisti
Virgo pura et nitida,
Virgoque immaculata.

You did indeed deliver him
and after the birth, remained
Virgin pure and pristine,
and Virgin without stain.

Secunda Pars

Omnium bonorum plena
25] peccatorum medicina,
cuius proprium orare
est atque preces fundare,

Full of all good things,
Healer of sinners,
To whom it is proper to offer
Prayers and entreaties,

Pro miseris peccantibus
a Deo recedentibus
30] funde preces ad filium
pro salute canentium.

For poor sinners
Falling away from God
Offer prayers to your son
For the salvation of those who sing.

Et primo pro G Dufay
pro que me mater exaudi,
luna totius musicae,
35] atque cantorum lumine.

And first for G[uillaume] Dufay
For whom, mother, hear me,
You, moon of all music,
Him, light of singers.

Pro Jo Dussart, Busnoys,
Caron,
Magistris cantilenarum
Georget de Brelles, Tinctoris,
cimbali tui honoris,

For Jo[hannes] Dussart, Busnoys,
Caron,
Masters of the little songs,
Georget de Brelles, Tinctoris,
With cymbals in your honour,

40] ac Okeghen, Des Pres, Corbet,
Hemart, Faugues et Molinet,
atque Regis omnibusque
canentibus simul et me

And Okeghen, Des Pres, Corbet,
Hemart, Faugues and Molinet,
And Regis and all
Who sing, and likewise for me,

Loyset Compère orante
45] pro magistris puramente,
quorum memor Virgo vale
semper Gabrielis Ave.

Loyset Compère, who prays
For these masters with a pure mind,
Remembering whom farewell, o virgin,
Forever her to whom Gabriel said 'Hail'.³⁷

³⁷ Text and trans. by N. Robertson published in the CD liner notes to *Loyset Compère*, Orlando Consort, MET CD 1002-01. I have made one emendation, however, to line thirty-seven. Robertson has translated 'cantilenarum' as 'of the flowing line' in an effort to describe what he must have thought to be a conflation of 'cantus' and 'lena'. The word 'cantilena', however, simply means 'ditty' or 'little song'.

Granted, this is not the most elegant of Latin poetry. The insistence on rhyme means that the metre is often forced, the word-choice awkward, and even then the rhyme only vaguely works. Nevertheless, the major poetic problems arise only in the last sixteen lines when the poet has to incorporate names into the metre and rhyme scheme. This considered, the poem shows a great deal of effort, particularly in the *prima pars*, on the part of a writer whose career was not in poetry.

The first line is a translation of the opening words of Hayne von Ghizeghem's widely circulated chanson, *De tous biens plaine*, whose tenor Compère adopts as a *cantus prius factus* throughout. By employing material from this worldly song, Compère draws an allegory connecting the relationship of poet and mistress in the chanson to himself and the Virgin in the motet. As Finscher points out, the fact that the *cantus prius factus* of this motet comes from *De tous biens plaine est ma mistresse* cannot be assumed a coincidence, given the lavish praises poured out to the Virgin in Compère's own text.³⁸ In this allegorical gesture, musical and textual semantics meet.

Neither of the two surviving sources of *Omnium bonorum*³⁹ contain the text of *De tous biens plaine*, however, other than as an incipit when the *cantus firmus* begins in the *tenor*. Outside this instance, the *tenor* in both sources receives the 'Omnium bonorum' text throughout, albeit sparsely presented. This seems to indicate that the 'De tous biens plaine' text was not to be used in the performance of the motet. The composer uses the chanson melody, not the text, to draw up the connection between 'ma mistresse' and *Mater noster*.

³⁸ *Life and Works*, p. 137.

³⁹ Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, San Pietro B 80, fols. 27^r-30^v, Trent, Castello del Buon Consiglio Ms. 91, fols. 33^r-35^v. See *Opera omnia*, p. 46. For a partial facsimile of the former, see *Opera omnia*, plate XI.

The melody alone accentuates the meaning of the motet text, by virtue of its associated text.

The first eight lines of the poem establish Mary's seat in heaven, and by doing so, establish the elevated position of her intercessory prayers on behalf of men. Mary is lifted up as the self-proclaimed 'handmaid of the Lord' and because of this worthiness she will be a worthy intercessor for the composer. The fifth and sixth stanzas discuss Mary's role in the advent of Christ and support the doctrine of Mary's perpetual virginity.

Having established Mary's goodness and accordingly earned the right, the composer proceeds to ask for prayer from the Virgin in the *secunda pars*. By doing so, he pays homage to his teachers and contemporaries. Dufay seems to be of primary influence on Compère, he being the one used to enlighten many other singers.⁴⁰ Compère likens Dufay to the heavenly body to which Mary is linked. In doing so, Compère may have been making a classical allusion to Dufay's senior status by employing Mary's sphere, 'luna', which was the same word used to describe the moon-shaped symbols on the feet of senators in the Roman republic. Dussart, Busnoys, and Caron are described as 'Magistris cantilenarum'; Compère must adopt the less approbatory word 'cantilenarum' to describe their art, as he is stuck for a rhyme with 'Caron' that will fill the metre—and even then, it only works if one considers the French nasalization of the dissimilar final vowels.

Compère establishes an allegorical relationship between the angelic voices in line eleven and himself in the penultimate line. Using the first person, Compère asks for the Virgin's intercession because he, like the

⁴⁰ See also *Life and works*, pp. 15-16.

angels, is saying 'ave'. He is one of those 'canentibus', who seek the virgin's favour. The semantic meaning of the petition, therefore, only makes sense in the context of a musical setting.

Compère's setting of his prayer for singers begins in a two-voice texture (*superius* and *contratenor*), separating the first couplet from the second by a cadence (see example 1). The second stanza is divided differently, however, with the first three lines set to a long-breathed duet between *contratenor* and *bassus*. In the final line of the stanza, the voicing changes to *superius* and *contratenor* with the *bassus* entering at the end both to strengthen the cadence and to establish the four-voice texture that signals the opening of the next section.

This next section, a setting of the third stanza, returns, more or less, to the couplet division of the opening stanza, the first couplet marked off by the presence of the *cantus firmus* and the second marked off by a duet. The setting of the two couplets overlap, however, because the tenor *cantus firmus*, which begins the setting of the first couplet, continues into the second couplet's, 'cui voce..', as does the *bassus*, with the two-voice texture of the new section only emerging in the setting of 'angelica...'. The second couplet of the stanza is clearly sectioned off, however, as it is set to its own imitative duet, which merely begins as the setting of the first couplet ends (see example 2).

After the duet, the *cantus firmus* enters again, and one might expect, given the role of the *cantus firmus* in the third stanza, that the *cantus firmus* would remain throughout the setting of the first couplet of this fourth stanza. In fact, the text of the complete first couplet is set only in the *superius*, while

the underlay for the other voices at the end of this four-part section is unclear (see example 3).⁴¹ There are certainly enough notes in all four voices for the syllables of the complete first couplet. Nevertheless, it is clear that the last word of the first couplet is reserved, to begin a new musical section in the *contratenor* and *bassus*. The text, 'respondisti,/ "ecce ancilla Domini/ sicut referes fiat mihi"', is set to its own duet (*contratenor* and *bassus*) that begins after the second phrase of the *cantus firmus* finishes. One could argue either way as to whether the text or the music governed the form here. The argument for musical governance would be based on placement of the *cantus firmus*—when the *cantus firmus* ends, a new section must begin, regardless of how this affects the setting.⁴² The argument for semantic governance of form is based on the ambiguity in the semantic phrase division of the fourth stanza. The first line seems to stand alone ('Turbata parum fuisti'). The second line, however, might divide into two parts: 'sed consulta' (but, asked,) and 'respondisti' ('replied'). The composer may have grouped the text to emphasise Mary's act of replying instead of isolating her famous words, 'ecce ancilla Domini'. In fact, the two methods, semantic and musical, are not at odds in this instance and whichever governed Compère's pen, the effect is the same. The listener hears a clear division of section as the *cantus firmus* finishes and the listener also hears the emphasis on the *reply* of Mary in the

⁴¹ In this example, I have omitted the italicized words from Finscher's edition to give the reader a better sense of the sources' consensus. Finscher chose to close the *cantus firmus* section with the closing word of the corresponding couplet, 'respondisti'. While there is good logic in Finscher's underlay, the sources group this word with the following duet which heralds the next musical section.

⁴² In the case of this stanza, the duet following the *cantus firmus* section has a shorter opening phrase that is followed, after a passing cadence, by a doubly-long second phrase. This invites the last word of the first couplet to be set to the short opening phrase and the entirety of the second couplet to be set to the longer phrase.

context of this narration, as opposed to a commonplace—‘*ecce ancilla Domini*’.

The couplet grouping continues in the fifth stanza, clear through the presence of the *cantus firmus* in the first couplet and the use of duet in the second. The *prima pars* finishes, however, with the entire sixth stanza set to four-voice polyphony with *cantus firmus*. It is clear thus far that Compère was attending to poetic structure, but not following a rigid pattern for how to incorporate that poetic structure in the form of his setting.

The *secunda pars* begins with a duet between *tenor* and *bassus*, which seems to mirror the opening of the *prima pars*. In fact, the duet opening the *secunda pars* is comprised of a rhythmically altered version of the *cantus firmus* in the *tenor* and a counterpoint in the *bassus*. The entirety of the stanza is set to duet but the first real cadence of the stanza, occurring on the ‘...est’ of the final line, interrupts the poetic form of the text. The division this cadence creates must result from semantic and not poetic governance. There is ample room in the setting for Compère to have placed the words however he wished (owing to the melismas), so there is no musical force requiring him to divide the text in a certain way. There is an autonomous semantic phrase that follows the cadence on ‘est’— ‘*atque preces fundare*’— and Compère’s text division sets the infinitive phrase on its own (see example 4).

The eighth stanza of the poem is also set entirely as a duet between the *superius* and *contratenor*, though there is a shift to *triplum* in the third line of the stanza. This might be heard as another couplet division (the first couplet in *duplum*, the second in *triplum*) but the duet returns to *duplum* in the middle of a melisma—at a point with no clear relation to the text.

Then the petitions for individual singers begin and the music becomes more and more clearly focused on emphasising these names. The 'prima', 'G. Dufay', has his name set syllabically and then Compère returns to imitation to end stanza nine. Stanza ten begins with a return to slower rhythmic values for the setting of Dussart's name while the others in this stanza are set to imitation. Finally, Compère resorts to a purely declamatory style for 'ac Okeghen, Des Pres, Courbet, Hemart, Faugues, et Molinet'. Although there have been many syllabic settings thus far, these are the first instances of pure syllabic homophony. While this was probably meant merely to emphasise the content of the text, the result is a passage of highly musical interest, its stylistic contrast serving as a musical climax for the motet.

The division of text for the last couplet of the eleventh stanza and the entirety of the twelfth would look like this:

<u>Text</u>	<u>Texture</u>	<u>Division of the beat</u>	<u>Bar nos.</u>
'/...atque Reg-'	á 2 (S, CT)	<i>duplum</i>	176
'-is omnibusque/ canentibus simul et me/ Loyset Compère oran-'	á 2 (S, CT)	<i>triplum</i>	177-180
'-te/ pro magistris puramente/'	á 3 (CT, T, B)	<i>duplum</i>	181-183
'quorum memor Virgo vale/ semper Gabrielis Ave. / Amen.'	á 4	<i>duplum</i>	183-191

This motet demonstrates four ways in which a composer may make decisions about text and music. He may use poetic structure to govern his setting, as Compère seems to have done here in certain stanzas of the *prima*

pars. He may use semantic structure to govern his setting, as in stanza seven. He may use musical structure to govern his setting, as likely is the case in stanza four. He may also use homophony for musical or semantic emphasis as in stanza eleven. That Compère deploys so many aspects of musical, poetic, and semantic structure to govern his composition shows how complex the issue is, and how unlikely it is that Compère was working under an unwritten theory about text-music relations. However much textual forces might govern his choice in underlay, they never affect the overall soundness of the musical structure. In this motet, like many others, the regular variation between textures, the periodic entry of the *cantus firmus*, and an emphatic syllabic passage (here a setting of composers' names) formally strengthen the music while also providing a framework for verbal structures. Nevertheless, the contribution generally does not extend beyond form. Many passages of the motet would accommodate a number of texts, whether prose or poetry, with equal facility. In an attempt to demonstrate this, I have included the opening phrase of the *secunda pars* below, set with Compère's text in the first line, and in the second, the text 'Ad honorem tuum, Christe' – the opening text from another Compère motet I chose at random to illustrate the point (see example 5).

example 1, *superius* and *contratenor*, bars 1-7

0 - - - - - mmi - um bo -

0 - mmi - - - - - um bo -

3

-no - rum _____ ple - na, Vir - - - go

no - rum _____ ple - - na, Vir - . . .

5

pa - - - - - rens - - - que se -

-go pa - - - rens que _____ se -

6

-re - - - - - na

-re - - - - - na

example 2, bars 37-45

[Superius]
Contratenor
Tenor
Bassus

(cer) - te nec ac - qua - - - - - ri_
te nec ac - qua - - - - - ri_
ri_
cer - te nec ac - qua - - - - -

cu - - - i vo - ce an - - - ge - li - - -
cu - - - i_ vo - - - ce_ an - - - ge - - - li - - -
ri_
ri_

S
CT

ca di - ctum est_ A -
ca_ di - ctum est_

example 3, bars 57-65

[Superius]
ta re - spon - - - - di - - - -

Contratenor

Tenor
sti_

Bassus

sti

re - spon - - - - di - - - -

re - spon - di - - - -

CT
sti ec - ce an - cil - la Do - - - - mi - ni

B
sti, ec - ce an - cil - la_ Do - - - - mi - ni si -

example 4, bars 115-121

Tenor

Bassus

cu - ius pro - pri - um o - ra - - - -

re est at - que pre - ces fun - da - - - -

cu - ius pro - pri - um o - ra - - - -

re est at - que pre - ces fun - da - - - -

example 5, opening of the *secunda pars*

Tenor

Bassus

O - mni - um bo - rem

Om - ni - um bo - no - tu - um, Chri - ste

no - rum tu - um, Chri -

re - co - lat ple - ec - cle - si

3

T. ple - ste - - - - - na - re -

B. - na a pec - ca - Sanc - to - - - - to - rum

4

T. pec - ca - to - lat - - - - - rum -

B. et - - - - - rum San - me - cta - - - - - di -

5

T. cle - si - di - - - - - ci - -

B. - - - - - ci - rum Sa - - - - - cra - - -

6

T. - haec San - cto - rum - et San - na, cu - ius pro -

B. - ta - - - - - fes - ta - li - a cu - ius pro -
Chri - ste - au

3.2 Josquin: *Illibata Dei virgo*

Compère is not the only composer to employ a text that requests intercession for singers. Josquin's *Illibata Dei virgo* speaks of prayer for the ones singing 'la mi la'.⁴³

In Josquin's *Illibata Dei virgo* we have no self-naming like that of Compère's motet. We do, however, have an acrostic signature (and, as Myroslaw Antonowycz pointed out, many musical signatures⁴⁴). The text is as follows:

*Illibata Dei virgo nutrix
Olympi tu Regis o genitrix
Sola parens verbi puerpera
Quae fuisti evae reparatrix
Viri nefas tuta mediatrix
Illud clara lucescat scriptura*

*Nata nati alma geniture
Des ut laeta musarum factura
Praevelat hymnus et sit ave
Roborando sonos ut guttura
Efflagitent laude teque pura
Zelotica arte clamet ave*

Secunda pars

*Ave virginum decus hominum
Coelique porta
Ave liliun flos humilium
Virgo decora
Vale ergo tota pulchra ut luna
Electa ut sol clarissima gaude
Salve tu sola cum sola amica
Consola 'la mi la' canentes in tua laude
Ave maria mater virtutum
Veniae vena ave Maria
Gratia plena dominus tecum
Ave Maria, mater virtutum⁴⁵*

Incomparable Virgin, nurse of God
O mother of the Olympian King
Sole parent and conceiver of the
Word
Quickening redeemer, you were of
Eva's fall
Vouchsafing mediator of man's sin
In radiant light the scriptures this
reveal.
Nurturing womb—child of your child—
Design you that the joyous melody,
the muses
Paeon shall prevail and be an 'Ave'
Reverberating sounds wherewith our
throats
Entreat you and, with pure praise
and
Zealous art, proclaim you our 'Ave'.

Ave of virgins, adornment of men,
Celestial portal,
Ave of lilies (flower of the humble),
Virgin of beauty,
Vale now, though wholly fair as the
Moon,
Elect as the Sun, O brightest, rejoice.
Salve to you, you only beloved,
Comfort those singing, Maria [i.e. la mi
la], in your praise.
Ave Maria, mother of virtues,
Vein of forgiveness, Ave Maria,
Grace-imbued, the Lord is with you,
Ave Maria, mother of Virtues.⁴⁶

⁴³ Cf. R. Sherr, 'Illibata Dei virgo nutrix and Josquin's Roman style', *JAMS*, 41 (1988), 434-64.

⁴⁴ "Illibata Dei Virgo' A melodic self-portrait', in *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings...* pp. 545-60.

⁴⁵ From *Josquin Despres, Opera omnia*, ed. by A. Smijers, 12 vols (Amsterdam: Alsbach, 1925), Motetten I/IX, 140-47.

⁴⁶ After the trans. by W. S. Heckscher and V. W. Callahan, appended by the editor to Antonowycz, pp. 559-60.

The most frequently discussed aspect of the above text is its acrostic and the autobiographical details to be found within it. While the *prima pars* does provide us with Josquin's signature and the *secunda pars* may provide more detail on his life,⁴⁷ there is more to this text than autobiographical detail.

The entire *prima pars* text mixes pagan and Christian imagery to expand the grandeur of the *Beata Maria Virgo*. Mary is here the mother of the Olympian king but this is no casual allusion to mythology. The poet is introducing the pantheon early in order to set up the allegorical relationship in the second stanza of the *prima pars*. Here the poet presents the motet as a song designed by Mary for the muses. The Muses, of course, were born from the union of 'The Olympian King' Jove and his paramour, Memory.

The connection between semantic meaning and actual performance shows itself in the *secunda pars* as well when the Virgin is asked to pray for those singing 'la mi la'. As Sherr points out, this is a 'true *Sängersgebet*'.⁴⁸ The prayer only makes semantic sense when the motet is sung.

But to whom does it make sense? Granted, the ostinato 'la mi la' is an audible feature throughout the piece and the *soggetto cavato*—'la mi la' for 'Ma ri a'—is obvious (see example 6).⁴⁹ Were it not for the fact that the text of the ostinato, 'la mi la', is audibly simple—rich in vowel and not consonant sound—the cleverly constructed poem would often be obscured.

In contrast to the denser polyphonic setting of the *Sängersgebet*, the text becomes clearest when set to paired imitation, as, for example, in the

⁴⁷ While many remain unconvinced, it has been difficult to refute Caldwell Titcomb's position that the *secunda pars*, when re-delineated, forms an acrostic as well. Titcomb interpreted the resulting acrostic, ADCAFLUVESCAUGDAM, as 'ad caput fluvium Escau' ('near the head of the river Escau') with the last four letters being the abbreviation of *Gloriam Dei ad maiorem*. See 'The Josquin Acrostic Re-examined', *JAMS*, 16 (1963), 47-60.

⁴⁸ Sherr, *Illibata*, p. 451.

⁴⁹ All examples are transcribed after Smijers.

beginning of the *secunda pars* (see example 7). Here we see a sensitivity to the form of the poem, as each line of text is given a corresponding duet. The final third of the *secunda pars* is a setting of 'Ave Maria, gratia plena', a text that serves as a related coda to the poem's intended message. The setting is the densest in texture of the whole motet, with the text sometimes obscured.⁵⁰ It seems that what would best please the Virgin is a lavish musical setting of her most-familiar prayer, not that it should be declaimed phrase by phrase.

Whatever the governance of the text, there are certainly musical forces governing the form of the motet. The motif, *la mi la*, has tremendous musical value outside its semantic use, chiming again and again on every ninth *tactus*. As has been argued elsewhere, the numeric structure of this motet, based on the number of breves under each mensuration sign, seems to be a 'vestige' of isorhythmic method and that would make sense if we consider this motet as an early work of Josquin's.⁵¹ It has been posited that the duets which open the motet and the *secunda pars* might best be understood as reminiscent of the *introiti* of motets from the early fifteenth century.⁵² While it has also been argued that this motet might come from Josquin's Roman period,⁵³ and the stylistic variety of the motet has also been discussed,⁵⁴ it should be noted that paired imitation, whether a vestige of *introitus* or a contemporary innovation, does function successfully in a musical and textual way. Musically, it provides

⁵⁰ This is not to ignore the fact that everyone within five hundred years of the singers' voices would be familiar with the *Ave maria* text.

⁵¹ See T. Brothers, 'Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition in Mass and Motet, ca. 1450-1475.', *JAMS*, 44 (Spring, 1991), 1-56 (pp. 31 et seq.) where he points out that, if one considers the 'amen' as a coda that does not participate in the form (here following after Sherr), the motet can be divided, according to mensuration signs, into sections of 24, 18, 16, and 24 breves – something that looks, at least, like an intentional formal choice on the part of Josquin.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁵³ See R. Sherr, '*Illibata Dei virgo nutrix* and Josquin's Roman style'.

⁵⁴ See Antonowycz,.

sectional variety. Textually, it provides clarity by way of a thinner texture and single-text phrases set to their own imitative duet.

example 6, bars 125-140

#

Superius
Sal - ve tu so - la cum so - la a - mi - ca, Con - sol - a

[CT secundus]
[Sal - ve tu so - la cum so - la a - mi - ca]

Tenor
La mi la la mi la

CT primus
Sal - ve tu so - la cum so - la a - mi -

Bassus
Sal - ve tu so - la cum so - la a - mi -

#

la mi la ca - nen - - - - tes

ve Con - so - la ca - nen - - - - tes la mi

la mi la la mi la la mi la

ca con - so - la la mi la

ca con - so - la la mi la

in tu - a lau - - - - - de
 la in tu - a lau - de
 la mi la la mi la la mi la
 la mi la can - en - tes in tu - a lau - de
 can - en - tes in tu - a lau - de

example 7, opening of the *secunda pars*, bars 83-89

Superius
CT Sec.
A - ve vir - gi - num
 Tenor
La mi la
 CT Prim.
Bassus
A - ve vir - gi - sum

3.3 Obrecht: *Inter preclarissimas*

Obrecht's *Inter preclarissimas* is another example of a motet text that seems to have come from the pen of the composer. The text is as follows:

Inter preclarissimas virtutes tuas ingentesque animi dotes pietas, iuxta apostolum ad omnia valens, magnopere illustrans. Quo fit ut animum semper promptum benivolumque exhibeas ad hoc ut, pluribus misteria cum peregrinos ac pauperes distincte, tua musica manu sublevantur. Laudate enim cleri largitas, tua namque excellens magnificentia multo magis excellit iustos promovens. 10]Gloriosa apud Deum condicio tua. Pauperes nutris, virtuosos ditas, ecclesiam fabricas, humiles elevas, ex quibus odor bonus commendaris. Esto fortes in bello.

Among your excellent virtues and immense gifts of the mind, is godliness – which according to the Apostle is 'profitable unto all things' – shining forth greatly. Thus it is that you always show a ready and benevolent disposition to this end that, having adorned many services when [you appointed] strangers and poor people, music may be supported through your effort. For the generosity of the clergy gives you praise, for your outstanding magnanimity stands out even more in that it promotes those who deserve it. Glorious is your state before God. You nourish the poor, enrich the virtuous, build the Church, raise the humble – from all

Eya, propter tuam paternitatem talem ac
 15]tantam in meis semper carminibus
 iubilans, non quas debeo sed quales possum
 laudes resono, presensque pagina rudi
 armonie stilo confecta, ad Dei laudem
 tuamque consolationem, humiliter offero.
 20]Nam quid aliud nunc pro servitor
 impendere possum, nescio. Pecuniis non
 indiges, sensu ac prudentia abundas
 prosperitate et letitia consolaris, tranquillitate
 et pace letaris, inter dignitatum cultores
 25]laudaris. Estote fortes in bello.

Igitur hoc presens carmen musicale et me
 Jacobum Hobrecht, humillimum servorum
 tuorum, benignus accipe et pro tuo libito.
 Manda et rege feliciter et longevus.

which things you are commended as the
 good saviour. Be ye strong in war.

Well then, because of your such considerable
 fatherliness, I sound forth, jubilating always in
 my songs, not the praises that I owe but such
 as I am capable of, and I humbly offer [them],
 being present through this page which is put
 together in a crude style of harmony, for the
 praise of God and your comfort. For what
 else I can do in service for you now, I do not
 know. You do not want for money, you are
 rich in understanding and wisdom, are
 encouraged by prosperity and joy, rejoice in
 tranquillity and peace, and are praised
 among those who look up to men of rank. Be
 ye strong in war.

Therefore accept this present musical song
 and me, Jacobus Hobrecht, the humblest of
 your servants, benevolently and as you
 please. Command and rule happily and
 long.⁵⁵

Two things seem certain about this motet text. First, it seems to be Obrecht's own composition, given his signature, and second, it seems to be an application for employment. The intended recipient of the letter remains largely a matter of speculation.

The motet exists uniquely in *Segovia, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms.s.s.*, fols. 78^v-81^r, which was copied by 1503. Considering the date of this unique source and the information known about Obrecht's life, it seems almost certain that the motet would have been written to address either Erocle I d' Este or Pope Alexander VI. In 1990 Rob Wegman suggested that the motet was written for Ercole.⁵⁶ After Wegman's initial research, his position seemed logical, given that Ercole pursued benefices for Obrecht in

⁵⁵ Both English and Latin taken from *New Obrecht Edition*, ed. C. Maas, 18- vols (Utrecht: KVN, 1985-), xv (1995), 68; trans. L. Holford-Strevens.

⁵⁶ R. Wegman, 'Music and Musicians at the Guild of Our Lady', 175-249 (p. 210n).

1487.⁵⁷ Obrecht visited the Este court that year and was well received. In 1504 Obrecht did take a position as *magister cappellae* in the Este chapel. It could be feasible that Obrecht wrote the motet in 1502 to persuade Ercole I and then only two years later was received into the court. In Wegman's indispensable monograph of 1994, however, he rescinded his assertion of Ercole as the intended recipient.⁵⁸ Several insights from the text itself along with Wegman's thorough research of Obrecht's use of mensural signs led to a re-evaluation of intended audience, suggesting Alexander VI instead.

Whether for Alexander VI or Ercole I, the concept of a letter of application doubling as a sample of work opens up several questions about the role of motet texts. Firstly, if ever there were an occasion that merited a clear text setting, this would be one. Secondly, in addition to clearly setting the text, it would also seem to be in Obrecht's best interests to find ways to augment the impact of the text through his setting.

Concerning the first question, this motet certainly contains many sustained passages of clear text setting. It begins in syllabic homophony and continues in near homophony in the setting of the first four lines of text (see example 8).⁵⁹ Yet there are musical reasons why Obrecht cannot sustain this rhythmic simplicity, however clearly it may present his petition (see example 9). In order to add variety and still sustain text clarity, he thins the texture and alternates duets, first between the *superius* and *altus*, and then *altus* and *bassus*, for his setting of 'laudate enim cleri largitas, tua namque excellens'. This pattern of homophony and alternating duet repeats, lending structural

⁵⁷ L. Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, p. 131.

⁵⁸ R. Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, p. 288n.

⁵⁹ All musical examples are transcribed from the *New Obrecht Edition*, vol. 16, pp.55-68, though with original note values restored.

coherence and textural variety. It also means that most of the text remains largely comprehensible.

The *secunda pars* also begins with an extended passage of syllabic homophony, breaking from this only at the ends of phrases. In the *secunda pars*, duets offer textural change but not with the same rhythmic contrast that they offered in the *prima pars*. Yet there is a similarity in Obrecht's use of duet in both *partes*, in relation to the way he sets lists.

One of the reasons why late fifteenth-century polyphony often sounds text focused is because of the way single phrases of text correspond to single musical phrases. In many motets from this period, practically every text phrase corresponds to its own discrete musical phrase. This correspondence becomes especially clear when several small text phrases or independent verbal ideas are set, as in a list. In the case of *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*, we see Obrecht set two such lists. The first is in the *prima pars*, lines eleven and following (see example 10):

Pauperes nutris, virtuosos ditas, ecclesiam fabricas, humiles elevas...	You nourish the poor, enrich the virtuous, build the Church, raise the humble...
--	--

The second is in the *secunda pars*, lines twenty-one and following (see example 11):

Pecuniis non indiges, sensu ac prudencia abundas, prosperitate et letitia consolaris, tranquillitate et pace letaris, inter dignitatum cultores laudaris	You do not want for money, you are rich in understanding and wisdom, are encouraged by prosperity and joy, rejoice in tranquillity and peace, and are praised among those who look up to men of rank.
--	--

In both cases, Obrecht changed textures to set the lists. Both settings alternate between duet and single voices surrounding the *cantus firmus*. Both settings provide a musical phrase for each clause of the list. In musically

highlighting the multiplicity of the items on the list, Obrecht augmented the praise to the recipient of the motet, and, lest the recipient remain in doubt as to who penned these phrases, Obrecht set his name in clear syllabic homophony with a fermata. (see example 12).

It is clear that the music of this motet has a strong connection to the text set in it. Obrecht's musical structure helps to ensure that the text is communicated clearly and his settings of lists and, especially, his own name, help to promote the efficacy of his request. Yet for all the syllabic homophony and musical phrase division based on the text, in terms of influencing Obrecht's compositional choices, there are certainly musical forces at work as well, particularly the need for textural variety.

example 8, opening bars, *superius*, *altus*, and *bassus*

The image displays two systems of musical notation for the opening bars of a motet. Each system consists of three staves: a vocal line (superius) and two lute lines (altus and bassus). The music is in a minor key with a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are: 'in - ter pre - cla - ris - - - si - mas vir - tu - - - tes tu - - - as'. The first system covers the first four measures, and the second system covers the next four measures. The vocal line features a prominent fermata over the word 'si' in the first system and 'as' in the second system, indicating a clear syllabic homophony. The lute lines provide a harmonic accompaniment, with the bass line often moving in parallel motion with the vocal line.

example 9, when homophony first ceases, bars 34-46

Superius
[prom]ptum be - ni - vo - lum - que ex - i - be - - .

Altus
...ptum be - ni - vo - lum - que_

Tenor
[esto]ite for - - .

Bassus
[sem]per prom - ptum be - ni - vo - lum - - .

Superius
as ad_ hoc ut plu - ri - bus mi - ste - ri - .

Altus
ex - - - i - be - as cum per - - - e - gri - .

Tenor
tes

Bassus
que ex - - - i - be - as cum per - - - e - .

a cum per - e - gri - - - nos
 nos ac_ pau - - - pe - res
 in bel - - -
 gri - - - nos ac pau - - - pe - res

example 10, bars 100-10

Superius -a Pau - pe - res nu - - - - tris
 Altus -a Pau - pe - res nu - - - - tris
 Tenor
 Bassus

vir - tu - o -
 pau - pe - res nu - - - - tris vir -
 Pau - pe - res nu - - - - tris

musical score for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) with Latin lyrics. The lyrics are:
Soprano: sos_ di - - - - tas,
Alto: tu - o - - sos
Tenor: E - - - - sto
Bass: vir - - - - tu

example 11, bars 215-28

musical score for four voices (Superius, Altus, Tenor, Bassus) with Latin lyrics and performance instructions. The lyrics are:
Superius: Pe - - cu - ni - is non in - di -
Altus: [nescio]
Tenor: [Estote] for - - - - - - - - tes
Bassus: [nescio]

ges
 Pe - cu - - - ni - is non
 in bel -
 Pe - cu - - - ni - is non

sen - - - su ac pru - den -
 in - - - di - - - ges
 in - - - di - - - ges

ti - a
 sen - - - - - su ac
 lo
 b b
 sen - - - - - su ac

example 12, bars 282-89

The image shows a musical score for two staves, treble and bass clef, in 3/4 time. The lyrics are: "et me Ja - co - bum Ho - - - brecht". The music consists of a simple harmonic accompaniment with some melodic lines in the upper voice.

Moreover, for all his attempts at maintaining textual clarity, there is good reason to suspect that the piece was read rather than performed. The first clue comes in the phrase, 'presensque pagina rudi armonie' ('being present through this page', In. 17). The singers who performed the work for its recipient might have been working from a 'page' and this could be all that 'pagina' means in this context. Another possibility, however, is that the recipient was reading the text from a 'page'. Certainly there are moments where the text is somewhat obscured, particularly towards the ends of the *prima* and *secunda partes*. Would Obrecht not have invited more success by sending a sample of music along with a simple letter of request? Perhaps this is exactly what he did or at least this is how the work was taken in. Perhaps the appreciation of this work happened in two stages, one of listening and the other of reading the text. If this motet and its text were to be appreciated separately, it would certainly justify Obrecht's choice of medium. If this were the case, it would also give insight into listening practice in the period, or at least as much as listening practice in this unusual instance is indicative of a larger one.

Communication to a patron by means of a motet text is not unique to Obrecht, if Glarean is to be believed, and there is another example that suggests an appreciation of such a work by reading the text alongside (or

separate from) the music. Josquin's setting of *Memor esto verbi tui* is a famous example of communication to a patron through a musical setting.⁶⁰ There is a later anecdote, similar to the one surrounding Josquin's motet, which provides more insight because it is better documented. In 1517, Friar Dionisio, a musician and organist at St. Mark's, intended to be released from his vows and to move to a more pleasant climate in Venice for service there. He was promised a release by Henry VIII of England, but the follow-through of the royal promise was yet to occur. Thus, Dionisio set the text of Psalm 118:49 ('Be thou mindful of thy word to thy servant, in which thou hast given me hope') and the account of this performance is noted in a letter from Marino Sanuto's diaries. Discussing the mentioned motet, Sanuto writes:

The said *messier* Dionisio has composed a most beautiful song in four parts, and has entitled it *Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo perpetuo in quo mihi spem dedisti* [Ps. 118:49 'Remember thy word unto thy servant, upon which thou has caused me to hope'] This he was to perform (*sonar*) to the King, giving him the words; by which he may understand that he will not forget his wish; and this is certain, 'what is postponed is not accomplished,' one may not delay too much, etc.⁶¹

Certainly, one cannot make far-reaching assumptions from this one documented account, but it can be said with some assurance that at least in this instance, the words would not have been understood without the actual text in hand.

3.4 Obrecht: Mille quingentis

Another work with a text obviously written by, or with close supervision from, Obrecht is the epitaph for his father William. The text is as follows:

⁶⁰ See Glarean's *Dodecachordon*, (Basle: Petri, 1547; repr. New York: Broude Bros., 1967), p. 440.

⁶¹ From R. Wegman, 'And Josquin Laughed...Josquin and the Composer's Anecdote in the Sixteenth Century', *JM*, 17 (1999), 319-85.

Mille quingentis verum bis sex minus annis
Virgine progeniti lapsis ab origine Christi,
Sicilides flerunt Muse, dum Fata tulerunt
Hobrecht Guillermmum, magna probitate
decorum,

[Secunda pars]

Cecilie ad festum, qui Ceciliam peragravit
Oram; idem Orpheicum Musis Jacobum
generavit.
Ergo dulce melos succentorum chorus alme
concine ut ad celos sit vecta anima et data
palme.
Amen.

After fifteen hundred less twice six
years had lapsed since the birth of
Christ, Son of the Virgin, the Sicilian
Muses wept as the Fates took away,
on the feast of St. Cecilia, Guillermmus
Hobrecht, adorned with great probity,
who travelled through the Sicilian
shore; it is he also, who begot the
Orphic Jacob for the Muses:
Therefore sweetly sing this song,
gentle choir of succentors, so that his
soul may be carried to Heaven and be
given the palm. Amen.

[Tenor]

Requiem eternam dona eis Domine et lux
perpetua luceat eis.

Eternal rest give to them, O Lord, and
let perpetual light shine upon them.⁶²

The text, unlike *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*, is in verse. With this in mind, we might expect sensitivity on the part of the composer toward the form of the poem, considering each poetic line separately as is often Obrecht's want.⁶³ Instead, and in stark contrast to *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*, this motet seems to be almost entirely free-flowing, both in placement of large-scale structure and in lack of connection between imitation and text.

The first major section break—the beginning of the *secunda pars*—occurs in an unexpected place in the text. The break between the first and second *partes* leaves the date of Guillermmus Obrecht's death, 22 November ('Cecilie ad festum'), divided from the year of his death, 1488 ('Mille quingentis verum bis sex minus annis...'). Moreover, the 'qui' in the first line of the *secunda pars*, though obviously referring to Obrecht's father, is disconnected from its antecedent through the musical setting.

⁶² *New Obrecht Edition*, vol.16, p. 11. For a recent discussion of this text see S. Gallagher, 'Pater optime: Vergilian Allusion in Obrecht's *Mille quingentis*', *JM*, 18 (2001), 406-57.

⁶³ A famous example is his *Salva Crux*, where stanza and line divisions are frequently and sensitively observed.

The second section break—the shift to triplum in the setting of the poem's last line—bears more connection to the text. The metre change occurs at the beginning of a poetic line that can stand on its own semantically and, furthermore, seems to voice the object of the motet itself—'so that his soul may be carried to heaven'.

What makes this motet surprising in some ways is the lack of connection between poetic or grammatical phrases and musical ones. Cadences overlap with succeeding phrases, making musical phrase-divisions fluid. The first clear phrase ending precedes a lofty setting of the word 'Christi', with a sequence in the *superius* (see example 13).⁶⁴ Christ's name, in the genitive here, is thus divorced from 'ab origine' and what should be as commonplace as our 'A.D.' becomes a short musical exultation of Christ's name at the expense of its verbal context.

The next clear cadence occurs as the *superius* takes over the *cantus firmus*, 'et lux perpetua', perhaps not coincidentally as the other voices speak of Obrecht's father being carried away by the Fates, hopefully off to perpetual light (see example 14). In a rather telling coincidence, the only moment of homophony in this motet is the setting of Obrecht's own name – this time, the larger-than-life title, 'Orpheicum'.

The most important point in the text is the moment when we realise that the audience to which the text is addressed is the singers themselves. The third line of the *secunda pars* signals a shift in the text from description to petition; one would expect Obrecht to divide this line from the one that preceded it so that its importance might be clear. The music itself does not

⁶⁴ All musical examples are transcribed from the *New Obrecht Edition*, vol. 16, pp.1-11.

provide a new phrase to accommodate the 'ergo' clause —'Therefore, sweetly sing this song, gentle choir of succentors' (see example 15). Only the *superius* begins a new musical phrase when the new line begins. The other voices are, in fact, busy with other texts—at least if we are to believe the only source in which all voices are texted.⁶⁵ The shift to triplum occurs at the start of the next poetic line ('concine ut ad celos'), which seems like a weaker division point in the text.

In *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*, the composer was communicating an important text and used clear phrase and section divisions, limited texture, and homophony, which, in effect, presented his text clearly. In *Mille quingentis* the composer employed a more free-flowing form, in terms of phrase and section divisions. He rarely limited his texture and used almost no homophony. One explanation for the change in style may be attributed to the difference in the function of each motet.

Mille quingentis, written to commemorate the death of the composer's father, was to be performed, as the text indicates, to aid in swiftly winging William into heaven. Ironic it is then, that while the Requiem section is obviously addressed to God, the rest of the text seems to be addressed to the singers. The composed part of the text (i.e. not taken from the liturgy) does not establish its audience until line nine when the singers are addressed and, because no other audience is established, one is forced to assume that the

⁶⁵ The three sources for the motet are *Florence, Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, Ms. Basevi 2439, Segovia, Archive Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. s.s.*, and *RISM 1504*¹. The print source bears only an incipit 'Requiem' and *Fn CdM 2439* provides the *superius* text. *Seg s.s.*, however, provides Obrecht's text in three voices, and the Requiem text in the tenor. However, in *Seg s. s.*, only the *superius* bears the text in the third line in the *secunda pars*. The alto has, confusingly, the last word from the previous line ('generavit') continue in melisma through the music that we might expect to bear the 'Ergo dulce...' clause, while the *bassus* has a complete omission in the underlay—which picks up again in the next line of poetry (corresponding with the shift to triplum). Consequently, I have omitted the New Obrecht Edition's italicized texts, for the sake of clarity.

entire text is addressed to the 'succentorum chorus'. As Wegman clearly puts it, 'he addresses his poem finally to the singers, wishing his father's soul to reach Heaven and to be given the palm. What might bring that about is the sound of the motet ('melos'), and its execution ('dulce').'⁶⁶ The composed text does not seem to play a crucial role in the intercessory function of the motet; it is the Requiem text that petitions God to bring William into perpetual light. The composed text does, however, explain to the singers the reason why they are singing. It explains for whose soul they intercede, and why they do so on St. Cecilia's day, 22 November.⁶⁷ In a sense, the text functions here as a performance note to the music, the latter of which, combined with the sacred Requiem text, has its own intercessory power. *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*, however, was useful only inasmuch as it communicated Obrecht's flattering text.

There is, however, a simple answer for the difference between the two works. *Mille quingentis* began as a private work, and because of this, it may have been a study piece for Obrecht—more so than other pieces intended for public audience. It is full of interconnection between *cantus firmus* and surrounding parts. Obrecht transposes the well-known Requiem chant from Mixolydian to Phrygian mode and, in addition to imitation in the upper two voices, has the *bassus* often imitate the *cantus firmus* itself. Where music provides its own complicated structure, the structure of the words is not necessary to support the piece. *Inter preclarissimas virtutes* is musically more modest and is as accessible to a wealthy patron as it is to an educated musician. This musical accessibility comes, in part, from the same things that

⁶⁶ R. Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, pp. 25-26.

⁶⁷ Though the significance of this has been questioned in Gallagher.

make its text intelligible—clear phrase and section divisions, limited texture, and homophony. And here, the structure of the text is useful in organizing the form of the piece.

example 13, bars 21-27

Musical score for four voices: Superius, Altus, Tenor, and Bassus. The music is in a common time signature. The lyrics are: Superius: ne Chri - - - sti, Chri - - - sti; Altus: ne Chri - - - - - ; Tenor: do - na; Bassus: ne Chri - sti Chri - - - - - .

Musical score for four voices: Superius, Altus, Tenor, and Bassus. The music is in a common time signature. The lyrics are: Superius: Si - - - - ci - - - li - des fle #; Altus: sti_ Si - - - - ci - - - li - - - ; Tenor: e - - - - ; Bassus: sti Si - - - - ci - li - - - des fle

example 14, bars 43-48

Superius
et lux per - pe - tu - a

Altus
-ta tu - - - - le - runt

Tenor
et lux -

Bassus
-runt tu - - - -

Ho - - - - brecht Guil - - -

Ho - - - -

per - pe - tu - a

le - - - - runt Ho - - - -

example 15, bars 118-126

Superius
et lux per - - - pe - - - tu - - -

Altus

Tenor

Bassus
ge - ne - ra - - - - -

a Er - - - - -

b

lu - - - ce - - - at

vit. b

The image shows a musical score for a motet, consisting of four staves. The top staff is a vocal line in G-clef with the lyrics "go dul" followed by a dotted line. The second staff is a treble clef instrument with a triplet of eighth notes. The third staff is a treble clef instrument with a dotted half note. The bottom staff is a bass clef instrument with a dotted half note.

4 Conclusion

In contrast to contemporary intellectuals, who may have focused on the purely musical, it is clear that composers had some interest in the text they set. Their patronage allowed a good deal of freedom regarding text selection, even in cases when the topic of their text was circumscribed by the requirements of a particular occasion. This freedom gave composers the opportunity to write motets of a personal nature, with texts that show their close involvement if not authorship. Nevertheless, for all this seeming interest in texts, what we do not see is a systematic approach to setting it. Composers interact with their personalised texts on a number of levels, but not in a consistent way even within a single work. This suggests a flexible understanding of words within music, not an understood-but-unwritten theory about them. These motets display a kind of compositional liberty that allows composers to govern their works by whatever force (musical or verbal) seems best at the time.

Of course, while the above examples may prove helpful in understanding the way composers worked with a text of their own design,

such composition was, again, the exception and not the rule. More frequently, composers employed only pre-existing texts in their settings. This does not rule out the composers' input into the semantic content of the motet, however, as many motet texts were compiled from several pre-existing texts and woven together with theological care. The pointed theological gestures that result from these compilations betray the importance of motet texts within the overall work. In the following chapters I will demonstrate the theological poignancy that results from the text compilation process, while also investigating the way these compiled texts were set, as I give a detailed reading of several compiled-text motets.

Chapter Four

Advent Motets, 'admirabile commercium', and the Exchange between Words and Music

The texts of the motets presented in the previous chapter were, in all likelihood, the creations of the composers and therefore of some importance. Nevertheless, it would be easy to account for much of the formal and textual organisation of their settings based on a *musical* rationale. Sometimes the formal divisions of these texts have no demonstrable claim on the organisation of their settings at all, while in other instances it is difficult to separate musical from verbal form. Every claim to formal organisation based on text could be dismissed, however, on the grounds that the same organisation may have had viable musical reasoning. Faced with the burden of weighing one good formal structure against another—within a theoretical climate that valued purely musical structures and was taciturn about verbal ones—it would be tempting to hear these motets as 'absolute music'. The texts may have been a devotional, occasional, or liturgical excuse to write good music, their forms easily conformable to contemporary musical structuring. It seems, however, that we can be more discerning.

Notwithstanding the patent sympathy between musical and textual form (whether coincidental or intentional) there are literary reasons to believe that a position of absolute music would be no more appropriate than evaluating motets according to mid-sixteenth-century notions of text-led music. The importance of the texts is often clearer when the texts themselves are

considered for their own verbal merits, especially as these merits are augmented in the process of text-compilation.

In the chapters that follow, I develop an argument with reference to motets with texts which have been drawn from multiple pre-existing sources. I call these compiled texts – a compilation not arbitrary but one that establishes specific doctrinal principles, in this case ones associated with Christmas. The very compilation of these motet texts articulates the doctrine of Advent and the amazing interchange between divinity and humanity as understood by Renaissance devotees. Those same text compilations, and the text sections within them, often correspond to formal section breaks in the music of the motet, with different stylistic features associated with different types of texts. While stylistic variety and formal division have musical justification—in avoiding monotony, in repeating musical ideas, or in the employment of a *cantus prius factus*—their correspondence to verbal sectioning suggests that musical and verbal structures need not be at odds even if the composer's intentional connection of the two cannot be proven.

1 Obrecht: *Factor orbis*

In an article on Obrecht's *Factor orbis*,¹ Jennifer Bloxam compared the exegetical practice of a medieval biblical commentary² with Obrecht's compositional processes. I shall take Bloxam's example as a starting point for examining the two other Christmas motets. The texts and their liturgical locations are as follows. The tenor texts are in bold.

¹ 'Obrecht as Exegete: reading *Factor Orbis* as a Christmas Sermon', in *Hearing the Motet*, ed. by D. Pesce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 176-77.

² The *Glossa ordinaria*, as Bloxam puts it, was 'the standard source of biblical exegesis throughout the later Middle Ages'. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

Factor orbis Deus, nos
famulos
Exaudi clamantes ad te tuos,
Et nostra crimina laxa
Die ista lucifera

God that madest the
world, hear us thy
servants as we call
upon thee, and absolve
our sins on that day that
shall bring light

**Veni, Domine, et noli
tardare, relaxa facinora
plebis tuae Israel.**
Noe, noe!

Third antiphon for
lauds on *feria sexta*
in the third week of
Advent.

Come, come, O Lord
and tarry not, absolve
the crimes of thy
people Israel.
Noe, noe!

**Canite tuba in Sion, quia
prope est dies Domini.**
Ad te, Domine, levavi animam
meam: Deus meus, in te
confido, non rubescam.
Ecce Dominus veniet, noli
timere. Alleluia
Crastinas die erit vobis salus

Antiphon for lauds on
the fourth Sunday of
Advent.

Sound the trumpet in
Zion, for the day of the
Lord is at hand.
To thee, O Lord, have I
lifted up my soul: my
God, in thee I trust, I
shall not blush for
shame.

Psalm 24.

Third antiphon of
lauds on the first
Sunday of Advent.
Fifth antiphon for
lauds for the vigil of
Christmas.

Behold the Lord shall
come, be not afraid.
Alleluia.
Tomorrow shall be your
salvation.

Deus, qui sedes super thronos
**et iudicas equitatem, esto
refugium pauperum in
tribulatione, quia tu solus
laborem et dolorem
consideras.**

Second responsory of
matins on the
second Sunday
after Epiphany.

God who sittest upon
thy throne and judgest
righteousness, be the
refuge of the poor in
tribulation, for thou
alone regardest their
toil and sorrow.

**Media vita in morte sumus.
Quem queritis adiutorem,
nisi te, Domine?**

Antiphon for Compline
on the third Sunday
of Lent.

In the midst of life we
are in death. Whom
seek ye as an helper
but thee, O Lord?

O clavis David et ceptum
domus Israel, qui aperis et
nemo claudit: claudis et
nemo aperit: veni, et educ
vinctum de domo carceris,
sedentem in tenebris et
umbra mortis. Ecce veniet

'O antiphon' from the
week prior to
Christmas (with the
last phrase set first
in the *superius*).

O key of David and
sceptre of the house
of Israel, who openest
and none closeth,
closeth and none
openeth; come, and
lead him that is bound

³ Liturgical identifications from M. J. Bloxam, *A Survey of Late Medieval Service Books from the Low Countries: Implications for Sacred Polyphony, 1460-1520* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1987), pp. 354-59.

ad salvandum nos.
**Canite tuba in Sion, quia
 prope est dies Domini.
 Ecce veniet ad salvandum
 nos. Alleluia.**

Antiphon for lauds on
 the fourth Sunday of
 Advent.
 Last lines of the 'O
 antiphon'.

from the prison-house,
 him that sitteth in
 darkness and the
 shadow of death.
 Behold he shall come
 to save us.
 Sound the trumpet in
 Zion, for the day of the
 Lord is at hand.
 Behold he shall come to
 save us. Alleluia.

Secunda pars

Spiritus Domini super me
 evangelizare pauperibus
 iussit.
 Veniet fortior me, cuius non
 sum dignus corrigiam
 calciamentorum solvere.
 Hodie scietis quia veniet
 Dominus, et mane videbitis
 gloriam eius.
**Erunt prava in directa, et
 aspera in vias planas.**
 Bethlehem es civitas Dei
 summi, ex te exiet dominator
 Israel.

Second or third
 antiphon for lauds
 on *feria quarta* in
 the third week of
 Advent.
 Magnificat antiphon
 for second vespers
 on *feria sexta* in the
 first week of Advent.
 Second antiphon for
 lauds on the vigil of
 Christmas.
 Third antiphon for
 lauds on the fourth
 Sunday of Advent.
 Second responsory of
 matins on the third
 Sunday of Advent.

The spirit of the Lord
 upon me hath bidden
 me preach the gospel
 to the poor.
 One shall come that is
 stronger than I, the
 latchet of whose
 shoes I am not worthy
 to unloose.
 Today ye shall know
 that the Lord shall
 come, and tomorrow
 ye shall see his glory.
 The crooked shall be
 made straight, and the
 rough places into level
 roads.
 Bethlehem, thou art the
 home of God on high,
 from thee shall go
 forth the ruler of
 Israel.

**Crastina die erit vobis salus,
 dicit Dominus exercitum.
 Crastina die delebitur
 iniquitas terre, et regnabit
 super nos salvator mundi.
 Alleluia. Noe, noe!
 De celo veniet dominator
 Dominus, et in manu eius
 honor et imperium.**

Fifth antiphon for
 lauds for the vigil of
 Christmas.

Antiphon to the
 Benedictus for *feria
 secunda* in the
 second week of
 Advent.

Tomorrow shall be your
 salvation, saith the
 Lord of hosts.
 Tomorrow shall the
 wickedness of the
 earth be wiped out,
 and the saviour of the
 world shall reign over
 us. Alleluia. Noe, noe!
 The Lord shall come in
 power down from
 heaven, and in his

⁴ Trans. L. Holford-Strevens, published in the CD insert for *The Brightest Heaven of Invention*, New London Chamber Choir, James Wood, Amon Ra CD-SRA 56.

hand honour and
command.

Ave Maria, gratia plena,
Dominus tecum, benedicta
tu in mulieribus, et
benedictus fructus ventris
tui.

O virgo virginum, quomodo fiet
istud, quia nec primam
similem visa est nec habere
sequentem. Filie Jerusalem,
quid me admiramini?
Divinum est mysterium hoc
quod cernitis.

Beata es Maria, que credidisti,
que perficientur in te, que
dicta sunt tibi.

**Veni, Domine, et noli
tardare. Alleluia**

Ecce Dominus veniet et
omnes sancti eius cum eo.
Et erit in die illa lux magna.
Alleluia.

Noe, noe!

An *antiphona maiore*
(though with the
tune of 'O clavis
David' above).

Magnificat antiphon
for vespers on the
second or third
Sunday of Advent.
Third antiphon for
lauds on the fourth
Sunday of Advent.
Third antiphon of
lauds on the first
Sunday of Advent.³

Hail Mary, full of grace,
the Lord be with thee,
blessed art thou
among women, and
blessed the fruit of thy
womb.

O maiden of maidens,
how shall that be, for
she hath not been
seen to have one like
unto her before her
nor after her.

Daughters of
Jerusalem, why do ye
wonder at me? This
that ye behold is a
divine mystery.

Blessed art thou, Mary,
because thou
believest the things
that shall be
accomplished in thee,
that were told unto
thee.

Come, O Lord, and tarry
not. Alleluia.

Behold the Lord shall
come and all his
saints with him. And
in that day shall there
be a great light.
Alleluia.

Noe, noe!⁴

Bloxam has already rehearsed the theological connectivity between the tenor texts and their surrounding and supporting texts. I will not endeavour to add to such a discussion. It is sufficient to say that the connection between Old Testament prophecy and the fulfilment of that prophecy in Christ must have meant that this large compilation of texts worked as a powerful argument for the enduring covenant between God and His people. The extended Old

Testament supplications in the *prima pars* and first half of the *secunda pars* are fulfilled in the final compilation of Marian texts. The fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecies for Messiah comes through the womb of the Virgin.

Bloxam has also argued for the structural importance of the tenor voices as they provide coherence to the musical form. Her argument was based on the centrality of the chant models used by Obrecht. What still could be explained, however, is how the parity between the musical and verbal structure oftentimes obscures the words themselves.

The first section of text, the only one without liturgical identity, is set to imitative duets between the two uppermost voices. When the structurally important 'Veni Domine...' enters in the tenor voice, the texture thickens and the other voices sing only 'Noe, noe' (see example 1).⁵ It is the insertion of the tenor text (and corresponding chant model) that seems to drive the change in texture and signal the beginning of a new formal section. Nevertheless, the new dense texture and the polytextuality obscure the main text considerably, making it virtually unintelligible, especially when sung in a live acoustical environment.⁶

A new section is signalled both by a cadence on d minor in bar twenty-three and the ensuing ligatures in counterpoint in three voices. With them comes the simultaneous introduction of three new texts. Synchronising chant models is a conspicuous feature of this motet, happening more prominently at the beginning of the *secunda pars* where Obrecht employs five separate

⁵ All transcriptions are taken after *New Obrecht Edition*, vol 15, pp. 34-50 but note values have been restored to their original.

⁶ The New London Chamber Choir recording of the motet (*The Brightest Heaven of Invention* (Amon Ra, 1992)) demonstrates this very thing. In the live acoustical environment of St. Silas the Martyr, Kentish Town, London, the [o] and [e] vowel shapes practically cover the 'Veni Domine' text.

chant models at once (see example 2), and at the end of the *secunda pars* when five Marian texts are employed simultaneously. In every instance, we see Obrecht's hand governed not just by the structure of a text, but by the compilation of several texts. However, as Bloxam has argued, the *musical* models of these chants also circumscribe Obrecht's hand and it is impossible to separate Obrecht's interest in the musical challenge of arranging multiple chant models in effective counterpoint and his desire to compile a text that wonderfully describes Christmas.

Nevertheless, there are four discrete sections of the motet where Obrecht chose to employ only one text at a time. The first two instances are in the *prima pars*—the sections beginning 'Factor Orbis...' and 'Deus, qui sedes super thronos...'. The third and fourth are in the *secunda pars*—the settings of 'Crastina die erit...' and the repeated 'Noe, noe' trope that closes the piece. The settings of all four sections are comparatively simple. In all four sections Obrecht restricts himself either to thin texture (as in the setting of 'Factor Orbis' and the first phrases of 'Deus, qui sedes super thronos...' and 'Crastina die erit...') or homophony (as in the setting of 'esto refugium...nisi te, Domine?' (see example 3), 'Crastina die delebitur...Noe, noe!' and the final 'Noe, noe'). The simplicity of these four sections serves as relief from the rather more esoteric sections surrounding them. Their contrast to the surrounding sections may result from little more than the fact that it takes many voices operating in equal-voiced polyphony in order to employ several chant models at once, whereas, when only one text and one model are in use, the musical material can be simpler.

Obrecht's measured compilation of the text—employing sometimes many, sometimes one text—affords him the opportunity for the stylistic contrast that makes this motet so musically effective. Because his employment of certain texts also corresponds to his use of corresponding chant models, it is impossible to separate his musical structure from his textual one, though the theological interrelationship of the texts themselves is often obscured by Obrecht's very setting in performance. So, while we may say that Obrecht was highly sensitive to his texts in some ways, using their compilation as a framework for his musical structure, in other ways he denies the compilation the chance, as Bloxam might put it, to 'preach'. Of course, the divine audience would hear this work's theological complexity even in its musical complexity and this, no doubt, would have been of supreme importance to the Renaissance devotee.

There is one last issue to consider in *Factor orbis*. The *prima pars* includes a setting of one of the so-called 'O antiphons', the *antiphona maiore* 'O clavis David', with its tune also used as a model for Obrecht's *contratenor secundus*. In the Marian section of the *secunda pars*, the tune reappears, but this time bearing another *antiphona maiore* text, 'O virgo virginum'.⁷ It seems that Obrecht had need of the tune associated with 'O clavis David', perhaps to return to musical material already presented in the *prima pars*. Its text, however, would be out of place in this Marian section, so he simply exchanges one for another. For Obrecht, at least, music and text of chant models were not linked and could be interchanged in order to accommodate their respective goals. Obrecht's musical goal was to return to a previously

⁷ See *A Survey of Late Medieval Service Books from the Low Countries*, p. 358.

issued musical idea. His verbal goal was to praise the Virgin. These goals are not at odds with one another, but he cannot accomplish both without attending to them separately. He gleaned the text he needed from a Marian *antiphona maiore*, one liturgically nearby the 'O clavis David' he had already used. He could then employ the musical recapitulation of the 'O clavis David' antiphon at his leisure, and simply re-text it according to his need.

example 1, bars 13-18

Superius
 Contratenor primus
 Tenor
 Contratenor secundus
 Bassus

...ci - fe - ra No - e, no - e
 ...ci - fe - ra No e, no -
 Ven - i Do - mi - na et no -
 No - e, no - e, no - e
 no - e, no - e, no - e, no - e, no - e
 - e, no - e, no - e, no - e, no -
 -li - tar - da - re: re - la - xa
 no - e, no - e, no - e no - e, no - e

example 2, opening of the *secunda pars*

Superius
Spi - - - ri - tus Do - mi - ni

Contra-tenor primus
Ve - - - - ni - - - - et

Tenor
Ho - di - - - e sci -

Contra-tenor secundus
E - - - - runt pra - - -

Bassus
Beth - - - - le - - - - hem

su - - - - per me,

for - ti - or me, cu -

e - - - - tis qui - - -

va

es ci - - - - vi - - - - tas

example 3, bars 54-60

...tem e - sto re - fu - gi - um pau - pe - rum in
 tri - bu - la - ti [ti] - o - - - ne qui - a tu

2 Regis: O admirabile commercium

Leaving *Factor orbis* for now, I turn to another Christmastide motet, written by Johannes Regis around 1496, near the end of his life's service in the church of St. Vincent in Soignies.⁸ The incipit text, 'O admirabile commercium', was frequently used in motets of the time, including four-voice settings by both Josquin and Compère. While in Josquin's⁹ and Compère's¹⁰ *O admirabile* the texts are taken directly from a single part of the liturgy, namely, the antiphons for Vespers of the Circumcision of the Lord, Regis's are not.

⁸ For the most recent biography of Regis's later life see D. Fallows, 'The Life of Johannes Regis, c. 1435-1496', *RBM*, 43 (1989), 143-72. The approximate date of the motet's first being entered in its oldest and most complete source, *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi Codex, VIII, 234*, is 1500. Its other surviving source is *Leiden Gemeentearchief 1439*. See Johannes Regis, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Cornelis Lindenburg, CMM, 9, 2 vols (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1956), II, 5.

⁹ See J. Dean and J. Nobel, 'Josquin: Works', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 13, pp. 241-61. Interestingly enough, the Regis *O admirabile* is attributed to Josquin in *Leiden, Gemeentearchief 1439*.

¹⁰ See Compère, *Opera omnia*, vol. 3, pp. 25-27.

Regis's five voice motet employs a wide range of textual material from four different sources, only three of which are identifiable in the liturgy. The text is below:

Prima pars

1]O admirabile
 commercium! Creator
 generis humani,
 animatum corpus
 5]sumens, de virgine
 nasci dignatus est: et
 procedens homo sine
 semine, largitus est nobis
 suam deitatem.

First antiphon of the
 second Vespers *in
 circumcissione Domini*

Oh admirable
 transaction! The creator
 of the human race,
 taking on a living body,
 had deigned to be born
 of a virgin; and coming
 forth without seed as a
 man, hath bestowed
 upon us his godhead.

**Tenor and Contratenor
 Altus**

10]Verbum caro factum
 est, et habitavit in nobis.

**Responsorium breve
 ad tertiam in nativitate
 Domini**

**The Word hath been
 made flesh, and hath
 dwelt among us.**

Magnum nomen Domini
 Emmanuel,
 Quod annuntiatum est
 15]per Gabriel.

Popular carol text
 (part 1)

Great is the name of our
 Lord Emmanuel, which
 was announced
 through Gabriel.

Secunda Pars

locundare die, Theotoce,
 tinnula festo omnique
 inesto gaudio.

Rejoice with ringing
 bells, Mother of God, on
 the festal day, and be in
 all joy.

Tenor

Verbum caro factum est
 20]et habitavit in nobis,
 et vidimus gloriam
 eius...

**Responsorium breve
 ad tertiam in nativitate
 Domini**

**The Word hath been
 made flesh, and hath
 dwelt among us, and
 we beheld his glory...**

Hodie apparuit in Israel.
 Per Mariam virginem
 25]natus est. Sunt
 impleta quae predixit
 Daniel.
 Eia! Eia!
 Virgo Deum genuit
 30]Sicut divina voluit
 Clementia.

Popular carol text
 (part 2)

He hath appeared today
 in Israel. Of Mary the
 maiden was he born.
 That which Daniel
 foretold hath been
 fulfilled.
 Eia! Eia!
 The Virgin hath borne
 God and was the will of
 Divine Mercy.

**...quasi unigeniti a
 Patre.**

**...as of the only-
 begotten of the Father.**

Tertia pars

Puer natus est nobis, et
 35]filius datus est nobis;
 cuius imperium super

Introit of the third Mass *in
 die nativitate Domini*

Unto us a boy is born,
 unto us a son is given;
 and the government

humerum eius: et
vocabitur nomen eius
Magni Consilii Angelus.

shall be upon his
shoulders; and his name
shall be called Angel of
Great Counsel.

40]Universalis ecclesia
Congaudeat his
temporibus
Cum angelis sic
canentibus

Let the Church
Universal rejoice at this
time, with the angels
singing thus:

45]Eia! Eia!
Alleluia!

Eia! Eia!
Alleluia!

Deo in excelsis gloria,
et in terra pax hominibus.

Paraphrase of Luke 2:14

Glory to God in the
highest, and on earth
peace unto men.

Sus, valla, sus!
50]Valla, sussin, O risus!
Requiescat iste parvulus.

fragmentary text

Sus, valla, sus!
Valla, sussin, O the
smile!
Let that little one rest.

Noe, noe!
Amen.

Noe, noe!
Amen.¹¹

In addition to providing the musical groundwork, the *cantus firmus* of this motet, the responsorium 'Verbum caro factum est',¹² also provides the textual groundwork for the compiled text – just like *Factor Orbis*. Already theologically terse, each word of this *Responsorium* is expounded as it draws in the meanings of other texts. 'Verbum' here, as from its context in the first chapter of John's gospel, is established as one 'from the beginning with God [...] all things were made by him'. In this way, the *Responsorium* articulates the divinity of Christ. The combination of the responsory text and the popular-carol text creates a new semantic idea: 'et habitavit in nobis, magnum nomen Domini Emmanuel' ('and hath dwelt among us, great is the name of our Lord Emmanuel'). In it, we are given a double reminder of God's spanning the gap between mortal and divine. He dwelled among us, in that He caused us to understand His name, 'Emmanuel' (Hebrew, meaning 'God-with-us'). The

¹¹ Text and translation, L. Holford-Strevens, in *The Brightest Heaven of Invention*. Liturgical locations identified in Regis, *Opera omnia*, pp. 49-60.

¹² *Liber usualis*, 442.

Word, then, is made flesh, dwelling with the mortal, and by dwelling with the mortal, named God-with-us.

The secondary *prima pars* text, found in the *superius* and *bassus*, expands on the same theme — the imminence of the transcendent God. It outlines not only the incarnation, but specifically the ‘transaction’ between the heavenly and earthly realms. If ‘*Verbum caro factum est*’ outlines the event about which we should marvel, then ‘*O admirabile commercium*’ explains why we should marvel, namely that the unthinkable union of ‘form’ (i.e. God) and ‘matter’ (i.e. mankind) occurs in the womb of the Virgin Mary.

The *secunda pars* progresses from amazement to rejoicing in the beneficence of the advent miracle. The ‘*Verbum caro factum est*’ is pronounced again in the *tenor* and *contratenor altus* but in the other voice parts a new (and liturgically unidentifiable) text, ‘*locundare die, Theotoce*’, is introduced to provide another interpretation of the *Responsorium*. The compiler uses the Greek title, *Theotokos*, to refer to the Virgin, and implores her praises. The use of the title is apt. Since the emphasis of the text is on the transaction between heaven and earth, the text compiler uses a single word that clearly points to such a transaction—God-mother. The *secunda pars* ends with another affirmation of this same transaction—‘The Virgin hath borne God...’—but establishes that it was Divine mercy (‘*divina...clementia*’) that brought about such a transaction.

The merciful purpose of advent established, the *tertia pars* focuses on praising God both on earth and in the highest. The second text from the *tertia*

pars calls upon the church to join with the angels in singing. Additionally, the song of the angels is paraphrased from the gospel of Luke.¹³

The presence of the angel is another reminder of the presence of divinity in the domain of humanity. While, of course, angels are intrinsic to the Christmas story, their being mentioned here must be interpreted in light of Medieval and Renaissance Christianity, highly imbued with neo-Platonic and Aristotelian metaphysics. Both Aristotelians and neo-Platonists acknowledged a multi-sphered hierarchy of being, with man at the bottom, angels (or daemons) in the middle, and God at the top.¹⁴

We will return to the spheres of being later. In the meantime, it remains to be seen how Regis set this compiled text. The motet begins with the first notes of the chant melody associated with 'O admirabile commercium'¹⁵ in the *superius*, but moves directly into freely composed material which is less related to the text in number of syllables. A new phrase of text is assigned after the first cadence and essentially this gives the first two semantic phrases of text their own separate passages of music. Nevertheless, the passages to which each text phrase is assigned have no uniqueness in the grouping of their melismatic material that would suggest a necessary association with the 'O admirabile' text (see example 4).¹⁶

The *cantus firmus* in imitation between the *tenor* and *contratenor altus* provides a strong foundation for the melismas in the *superius*. The imitation

¹³ The Vulgate reads, 'gloria in altissimis Deo et in terra pax in hominibus bonae voluntatis.'

¹⁴ The well-known concept places each type of being, whether God, gods, man, or beast, in their proper sphere of being. Dante presents it to us in the *Divine Comedy* but receives it from the widely read pseudo-Dionysius and his *Celestial Hierarchies*. For an informed discussion on the reception of pseudo-Dionysius in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, see C. S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), pp. 70-75.

¹⁵ *Antiphon Romanorum*, no. 294.

¹⁶ Musical examples of Regis are transcribed after Lindenburg, pp. 49-60 but I have restored the original note values.

also manages to obscure both the primary and secondary texts ('Verbum caro factum' and 'O admirabile' respectively). Again, just as in the second section of the *prima pars* of *Factor orbis*, the presence of a *cantus firmus* supports florid polyphony.

What makes this motet informative is the way Regis's motet changes style radically with the text being set. This is most evident in his setting of the popular carol:

Magnum nomen Domini Emmanuel,
 Quod annuntiatum est per Gabriel.
 Hodie apparuit in Israel.
 Per Mariam virginem natus est.
 Sunt impleta quae predixit Daniel.
 Virgo Deum genuit
 Sicut divina voluit
 Clementia.

Regis divides the carol and its text, placing the first two lines at the close of his *prima pars* (beginning in bar 12). The piece, up to this point, has been rhythmically florid and variable. The *cantus firmus*, 'Verbum caro factum est' has just finished and a passage of imitation is interrupted by the repetitive dance-like rhythm that, no doubt, was associated with this carol.¹⁷ The carol text only appears in the three middle voices of the motet, but everywhere it occurs, it is set to a near variant of the same melody (see example 5). This melody becomes an identifying feature, and when the carol text reappears in the *secunda pars*, the same melodic material reappears with it (see example 6). The carol-text bears a musical stamp wherever Regis sets it (minim, crochet, minim, crochet, etc. moving largely stepwise over the range of a minor third).

¹⁷ This will become more evident below when I discuss its similar treatment by Brumel in his motet *Nato canunt omnia*.

More interesting still is the fragmented text set towards the end of this lengthy motet. Thanks largely to Leofranc Holford-Strevens, at least some sense has been made out of 'Sus, valla, sus!// Valla sussin, O risus!// Requiescat iste parvulus' thanks to his translation of the last line, 'Let that little one rest.' It may be fair to hypothesize that these words are part of a lullaby, here used in the context of Christ's nativity. It is interesting, therefore, that when Regis sets the text, he does so with such a clear picture of what they must sound like that it cannot but be believed that he was thinking of some known model. His homophonic setting sounds, in many ways, like a lullaby (see example 7).

It seems that Regis lets the type of text—whether popular or liturgical—determine his compositional style in this motet. In that sense, of course, the text very much governs his compositional choices. Nevertheless, he is not making formal creative decisions based on the text but rather creating a pastiche based on the styles already associated with these texts.

example 4, opening bars of *O admirabile*

[Superius]
O ad - mi - ra - bi - le com mer -

Tenor

Contratenor altus
O ad - mi - ra - bi - le com mer -

Contratenor bassus
O ad - mi - ra - bi - le com mer -

Bassus
O ad - mi - ra bi le

3
- ci - um Cre - a - tor ge - ne - ris hu ma -

- ci - um Cre - a - tor ge - ne - ris hu ma - ni

- um cre - a - tor ge - ne - ris hu ma - ni

5

- ni a - ni - ma - tum cor - pus su -
Ver -
ver - bum
ni - ma - tum cor - pus su -
com -

example 5, taken from *tenor* bars 12 and 13

Ma - gnum no - men Do - mi - ni Em - ma - nu - el,
quod an - nun - ci - a - tum est per Ga -

example 6, bars 32 and 33 (*CT bassus* and *bassus tacit*)

Súperius

Tenor

Contra-tenor altus

...re pro no - bis i - ter,

Ho - di - e ap - pa - ru - it in Is - ra - el

...ius Ho - di - e ap - pa - ru - it in Is - ra -

pro no - bis i - - - - ter nam si

per - Ma - ri - am Vir - gi - nem na - tus est

el per - Ma - ri - am_ Vir - gi - nem et

example 7, bars 81-85

Val - la sus

val - la sus in or - i -

sus.

3 Brumel: *Nato canunt omnia*

Moving a few years forward from Regis's motet, a Christmastide motet by Antoine Brumel is a related example. Brumel wrote his *Nato canunt omnia* sometime between 1508 and 1509, while *maestro de cappella* at Ferrara.¹⁸ Like Regis's, Brumel's texts come from several liturgical moments surrounding the Nativity of the Lord. Brumel employs many of the same text as Regis did in *O admirabile* and the connection between the two motets does not stop at text choice. Moments in the *secunda pars* of Brumel's motet are modelled after Regis's, and both composers use the same melody when setting the responsorium 'Verbum caro factum est'.¹⁹ The texts of Brumel's motet are equally connected, though in some instances more subtly. Brumel used texts from no fewer than eight liturgical sources. The text is as follows:

1]Nato canunt omnia
Domino pie agmina,
sillabatim neupmata
perstringendo organica.

Sequence for the first Mass
of Christmas (Analecta
Hymnica, VII, p. 49)

To the Son all the
congregations piously sing,
passing syllable by syllable
through the neumes of the
organum.

5]Hec dies sacrata,
in qua nova sunt gaudia
mundo plena dedita

This is the hallowed day on
which new joys were given in
full to the world.

Tenor text:
Joseph filii David, noli
timere accipere Mariam
10]conlugem tuam: quod
enim in ea natum est, de
Spiritu Sancto.

Antiphon for Canticle of
Zechariah

Joseph, the son of David,
do not fear to take Mary as
thy wife; for that which is
born in her, is of the Holy
Ghost.

Hac nocte praeclsa
intonuit et gloria
15]in voce angelica.

From *Nato canunt omnia*

On this night, exalted glory
thundered in the angel's
voice

Fulserunt et immania
nocte media

and immense lights shone
forth at midnight to the

¹⁸ Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, p. 156.

¹⁹ As will be discussed below, this is not the tune for the responsorium of the same name, but, as Lindenberg has pointed out, it bears similarity to hymns of Christmastide (see *Opera omnia Johannis Regis*, p. 6).

²⁰ Text and location in liturgy taken from Antoine Brumel, *Opera omnia*, ed. by B. Hudson, CMM, 5 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1972), pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

pastoribus lumnia.		shepherds.
Dum fovent sua pecora, 20]subito diva percipiunt monita.		While they tended their sheep, suddenly they heard the divine command.
Magnificatus est Rex pacificus super omnes regis universe terre.	Antiphon 2 of the first vespers of Christmas	The King that maketh peace is magnified above all the kings of the whole earth.
25]Angelus ad pastores ait: Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum: quia natus est hodie Salvator mundi. Alleluia.	Antiphon 3 of the lauds of Christmas	The angel said to the shepherds: 'I announce to you a great joy; for today is born the Saviour of the world. Alleluia.'
30]Natus alma virgine, qui extat ante secula. Noel.	From <i>Nato canunt omnia</i>	Born of a kindly maid is he, that hath existed from before the ages. Noel.
...de Spiritu Sancto. Allelula, Noel.	Antiphon for Canticle of Zechariah	...of the Holy Ghost. Allelula. Noel.
Secunda Pars Puer natus est nobis, et filius 35]datus est nobis: cuius imperium super humerum eius: et vocabitur nomen eius, Magni Consilii Angelus.	Introit antiphon for Christmas	Unto us a boy is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulders, and his name shall be called Angel of Great Counsel.
Verbum caro factum est, et 40]habitavit in nobis. Et vidimus gloriam eius, quasi unigeniti a Patre, plenum gratie et veritatis.	Responsorial eight for matins of Christmas	The word hath been made flesh, and hath dwelt among us. And we have seen his glory, as the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.
Magnum nomen Domini 45]Emmanuel, Quod annuntiatum est Per Gabriel.		Great is the name of our Lord Emmanuel, which is announced through Gabriel.
Hodie apparuit in Israel. Per Mariam 50]virginem et per Joseph.		He hath appeared today in Israel. Of Mary the maiden and Joseph.
Eia, eia! Virgo Deum genuit, Sicut divina voluit Clementia.		Behold! Behold! The Virgin hath borne God as Divine Mercy willed.
55]Pax in terra reddita Nunc laetentur omnia Nati per exordia		Peace hath been restored on earth; now let all things rejoice at the infancy of the Son.
Ipsa sua pietate Solvate omnia	From <i>Nato canunt omnia</i>	May he of his pity cancel all our sins.

²¹ Trans. L. Holford-Strevens, *The Brightest Heaven of Invention*.

60]Peccata nostra

Alleluia Noel.

Alleluia, Noel.

Tenor text:**Puer natus est nobis et
fillus datus est nobis.**First line of Introit antiphon
(see above)Unto us a boy is born, unto
us a son is given.**Exortum est in tenebris
65]lumen rectis corde:
misericors et miserator et
justus Dominus.**Antiphon 3 for the second
vespers of Christmas.²⁰There hath arisen in the
darkness the light to them
that are righteous in their
heart: piteous and merciful
and just is the Lord.²¹

The sequence 'Nato canunt omnia' begins with a generality but goes on, starting in line thirteen, to retell the story of the angel's proclamation to the shepherds. It is at this point that the 'new joys', referred to in line six, are clearly understood as Christ's birth. It is no coincidence that Brumel begins the *cantus firmus*, 'Joseph fili David', alongside the text, 'Hac nocte praecelsa intonuit et gloria in voce angelica'. Both recount an angelic proclamation. In the case of the *cantus firmus*, it is a quotation of the angel's revelation to Joseph that his betrothed was pregnant by the work of the Holy Spirit. The first half of the *prima pars*, then, is dedicated to angelic revelation of good tidings. As the *cantus firmus* ends in the *prima pars*, we hear again that the seed in Mary is 'of the Holy Ghost'. At the same time we also have another passage from the 'Nato canunt omnia' sequence that speaks to this very concept: 'Born of a kindly maid is he, that hath existed from before the ages.'

Brumel's compilation of the *secunda pars* is in some ways reliant on Regis's compilation in *O admirabile commercium*. For instance, both Brumel and Regis follow the *responsorium* 'Verbum caro factum est' with the carol text 'Magnum nomen Domini'. The compilation of Brumel's text shows independence, however, towards the close of the *secunda pars*. The

compiler chose to insert more of the 'Nato canunt omnia' sequence, 'May he of his pity cancel all our sins', alongside the *cantus firmus*, '...piteous and merciful and just is the Lord.' The ideas of pity and mercy are highlighted by the compilation.

Brumel's motet begins with a four-voice texture of free polyphony which cadences four times, accommodating the four lines in the first stanza of the sequence text (see example 8). The texture thins and a duet in the two lowest voices ensues, cadencing three times for the next three lines of the text (the text follows in tercets after the initial quatrain). The four-voice texture returns, and then a fifth voice enters bearing the *cantus firmus*, 'Joseph fili David'. At this point, however, Brumel drops the clear correspondence between text lines and cadences, opting for longer-breathed phrases and more ornate rhythms in the setting of the third, fourth, and fifth stanzas of the sequence. The musical support of the *cantus firmus* allows a freer flowing polyphony and Brumel capitalises on it here, though in doing so he pays less attention to the formal structure of his text. The text will become a governing force, however, in his setting of the antiphon texts that follow.

Brumel returns to a duet texture for his setting of these antiphon texts but he divides the texts (which are prose unlike the sequence text previously addressed) in ways that invite speculation about his compositional intent (see example 9). Brumel employs clear imitation throughout the duet section, though his points of imitation are brief and many. The two antiphon texts are clearly divided by rests into the sections delineated below by oblique strokes:

Magnificatus est/
Rex pacificus/

Antiphon 2
of the first
vespers of

[He] is magnified,/
the King that maketh peace,/

super omnes reges universe terre/	Christmas	above all the kings of the whole earth/
Angelus/ ad pastores ait/ annuntio vobis/ gaudium magnum/ quia/ natus est/ hodie/ Salvator mundi/ Alleluia/	Antiphon 3 of the lauds of Christmas	The angel/ said to the shepherds:/ 'I announce to you/ a great joy/ for/ [it is] born/ this day/ the Saviour of the world./ Alleluia/

The vespers antiphon is divided rather intuitively into three sections which are grammatically self-contained. The lauds antiphon is not so clearly divided. Setting 'annuntio vobis' to its own phrase seems obvious enough, but 'quia' does not stand on its own as well. Still, Brumel must have been working closely with his text, considering each of his phrase divisions carefully. This is especially evident in his setting of, 'super omnes reges universe terre' and 'hodie/Salvator mundi', with each phrase set syllabically. Brumel's setting of these antiphon texts is directly dependent on his phrase divisions of the text. It is hard to imagine his curt imitative musical phrases making sense except in the way they divide the text. Although the division is somewhat surprising, we may carefully note that Brumel intended it to be punctuated this way based on his consideration of the text, whatever we may think of his division.

Brumel closes the *pars* by returning to equal-voiced polyphony in setting the 'Natus alma virgine' text as he re-introduces the *cantus firmus*. The use of *cantus firmus* seems to be governing his large-scale structure as much as the compilation of the text, though the two are often intertwined. Brumel introduces the *cantus firmus* as a new text begins so that musical form and verbal compilation are parallel.

The *secunda pars* begins as a paraphrase of Regis's setting of the 'Puer natus est' text in the *tertia pars* of his *O admirabile commercium*. Both begin with borrowed material from their chant models and both employ that material with the same imitative device, one voice beginning on *c'* and the following voice on *g'* (see example 10). What makes this *pars* unique is Brumel's insistent use of a repeated strophe in the *superius*.²² While it is a rather common phrase, it can be found in the opening bars of Regis's motet and this might have been Brumel's model.

After setting the Introit antiphon 'Puer natus est', Brumel then employs another text used by Regis – 'Verbum caro factum est'. Neither he nor Regis model their settings on the responsorium of the same name but both model their settings on the same *cantus prius factus*. Regis uses the *cantus prius factus* as a *cantus firmus* in his *prima pars*, as well as to shape his imitative phrases in the *secunda pars*. Brumel, however, only uses the *cantus prius factus* as a model for the duet passages that follow his setting of the 'Puer natus est' antiphon. The synonymy between the composers' models is seen most clearly when comparing Regis's *cantus firmus* from the *prima pars* and Brumel's *altus* at the onset of the duet passage (see example 11). Brumel did not have need for the *cantus prius factus* as a *cantus firmus* at the point when he employed the 'Verbum caro factum est' text, as the previous section employed chant material in a *cantus-firmus*-like way. The second section of his *secunda pars* needed, instead, to be of a contrasting texture, and a duet passage supplied this need. Nevertheless, though his compositional

²² See also J. Milsom's liner notes to *The Brightest Heaven of Invention*.

requirements were different, Brumel could still use Regis's *cantus prius factus* when setting the 'Verbum caro factum est' text that Regis also used.

Another instance of modelling can be found in Brumel's setting of the carol text 'Magnum nomen Domini Emmanuel'. Both he and Regis use the carol-like rhythm of repeated minims and crochets, providing a pastiche from the carol itself (see example 12). It is true that in these passages the text is set intelligibly, yet this seems to be the result of borrowed musical material, not the result of the composers' direct interest in text-setting. The *pars* finishes, as did the *prima pars*, with a re-introduction of a *cantus firmus* in the tenor and equal-voiced polyphony in the outer voices.

In compositional structure, Brumel follows his musical models as well as his own text compilation. He also follows his own formal agenda, however, placing *cantus firmi* at appropriate points to facilitate denser textures, employing homophony for rhythmic interest, and writing duets after Regis's *cantus firmus*, where duets instead of *cantus firmi* were needed.

example 8, opening bars

Superius
Na - to ca - nunt o - mni - a Do -

Altus
Na - to ca - nunt o mni a

Tenor

Tenor II
Na - to ca - nunt o -

Bassus
Na - to ca - nunt o - mni - a Do -

3
mi - no pi - e ag -

Do - mi - no ag -

mni a Do - mi - no ag -

mi - no pi - e ag -

5 #

mi - na
mi - na Sil..
mi - na Sil - la - ba ...
mi - na Sil - la - ba..

example 9, setting of antiphon texts, bars 48-68

[mon] - i - ta Ma - gni - fi - ca - tus
[percipiunt] mo - ni - ta
San - cto
[mo] - ni - ta Ma - gni - fi -
[mo] - ni - ta

est Rex pa - ci -
Su - per o -
ca - tus est Rex pa - ci - fi -

fi-cus su-per o-mnes re-ges u-ni-ver-sac-ter-rae,
mnes su-per o-mnes re-ges u-ni-ver-sac-ter-rae
cus su-per o-mnes re-ges u-ni-ver-sac-ter-rae
su-per o-mneare - ges u-ni-ver-sac-ter-rae

re-ges u-ni-ver-sac-ter-rae
re-ges u-ni-ver-sac-ter-rae An-ge-lus ad pa-sto-res a-
rac re-ges u-ni-ver-sac-ter-rae
An-ge-lus ad pa-sto-

it An - nun - ti - o vo - bis gau - di - - - um ma -

res a - it An - nun - ti - o vo - bis gau - - - di

Detailed description: This system contains five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). It contains the lyrics "it An - nun - ti - o vo - bis gau - di - - - um ma -". The second staff is a piano accompaniment line with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The third and fourth staves are empty. The fifth staff is a piano accompaniment line with a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp, containing the lyrics "res a - it An - nun - ti - o vo - bis gau - - - di".

gnum qui - a na - tus est ho - di - e Sal - va - tor mun - di

um me - gnum qui - a na - tus est ho - di - e Sal - va - tor mun - di al -

Detailed description: This system contains five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. It contains the lyrics "gnum qui - a na - tus est ho - di - e Sal - va - tor mun - di". The second staff is a piano accompaniment line with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The third and fourth staves are empty. The fifth staff is a piano accompaniment line with a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp, containing the lyrics "um me - gnum qui - a na - tus est ho - di - e Sal - va - tor mun - di al -".

al - le - - - - - lu - - - ia. Na - tus

le - - - - - lu - ia. Na

Na

le - - - - - lu - ia. Na

Detailed description: This is a musical score for a hymn. It consists of five staves. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef with lyrics 'Na - tus'. The second staff is a vocal line in treble clef with lyrics 'al - le - - - - - lu - - - ia. Na'. The third staff is a vocal line in treble clef with lyrics 'Na'. The fourth staff is a vocal line in treble clef with lyrics 'le - - - - - lu - ia. Na'. The fifth staff is a bass line in bass clef with lyrics 'le - - - - - lu - ia. Na'. The music is in 4/4 time and features a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are 'al-le-lu-ia. Na-tus'.

example 10, opening of *secunda pars*

Superius
Pu - er na - tus est

Altus
Pu - er na - tus est no -

Tenor
Pu -

Tenor II
Pu - er na - tus

Bassus
Pu -

S.
no - bis, et fi -

T.
bis, et

T.
-er na -

T.
est no -

B.
-er na - tus est no -

6

S. - li - us da - tus est...

T. fi - li - us da - tus est...

T. - - tus est

T. - - bis et fi - li - us...

B. - bis et fi - li - us...

example 11, comparisons of Regis's (above) and Brumel's (below) models

Tenor

Ver - bum ca - ro fa - - - - ctum_

Altus

Ver - bum ca - ro fa - ctum_ est et

example 12, bars 114-117

Superius
tis Quodan-nun-ti - a-tum est per Ga-bri-el

Altus
tis Ma-gnum no-men Do-mi - ni Em - ma-nu-el Ho-di

Tenor

Tenor II
tis Quodan-nun-ti - a-tum est per-Ga - bri - el

Bassus
tis Magnum no - men Do-mi - ni Em - ma - nu - el

4 Botticelli and his compiled-text Advent painting

Whatever the relationship of the music to them, the texts are obviously of fundamental importance to the function of the motet – at least if the theological craftsmanship of the latter is any indication of importance. Obrecht's text stirs excitement at the imminent coming of God on earth. Regis's text highlights the mysterious union between the noumenal and phenomenal worlds. Brumel's text considers with awe the saving repercussions of Christ's advent and its fulfilment of divine prophecy. Each compilation of Christmastide texts presents a particular point of Advent theology – augmented by the compilation process – but all within an overarching interest in the interchange between the human world, the world of angels, and God. It is their common presentation of this over-arching theme that suggests their importance within the devotional function of late fifteenth-century motets. Part of the awe surrounding the advent narrative is the interchange of the three tiers of the universe: God, angel, and man. The

universality of the belief in a truly multi-tiered universe stretched from the Florentine neo-Platonists to the most adamant Thomist-Aristotelians. Marsilio Ficino came from the former group and endorsed the scheme throughout his *Theologica Platonica*.²³ Luther's great opponent, Cardinal Cajetan, came from the latter group, and the whole notion of celestial hierarchy holds together the thesis of his most respected work, *De nomine analogia*.²⁴ The concept is lived out again and again in the visual arts. For one example, the hierarchy is clearly demonstrated in the mosaic *cupola* designed by Raphael in Florence's Santa Maria del Popolo.²⁵ God is positioned in the centre and assumes a gesture of control towards the surrounding planets. Outside this are *stellae*. God is the centre of the sphere-shaped universe and yet would have been understood to be mysteriously the circumference of it as well (see plate 1).²⁶

There is another example from the visual arts that articulates the Renaissance excitement over the amazing interchange between divine and human. Sandro Botticelli's so-called *Madonna of the Magnificat* provides an interesting comparison piece when considering the theology of advent as

²³ For a quick example, chapters five and six of the first book are entitled 'Above mobile soul is motionless angel', and 'Above Angel is God; for just as Soul is mobile plurality and angel motionless plurality, so God is motionless unity'. See M. Ficino, *Platonic Theology*, ed. by J. Hankins, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), I.

²⁴ In chapter one, par. four, Cajetan discusses inferior and superior bodies in a way that implies angelic and human bodies. This is clear from the paragraph that follows, which quotes Aristotle's *Metaphysics* saying 'the corruptible and the incorruptible have nothing in common which is univocal.' By this Cajetan highlights the analogous relationship between the realm of incorruptible being and the sub-lunar being of humanity. See *The Analogy of Names; and The Concept of Being*, trans. by E.A. Bushinski and H. J. Koren (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1953), p. 11.

²⁵ cf. C. S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), p. 87.

²⁶ In addition to Lewis, I also owe my understanding of this mosaic to L. D. and H. S. Ettlinger's Catalogue of Raphael's life and works, *Raphael* (Oxford: Phaedon, 1987), from which I have reproduced the photo of the *cupola* for plate 1.

presented artistically in the late fifteenth century (c.1481, see plate 2).²⁷ In addition to its theological instruction, the painting also has relevance to a discussion of text and art.

Botticelli captures the moment when the Virgin records the Magnificat text – one of the most frequently set to music in all of Christendom. Mary is being crowned by two of the many angels as the bringer of God to earth.

There are three major focal points in the painting. The most obvious is the Christ child, around whom all other characters are seated. With the infant Christ as a central focal point, the painting concords with the motet texts in their call for adoration of, and focus on, the divine. The geometric centre of the panel, however, features the meandering river amidst a pristine pastoral landscape. Perhaps this backdrop is the painter's reminder that this scene, one of humanity, angelic hosts, and divinity, occurred on earth in the dwelling place of man. The lines of the painting, Mary's and the angel's arms, point to the left of centre where Mary's hand, steered by Christ's, touches the angel's.²⁸ All three spheres of being – human, angelic, and divine – are visually united here in one point.

It should be noted that Botticelli, like Obrecht, Regis, and Brumel, connects a sacred text to his artwork. It should also be noted that, just like the composers, the painter compiled his text from more than one source. While it will hardly be clear from the reproduction in plate 2, the painter has left the following letters visible from the left page of the book held by the Virgin: Ad f...lusu...patre...sine...[i]n s[anct]i...om[n]i... Ac tu...ure m.../ Imi

²⁷ Ronald Lightbown catalogues the debate surrounding the dating of this piece in *Sandro Botticelli*, 2 vols (London: Paul Elek, 1978), II, 43 but fails to mention Susan Legoux's stylistic argument for an ambit of 1484-85. See *Botticelli*, (London: Oresko, 1977), p. 73.

²⁸ See G. C. Argan, *Botticelli*, ed. by A. Skira, trans. by J. Emmons (Lausanne: Skira Color Studio, 1957), p. 98.

preibi[s] p[arar]e umbra mortis. Thankfully, Botticelli's cataloguer, Ronald Lightbown has identified this text as the Canticle of Zachariah from the gospel of St Luke.²⁹ Just like Brumel, Botticelli evoked the Canticle in this advent context. The right page of the book is clearly the first four verses of the Magnificat. Were the two texts not obscured by the Virgin's hands, they would read:

Left page

Ad faciendam misericordiam cum patribus nostris et memorari testamenti sui sancti. lusiurandum quod iuravit ad Abraham patrem nostrum, datum se nobis ut sine timore de manu inimicorum nostrorum liberati serviamus illi in sanctitate et iustitia coram ipso omnibus diebus nostris ac tu puer propheta Altissimi vocaberis: praeibis enim ante faciem Domini parare vias eius, ad dandam scientiam salutis plebi eius in remissionem peccatorum eorum, per viscera misericordiae Dei nostri, in quibus visitabit nos oriens ex alto, inluminare his qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent, ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis.

... To perform mercy to our fathers and to remember his holy testament. The oath, which he swore to Abraham our father, that he would grant to us. That being delivered from the hand of our enemies, we may serve him without fear: in holiness and justice before him, all our days. And thou, child, shalt be called the prophet of the Highest: for thou shalt, go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways: to give knowledge of salvation to his people, unto the remission of their sins. Through the bowels of the mercy of our God, in which the Orient from on high hath visited us: to enlighten them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death: to direct our feet into the way of peace.

Right page

Magnificat anima mea Dominum, et exsultavit spiritus meus in Deo salvatore [sic] meo, quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae. Ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes, quia fecit mihi magna, qui potens est, et sanctum nomen eius.

My soul doth magnify the Lord. And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour. Because he hath regarded the humility of his handmaid: for behold from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed. Because he that is mighty hath done great things to me: and holy is his name.³⁰

Botticelli's hand as a compiler is seen most clearly in his choice to present the canticle of Zachariah not, as is the case with the Magnificat, from

²⁹ Lightbown, II, p. 42.

³⁰ Translation, DR. I have reproduced Lightbown's text insofar as his transcription from the painting is concerned, but I amended his additions to the visible text according to the *textus criticus* of the Nestle-Aland, *Novum testamentum latine*, ed. vars. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1986).

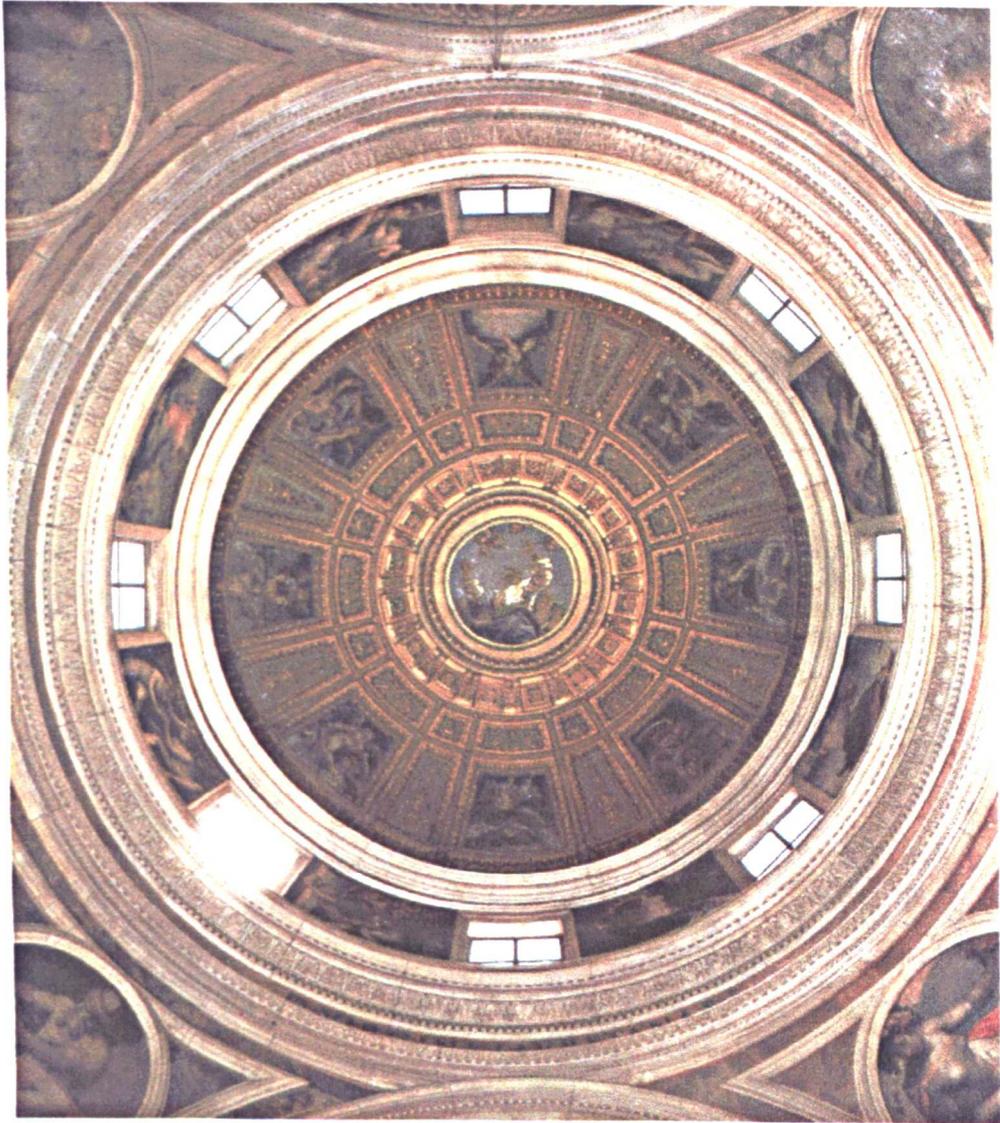
the beginning, but from five verses into the song. It would be tempting, therefore, to read some sort of connection between the 'sunrise' that 'shall visit us from on high' and the point of illumination at the top centre of the painting. After all, had Botticelli started the text from the beginning of the canticle he would not have had space for this passage in the single page. Of course, he did not actually find space for it anyhow. Mary's hand obscures this portion of the canticle entirely.³¹

Explicit semantic connection aside, having the canticle of Zachariah included in a painting that omits St. John entirely is not necessarily surprising. John is, after all, the prophet and precursor of Christ. Nothing is known about the provenance of the painting, save its purchase by the Uffizi Gallery in 1784,³² but one might rightly suspect that the text indicates something about devotional life in a city that carried its patron saint to an almost iconic status.³³ Certainly, Zachariah's canticle would have been familiar among Florentines as part of the liturgy for the nativity of John the Baptist, whose feast day was well celebrated. Whatever his reasoning, Botticelli did make a decision about the two texts compiled here and chose to begin Zachariah's song at a (perhaps) meaningful point within it. I think it will be obvious, however, that the effort involved in choosing texts does not necessarily prove that the artist allowed the texts themselves to influence the arrangement of the painting. Rather, the texts seem to function ornamentally in relation to the painting as a whole.

³¹ In actuality, the rays of light may refer to Christ as *Sol iustitia*, as he is described in the 'O' antiphon for advent on 21st December: 'O Oriens, splendor lucis aeternae, et sol iustitiae: veni, et illumina sedentes in tenebris, et umbra mortis.'

³² See Lightbown, p. 43.

³³ See also chapter seven.



Raphael, *Cupola in San Maria del Popolo*, (in situ),
reproduced from L. D. and H. S. Ettliger,
Raphael (Oxford: Phaedon, 1987)



Botticelli, *Madonna of the Magnificat*, Uffizi Gallery, Florence,
reproduced from www.abcgallery.com

Chapter Five

Compiled-Text Motets on Contemporary Mariology

Whatever the role of the Magnificat text within it, the *Madonna of the Magnificat* is principally about the interchange between heaven, the angels, and man. This hierarchy of being not only informed the Renaissance theology of advent, but it fuelled the flame of a heated devotion to Mary as intercessor—a window into heaven. Christian orthodoxy historically held Christ as the high priest and intercessor to God the Father.¹ Nevertheless, Christ Himself is one with the Father, and thus He takes on the sometimes frightening characteristics of the one who ‘shall come to judge the quick and the dead’. Mary proves a more convenient intercessor for mankind in that, unlike Christ, she is always innocuous. Mary provides a safe buffer between Christ the righteous judge, and sinners in need of intercession. Moreover, for a Renaissance mind, convinced of the reality of a hierarchy of being, Mary provides a necessary middle ground between the heavenly and earthly spheres—her womb being a window into heaven. It is therefore unsurprising to find two of the most seminal composers of the late fifteenth century writing compiled-text motets that demonstrate, even in their very compilation, some of the aspects of contemporary Mariology. This chapter will address two Marian compiled-text motets—one by Josquin and one by Compère—beginning with the texts and then the musical settings. The two pieces, though near in subject matter, show somewhat different approaches to composition, especially in regard to text-music relations. One derives its

¹ Heb. 7: 25, ‘unde et salvare in perpetuo potest accedentes per semet ipsum ad Deum semper vivens ad interpellandum pro eis.’

larger formal structure from that of its text. The other has a musical structure to which the text often relates.

1 Josquin: *O Virgo prudentissima* (a 6), and its text

Josquin's six-voice *O Virgo prudentissima* is an appropriate first example – a setting of Angelo Poliziano's Marian *epigrammatum* alongside a Marian antiphon.² Little is known about Poliziano's hymn and it is among the few religious poems to be found in the collection of *epigrammata* among his *opera*.³

Josquin's setting survives almost solely in German sources, many of which have altered texts to suit post-Reformation theology.⁴ Even with the variance from one source to the other, the structure of the poem is consistent enough to know that the text compiler for the motet made a few strategic modifications to Poliziano's original text. Firstly, the setting omits the second, fifth, ninth, and tenth stanzas.⁵ The ordering of the stanzas of the hymn has almost certainly been altered, given that the stanza ordering is consistent in the Venice 1498, Paris 1519⁶, and the Basil 1553⁷ prints of Poliziano's *Opera omnia*, but discordant with the motet. There is also a one-word variance between the motet and the poem in stanza eight (the last stanza to be set in

² Second Vespers Antiphon for the Nativity of the *BMV*, (Liber Usualis, p. 1484).

³ *Omnia opera Angeli Politiani*, (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1498).

⁴ For instance, as Smijers points out, in *Novum et insigne Opus musicum* 1558 the *secunda pars* reads 'Audi Christe Fili Dei, redemptor mundi, audi precantes quaesumus tuos Salvator servulos. Spiritus sancta Deus, repelle mentis tenebras, disrumpe cordis glaciem. Jesu Christe, Salvator mundi, intercede pro nobis apud Patrem.' (See *Werken van Josquin des Prez*, Motetten III, p. XI.) Smijers rightly chose to read the text from *Cappella Sistina Ms. 24* as it is more in line with the actual poem.

⁵ Josquin's text possibly omits Poliziano's final stanza because it requires geographic specificity. It would be foolish to plead to Mary to bless 'those who have come to her chapel' if the motet was not to be sung in a Lady chapel.

⁶ (Paris: Badii Ascensi, 1519).

⁷ *Angeli Politiani, Opera, quae quidem existerent hactenus...* (Nicolauum Episcopium, 1553).

the motet), consistent in all sources.⁸ Below is a chart of both Poliziano's and

Josquin's texts:

A. Poliziano 'In Divam Virginem Hymnus'	'A hymn to the divine virgin'	Josquin's 'O Virgo Prudentissima'	
1. O virgo prudentissima quam coelo missus Gabriel supremi regis nuntius plenam testatur gratia.	O most wise virgin whom Gabriel, sent from heaven as the messenger of the highest King, attests to be full of grace.	1. O virgo prudentissima quam coelo missus Gabriel supremi regis nuntius plenam testatur gratia.	O most wise virgin whom Gabriel, sent from heaven as the messenger of the highest King, attests to be full of grace.
2. Cuius devota humilitas Gemmis ornata fulgidis Fidentis conscientiae Amore deum rapuit	By such faithful humility, adorned with shining jewels, with a faithful conscience, you have seized God with love.	3. Te sponsam factor omnium, te Matrem Dei Fillus, Te vocat habitaculum suum beatus spiritus.	You the Creator of all calls his bride, you the Son of God his mother, you the Blessed Spirit his dwelling-place.
3. Te sponsam factor omnium, te Matrem Dei Fillus, Te vocat habitaculum suum beatus spiritus.	You the Creator of all calls his bride, you the Son of God his mother, you the Blessed Spirit his dwelling-place.	6. Tu stella maris diceris quae nobis interscopulos, inter obscuros turbines portum salutis indicas.	You art styled the star of the sea, who amidst the rocks, amidst the dark whirlwinds, shows us the haven of safety.
4. Per te de tetro carcere antiqui patres exerunt; Per te nobis astriferæ panduntur aulae limina.	Through you from the loathsome prison our ancient forefathers depart; through you the thresholds of the starry palace are opened unto us.	4. Per te de tetro carcere antiqui patres exerunt; Per te nobis astriferæ panduntur aulae limina.	Through you from the loathsome prison our ancient forefathers depart; through you the thresholds of the starry palace are opened unto us.
5. Tu stellis comam cingentis Tu lunam premis pedibus Te sole amictam candido Chori stupent angelici	You are encircled by the stars arranged. You keep the moon under foot. You are clothed in the Brightness of the sun. Choirs of angels are astounded.	Secunda pars 7. Audi Virgo puerpera et sola Mater integra; Audi precantes quæsimus tuas Maria servulos.	Hear, O virgin that bore child, and the only mother intact, hear, we beseech you, O Mary, your humble servants as we pray.
6. Tu stella maris diceris quae nobis interscopulos, inter obscuros turbines portum salutis indicas.	You art styled the star of the sea, who amidst the rocks, amidst the dark whirlwinds, show us the haven of safety.	Beata mater et innupta Virgo,	Blessed mother and unwed virgin,
7. Audi Virgo puerpera et sola Mater integra; Audi precantes quæsimus tuas Maria servulos.	Hear, O virgin that bore child, and the only mother intact, hear, we beseech you, O Mary, your humble servants as we pray.	8 (lines 1-2). Repelle mentis tenebras disrumpe cordis glaciem	Drive back the darkness of our minds, break up the ice of our hearts,
8. Repelle mentis tenebras disrumpe cordis glaciem. Nos sub tuum praesidium Confugientes protege.	Drive back the darkness of our minds, break up the ice of our hearts, keep us safe that seek refuge under your protection.	gloriosa regina mundi	glorious queen of the world
9. Da nobis in proposito Sancto perseverantiam Ne noster adversarius In te sperantes superet	Give us perseverance for this holy purpose lest our adversary overcome those hoping in you.	8 (lines 3-4). Nos sub tuum praesidium Confugientes quæsimus	Under your protection We together pray:
10. Sed et cunctis fidelibus Qui tuum templum visitant Benigna mater dextram Da coelestis auxili. Amen. ⁹	But to all together of the faithful who visit your temple, blessed mother, right hand, give the aid of heaven. Amen	Intercede pro nobis ad Dominum. Alleluia.	Intercede for us with the Lord. Alleluia.
		Altus and Tenor: Beata mater et innupta Virgo, gloriosa regina mundi, intercede pro nobis ad Dominum. ¹⁰	Blessed mother and unwed virgin, glorious queen of the world, intercede for us with the Lord.

⁸ This variance was most recently pointed out by John Milsom in 'Motets for Five Voices', *The Josquin Companion*, ed. by R. Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 281-321 (pp. 288-89).

⁹ Venice, 1498, (no foliation/pagination in source), trans. mine.

¹⁰ Text and translation, L. Holford-Strevens, published in the CD insert for *Josquin Desprez: Motets*, Orlando Consort, Archiv CD 463 473-2. For a similar transcription see H. M. Brown 'Notes towards a Definition of Personal Style', *Proceedings of the International Josquin Symposium* (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1991), pp. 185-202 (pp.191-92) where Poliziano's text is discussed on p. 190.

Josquin's motet incorporates the antiphon *Beata mater* by using the chant as a *cantus firmus* in canon between the *altus* and *tenor*. He also uses the antiphon text in all six voices simultaneously at certain points throughout. The first of these instances is after the first stanza of the *secunda pars*, which asks for Mary to 'hear all those who sing before her'. The singers pronounce this text and then immediately proceed to the first line of the antiphon, 'Beata mater et innupta Virgo'. Thus the text that was being pronounced as part of the *cantus firmus* in the *altus* and *tenor*, though hidden in the five-voice texture, is then pronounced in all voices, unveiling the text intelligibly for the first time.

Next the poem text returns, but only a moment later the antiphon is introduced again, splitting up a stanza into sets of couplets. The integration of the antiphon text, beginning after the seventh stanza of Poliziano's poem, is better thought of as a new poetic/prosodic text comprised of one three-line grouping and one four-line grouping, reading:¹¹

Antiphon text: <i>Beata mater et innupta virgo</i>	Blessed mother and unwed virgin
Stanza 8a: <i>Repelle mentis tenebras</i>	Drive back the darkness of our minds,
<i>Disrumpe cordis glaciem</i>	break up the ice of our hearts,
Antiphon text: <i>Gloriosa regina mundi</i>	Glorious queen of the world
Stanza 8b: <i>Nos sub tuum praesidium</i>	Under your protection
<i>Confugientes quaesimus</i>	We together pray:
Antiphon text: <i>Intercede pro nobis ad Dominum,</i>	Intercede for us with the Lord.
<i>Alleluia.</i>	<i>Alleluia</i>

The alteration of Poliziano's text, substituting 'quaesimus' for the original 'protege', allows the semantic flow to be more easily continued between the last line of the stanza and the final phrase of the antiphon.

Notice in Poliziano's text, the first line of stanza three calls Mary the 'bride' of God yet the purity of this relationship is certified in stanza seven

¹¹ See also Milsom, p. 289.

where Mary's pure virgin status is maintained. Divine beauty is highlighted in stanza five. Of course, the chief detail supporting the theory that Poliziano's vision of Mary was underscored by his understanding of cosmic hierarchy is found in the fourth line of the second stanza. Mary has seized God with love, she has acquired the love of the divine lover – drawing the beauty of God to earth.

Josquin's setting omits this line about the attractive power of Mary's love. Yet, in many ways, the motet's compilation and reconfiguration of the poem, with the addition of the antiphon, presents an even clearer picture of Mary as one who brings love to icy hearts.

The compiler did include the third and seventh stanzas, which coordinate a balance between Mary's place as both the bride of God and yet *sola Mater integra*. This balance is further highlighted through the first line of the antiphon text – 'beata Mater et *innupta* virgo'.

It is in the *secunda pars*, however, by integrating the antiphon text with the hymn, that Mary's place is established as a bringer of the divine to earth. Here, unlike the poem which merely begins the stanza with a plea that Mary would warm hearts and clear minds, the motet text introduces the antiphon as a way of saying 'you are blessed and an eternal virgin, *therefore* you can and will "put back the darkness of the mind and break away hearts of ice"'. It is by prefacing the first and second lines of the eighth stanza with the first line of the antiphon that a new and slightly more nuanced semantic intent comes forth. Thus it is the compilation process which produces a theological and philosophical meaning that was absent in both original texts alone.

2 Compère: O genitrix gloriosa, and its text

Another example of a Marian compilation motet that provides insight into the compiler's understanding of Marian theology is Loyset Compère's *O genitrix gloriosa*. Finscher dated this motet to 1474-75, rather early in the life of the composer, because of its presence in the third Gafurius codex.¹² We now know the dates of the Gafurius codices range from 1490-1510 and this makes Finscher's findings less conclusive.¹³ The motet is also printed in Petrucci's *Motetti A* (Venice 1502).¹⁴ With this in mind, we cannot place the composition of the piece with any precision within Compère's biography and it could easily have been written either during his stay in Milan from 1474-75 or written later and transmitted by means other than the composer's presence at the time of the source compilation. The text is as follows:

1] O genitrix gloriosa
 Mater dei speciosa
 Suscipe verbum divinum
 Quod tibi fuit transmissum
 5] A Domino per Angelum
 Beata Virgo nitida
 Paries quidem Filium
 Efficietis gravida
 Non habens detrimentum
 10] Virginitatis
 Et eris benedicta
 Virgo semper intacta

Ave Virgo gloriosa
 Maria mater gratiae
 15] Ave gemma speciosa
 Mater misericordiae

O Maria florens rosa
 Tu nos ab hoste protege
 Esto nobis gratiosa
 20] Et hora mortis suscipe

O gloriosa domina
 Excelsa super sidera
 Qui te creavit provide

O glorious Parent,
 splendid Mother of God,
 receive the Divine Word,
 which has been brought thee
 from the Lord by an angel.
 Blessed Virgin shining,
 thou wilt indeed bear a son,
 thou wilt be made with child,
 without detriment to thy virginity.
 And thus you will remain
 the blessed ever-virgin.

Hail glorious Virgin
 Mary, mother of grace
 Hail, special gem,
 Mother of Mercy

Oh Mary, flowering rose,
 Protect us from the enemy.
 Extend to us your grace
 And help us in the hour of death.

O Glorious Lady,
 High above the stars (or sky),
 He who providentially created you,

¹² See L. Finscher, *Life and Works*, p. 184.

¹³ See H. M. Brown's introduction to *Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione musicale, librone 1-3, Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, 13 (London: Garland, 1987).

¹⁴ Loyset Compère, *Opera omnia*, p. iii.

Lactasti sacro ubere

You have nourished with your sacred breast.

25] Quod Eva tristis abstulit
Tu reddis almo germine
Intrent ut astra flebiles
Caeli fenestra facta es

That which sorrowful (pitiful) Eve took away
You restore through your nourishing bud
(offspring).
You have made a window to heaven
So that mournful children may enter.

Maria mater gratiae
30] Mater misericordiae¹⁵

Mary, mother of grace
Mother of mercy¹⁶

The motet begins with a rhymed version of the *Responsorium* and *Versicle* in the Second Vespers of the Advent of the Lord.¹⁷ A comparison of the two texts is below:

Responsorium

R. Suscipe verbum, Virgo Maria, quod tibi a Dómino per Angelum transmissum est : concipies et paries Deum páriter et hóminem, Ut benedicta dicaris inter omnes mulieres.
V. Paries quidem filium, et virginitátis non patieris detriméntum : efficiéris grávida, et eris mater semper intacta.

R. Receive the Word, O Virgin Mary, which is sent thee by the Angel from the Lord ; thou shalt conceive and bring forth him who is God and Man, And thou shalt be called blessed among all women.
V. Thou a Maiden undefiled shalt bear for us the Holy Child ; this grace is given alone to thee, a Virgin and Mother both to be.¹⁸

1] O genitrix gloriosa
Mater dei speciosa
Suscipe verbum divinum
Quod tibi fuit transmissum
5] A Domino per Angelum.
Beata Virgo nitida
Paries quidem Filium
Efficies gravida
Non habens detrimentum
10] Virginitatis
Et eris benedicta
Virgo semper intacta

O glorious Parent, splendid Mother of God, receive the Divine Word, which has been brought thee from the Lord by an angel. Blessed Virgin shining, thou wilt indeed bear a son, thou wilt be made with child, without detriment to thy virginity. And thus you will remain the blessed ever-virgin.

Finscher identified lines fourteen, sixteen, eighteen and twenty as the fifth stanza of the hymn that he called *O gloriosa domina*.¹⁹ In fact the four alternating lines were originally the second stanza of a much smaller hymn, *Memento salutis auctor*. The second verse of this hymn – the text in the motet – was often added as a final verse of the hymn *Quem terra pontus*,

¹⁵ *Opera omnia*, pp. 29-31

¹⁶ I am indebted to Mark Graham, Assistant Professor of History at Grove City College, for help with the translation.

¹⁷ See *Life and works*, p. 184.

¹⁸ text and trans. from *Roman Breviary*

¹⁹ According to Finscher, this hymn occurs in vol. I, no. 72 of *Analecta hymnica* (though this seems to be an erroneous citation) as well as *Monumenta monodica I*, ed. by B. M. Stäblein (1969), p. 356 no. 646, see *Life and works*, p. 184. A slightly altered version of the final stanzas of 'Quem terra pontus aethera' is used as the hymn at Lauds for the Immaculate Conception of the *BMV* (*Analecta hymnica*, vol. 50, no. 72).

*aethera*²⁰ during the same period that the stanzas of *Quem terra pontus* began to be split up in their use.²¹ The text employed in lines fourteen through thirty of Compère's motet comes from the last three stanzas of the same hymn, *Quem terra pontus*,²² with the added final stanza from *Memento salutis auctor*, 'Maria mater gratiae'. These stanzas of the two hymns were used at Lauds of feasts of Our Lady.²³

Finscher proposed that lines thirteen through twenty were an alternation between an unidentified hymn text and the fifth stanza of the hymn *O gloriosa domina*²⁴ (i.e. the added final stanza of *Quem terra pontus aethera*).²⁵ This position is a difficult one to maintain given that most of the lines of this section can be found in numerous hymns to the virgin and the eight lines could be a *cento* of eight separate texts. It is instructive to note that the metre of both the unknown hymn text and 'Maria mater gratiae' is the same as 'O genitrix gloriosa'. The text compiler, therefore, made a careful choice in using hymn texts with identical rhyme schemes and metre even though they were from different liturgical positions.²⁶

²⁰ Likely written by Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers (c.535-c.600).

²¹ The entire 'Quem terra Pontus aethera' hymn was originally used at the feast of the Assumption.

²² For a theological analysis of the historical development of this hymn see J. Szövérfy, *Marianische motivik der Hymnen* (Leyden: Brill, 1985), pp. 11-13.

²³ For a full explanation of the uses, alterations, and structure of both hymns see J. Connelly, *Hymns of the Roman Liturgy* (London: Longman, 1957), pp. 162-65.

²⁴ It should be noted that there are three possible versions of the first line of this section of the hymn: 'O gloriosa domina,' 'O gloriosa femina,' and 'O gloriosa virgium.' Connelly suggests that '*femina*' is the most common reading among MSS that contain the hymn (see Connelly, p. 165).

²⁵ *Life and works*, p. 184.

²⁶ One should not be put off this argument by the fact that lines thirteen, fifteen, seventeen, and nineteen are actually in AAAA rhyme. They should probably be considered as rhymed couplets.

The 'Maria mater gratiae' text seems to have had a long-standing place in the heart of Compère's patron, Galeazzo Maria Sforza.²⁷ Patrick Macey has noticed an interesting coincidence: the 'Maria mater gratiae' quatrain was used in the works of several composers associated with Galeazzo. The presence of the trope here could be, as Macey suggests, the result of Compère's choosing a favoured text of his patron. Equally as likely, it could simply be a result of Compère's employing the stanza 'Maria mater gratiae' from the hymn 'O gloriosa domina' he was already using in the latter portion of his motet text.

Either way, Finscher was correct in tying the four-line section together. The proposition of alternating texts between two hymns is further supported by the alternating duets between upper and lower voices in the music of this section. Of course, alternating imitative duets of this type occur throughout the repertoire and need not be understood as an indicator of intention to set texts in a certain way.

Finally, as mentioned above, lines twenty-one through thirty are the sixth and seventh stanzas of 'Quem terra pontus aethera'. The final two lines of the motet, repeated from lines fourteen and sixteen, are not surprising, given that the position of the 'Maria mater' stanza was often interchangeable from ultimate to penultimate position when added to 'Quem terra pontus aethera'.²⁸

The first hymn text (lines 1-8) discusses the Annunciation, brought forth by the angel of the Lord. By combining this text with the prose that follows (lines 9-12) the compiler emphasises that while Mary and God came together

²⁷ See P. Macey, 'Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Musical Patronage in Milan: Compère, Weerbeke and Josquin', *EMH*, 15 (1996), 147-212.

²⁸ Again, see Connelly, p. 165.

in a mystical union that would bridge the divine, angelic, and earthly spheres, they accomplished this union without any coition.

Lines thirteen through twenty-five exemplify the effects of the compilation process on the theological intent of texts. For convenience, below is a presentation of the two separate hymn stanzas and their combination.

Compère's text:	Unknown hymn stanza:	Stanza two of <i>Memento salutis auctor</i>
Ave Virgo gloriosa Maria mater gratiae 15] Ave gemma speciosa Mater misericordiae O Maria florens rosa Tu nos ab hoste protege Esto nobis gratiosa 20] Et hora mortis suscipe	Ave Virgo gloriosa Ave gemma speciosa O Maria florens rosa Esto nobis gratiosa Hail glorious Virgin. Hail, special gem. Oh Mary, flowering rose, Extend to us your grace.	Maria mater gratiae Mater misericordiae Tu nos ab hoste protege Et hora mortis suscipe Mary, mother of grace Mother of mercy, Protect us from the enemy And help us in the hour of death.
Hail glorious Virgin, Mary, mother of grace. 15] Hail, special gem, Mother of Mercy. Oh Mary, flowering rose, Protect us from the enemy. Extend to us your grace, 20] And help us in the hour of death.		

In this format, the difference in meanings is obvious. The unknown stanza is lauding the Virgin's beauty with a final line to plea for her intercessory grace. The stanza from '*Memento salutis auctor*' is lauding the Virgin's mercy in her help to mankind. When combined, the overall meaning is that of cause and effect. Because she is merciful, she is beautiful; because she is beautiful, she is merciful.

The final ten lines need little exposition but I will draw the reader's attention to the antepenultimate line. The final phrase of the hymn stanza before the reintroduction of the 'Maria mater gratiae' is the phrase, 'caeli fenestra facta es.' Mary is praised here as merciful because she allows the

world below to enter heaven through the fruit of her womb. She is the window that passes through the celestial hierarchy.

It is evident that at least some effort was spent in the compilation of these texts and the result is a message that accentuates contemporary Marian devotion, one perhaps incited by the cosmological need for a middle ground between divinity and humanity. Mary provides this middle ground. The settings of these texts accentuate them formally, but there are good musical reasons why they do this. Both settings and texts aim at helping Marian devotion, but both approach this through their different and respective disciplines. It just so happens that they complement one another in the process.

3 Josquin: *O Virgo prudentissima* (a 6), and its setting

The setting of *O virgo prudentissima* seems, at least superficially, to receive its musical structure from the poetic structure of Poliziano's poem. Josquin alternates between imitative duets and four-part imitation, swapping from one to the other as he moves from one poetic stanza to the next. In the stanzas set to duets (his first, third, and fifth stanzas) Josquin further follows the structure of the poem, using line divisions as a structural organiser for his alternating duets. This is most clear in the setting of his third stanza, beginning 'Tu stella maris diceris'. The first two lines are set to two related musical phrases which are then almost directly repeated (the variation being only in the ornament just before the cadence) as a setting for the last two lines (see example 1).²⁹

²⁹ Musical examples after A. Smijers, *Motetten III*, pp. 1-10 (with note values restored to original) as well as *Liber selectarum cantionum* (Augsburg, 1520) RISM 1520,⁴ which is published in facsimile by B. Becker, (Köln, 1999). The reader will notice that Smijers used a slightly different version of the text than the one presented here ('pro nobis' instead of 'quae

The opening of the *secunda pars* seems to betray a small-scale relationship between words and music, indeed it almost sounds like text painting. The word 'audī' is pronounced in all non-*cantus-firmus*-bearing voices on two minims separated by rests. By setting the word syllabically, eight times in total (twice in each voice in the duet between the two lower voices and likewise in the duet between the two upper voices), the composer demands us to take notice and 'hear' (see example 2). After the fifth stanza is completed, Josquin employs four-voice imitation, though by augmenting the first two notes of the motif in the *quinta vox*, Josquin pre-empted the *cantus firmus*'s canonic entrance in the *altus*.³⁰ All voices pronounce the chant text. Again, it is hard to hear the motet without noticing the text, which changes from the unfamiliar hymn to a well-known prayer. As John Milsom has pointed out, it is also hard not to notice the truncation of the chant melody in the two voices that originally sang it, thus allowing the listener to better recognise it.³¹ The listener hears this point in the piece as special – textually and musically (see example 3).

nobis' in Poliziano's sixth stanza and 'intacta virgo' instead of 'innumpta virgo' in the antiphon).

³⁰ Bar 143.

³¹ 'Motets for five or more voices', p. 289.

example 1, bars 65-81

Superius

Tu stel - la ma - ris di - ce - ris

Sexta vox

Tu stel - la ma - ris di - ce -

Pro no - bis in - ter sco - pu - los

ris Pro no - bis in - ter sco - pu -

In - ter ob - scu - ros tur - bi - nes

los In - ter ob - scu - ros tur - bi -

Por - tum sa - lu - tis in - di - cas

nes Por - tum sa - lu - tis in - di - cas

Example 2, opening of *secunda pars*

Superius

Quinta vox

Sexta vox

Bassus

Au - - - di au -

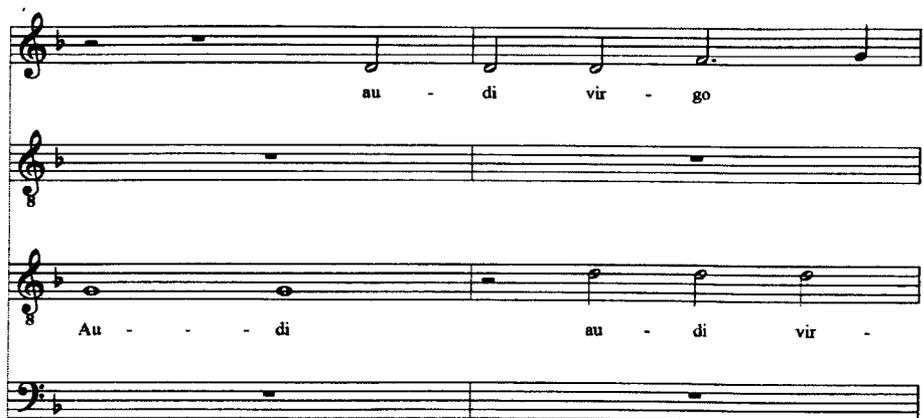
Au - - - di

di vir - go pu - - - er -

au - di vir - go pu -



A musical score system consisting of four staves. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef with lyrics "Au - - - di". The second staff is a piano accompaniment in treble clef with a sharp sign (#) above it and lyrics "per - ra". The third staff is a piano accompaniment in treble clef. The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment in bass clef with lyrics "er - - - - - pe - - - - - ra".



A musical score system consisting of four staves. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef with lyrics "au - di vir - go". The second staff is a piano accompaniment in treble clef. The third staff is a piano accompaniment in treble clef with lyrics "Au - - - di au - di vir -". The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment in bass clef.



A musical score system consisting of four staves. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef with lyrics "pu - - - - er - - - - - pe -". The second staff is a piano accompaniment in treble clef with a sharp sign (#) above it. The third staff is a piano accompaniment in treble clef with lyrics "go pu - er - - - - - pe -". The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment in bass clef.

A musical score for three voices and bass. The top staff is a soprano line with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat, containing a whole note chord with the syllable 'ra' below it. The second staff is an alto line with a treble clef and an octave sign (8), containing a whole rest. The third staff is a tenor line with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat, containing a whole note chord with the syllable 'ra' below it. The bottom staff is a bass line with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat, containing a whole rest.

example 3, bars 140-146

A musical score for six voices: Superius, Altus, Quinta vox, Tenor, Sexta vox, and Bassus. The score is in a key signature of one flat and a 7/8 time signature. The Superius part has the lyrics 'los Be - a - ta_'. The Altus part has a whole rest. The Quinta vox part has the lyrics 'los_'. The Tenor part has the lyrics 'Be - - - a - - - ta_'. The Sexta vox part has the lyrics 'Be - a - ta_'. The Bassus part has a whole rest. The music features various note values including half notes, quarter notes, and eighth notes, with some notes tied across bar lines.

ma - - - - - ter
Be - - - a - - - - - ta
Be - - - - - a - - - - - ta
ma - - - - - ter
ma - - - - - ter ma -
Be - - a - - ta

The first system of the musical score consists of six staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'ma - - - - - ter'. The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'Be - - - a - - - - - ta'. The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'Be - - - - - a - - - - - ta'. The fourth staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'ma - - - - - ter'. The fifth staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'ma - - - - - ter ma -'. The bottom staff is a bass line with lyrics 'Be - - a - - ta'.

et in - - - - - tac - - - -
ma - - - - - ter
ma - - - - - ter
ter et in - - - - -
ma - - - - - ter et

The second system of the musical score consists of six staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'et in - - - - - tac - - - -'. The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'ma - - - - - ter'. The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'ma - - - - - ter'. The fourth staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'ter et in - - - - -'. The bottom staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'ma - - - - - ter et'.

Though the textual reasons are obvious, there are also musical reasons behind Josquin's structure. The alternation of duets and four-voice

imitation is just another way of organising the placement of the *cantus firmus*, which is present in Josquin's second, fourth, and sixth verses—unsurprisingly also the verses with the dense, four-voice imitation. Josquin's sectioning of the motet makes musical sense, given that, in the contemporary compositional practice we have seen thus far, it is normal to alternate musical sections (ones audibly divisible because of changing texture, point of imitation, etc.) based on the employment or absence of the *cantus firmus*. Indeed, one of the important coherencies between all of Josquin's five and six voice motets is that they all rely on large-scale compositional constraints such as *cantus firmi*, mottos, and often these in canon.³² His attention to poetic line division here can be heard most clearly in the stanzas set to alternating duets. The effect of textual intelligibility—where the words themselves, as well as the poetic form, are clear—is explainable from a musical standpoint in that any time a composer writes alternating duets, the most obvious compositional choice, in terms of text underlay, is to set a new phrase to each new set of alternating duets. The relationship between words and music here need require no more forethought than to count the number of lines in the stanza and write a corresponding number of musical phrases.

4 Compère: O genitrix gloriosa, and its setting

Unlike Josquin's motet, *O genitrix gloriosa* is not structured around a *cantus firmus*. Instead it is structured around repetition of musical ideas. Just like Josquin, Compère begins with a point of imitation. Unlike him, Compère does not place his first cadence to separate the first line of poetry from the next.

³² 'Motets for Five or More Voices', p. 284

Compère, like Josquin, turns to duets in *tempus perfectum* and Compère also repeats his phrases, though less literally than Josquin (see example 4).³³ Compère's duets are not quasi-canonic but rather two distinct melodies (A and B) in counterpoint. The lowest of the two (B) bears a striking resemblance to Josquin's melody, differing in only two notes of the nine-note phrase if transposition and diminution are allowed (see example 5). Compère repeats this lower melody (B), setting it against a new melody (C). The phrases unfold according to this scheme:

<i>Superius:</i>	A		A	
<i>Altus:</i>		C		C
<i>Tenor:</i>	B		B	
<i>Bassus:</i>		B'		(new material)

example 4, bars 15-25

The musical score for example 4, bars 15-25, is presented in four staves. The top staff is for the Superius voice, the second for the Altus, the third for the Tenor, and the bottom for the Bassus. The Superius and Tenor parts have lyrics: lum. Be - a - - - ta Vir - - - go ni - - ti - . The Altus and Bassus parts are mostly silent with some initial notes.

³³ Musical examples are after Finscher's *Opera omnia*, pp. 29-31 (with original note values restored) as well as Ottaviano Petrucci's *Motetti A* (Venice, 1502), which is available in facsimile by B. Becker (Köln, 1998).

17

da...
pa - ri - - - es qui - - - dem Fi - - - li -
da
pa - ri - es qui - dem Fi - - li -

Detailed description: This system contains measures 17 and 18. It features four staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'da...' and 'pa - ri - - - es qui - - - dem Fi - - - li -'. The second staff is a piano accompaniment line with lyrics 'pa - ri - es qui - dem Fi - - li -'. The third and fourth staves are empty.

19

ef - fi - - - ci - e - - - ris gra - vi -
um...
ef - fi - ci - e - ris gra - vi -
um...

Detailed description: This system contains measures 19 and 20. It features four staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'ef - fi - - - ci - e - - - ris gra - vi -' and 'um...'. The second staff is a piano accompaniment line with lyrics 'ef - fi - ci - e - ris gra - vi -'. The third and fourth staves are empty.

21

da - - - - -
non ha - - - - - bens de - tri - men - - - -
da - - - - -
non ha - - - - - bens de - tri - men - - - -

Detailed description: This system contains measures 21 and 22. It features four staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'da - - - - -' and 'non ha - - - - - bens de - tri - men - - - -'. The second staff is a piano accompaniment line with lyrics 'non ha - - - - - bens de - tri - men - - - -'. The third and fourth staves are empty.

23

tis

tum Vir - gi - ni - ta - - tis

8

tis

8

tum Vir - gi - ni - ta - - tis

example 5, comparison of duets in *O genitrix gloriosa*, bar 15 et seq. and *O Virgo prudentissima*, bar 65 et seq.

Compère, tenor

Be - a - ta Vir - go ni - - ti -

Josquin, superius,
diminished rhythm,
transposed from D
to G.

Tu stel - la ma - ris di - - ce -

da

ris

The 'new material' in the *bassus* (bar 21 et seq.) introduces a rhythmic figure (minim, crochet, crochet, minim) that permeates the closing bars of the piece.

The (C) melody appears again in the *superius*, a voice yet to have it, as the *prima pars* closes.

For his alternating duets, Compère alternates between lines of his text, showing sensitivity to the form of the poetry. Yet the similarity between Compère's and Josquin's duet settings for texts with an equal number of syllables (though somewhat different meanings) is telling. Given certain compositional norms, there are only so many ways to set an eight-syllable line of poetry. Both settings sound equally 'text-focused' but this is because alternating duets are easily combined with alternating lines of poetry. The compositional style supports clearer text setting and the text lends itself well to clear compositional style.

The *secunda pars* of Compère's motet is almost completely an alternation of duets. In the *secunda pars*, Compère is more literal in his repetition of music. As in the *prima pars*, Compère uses melodies in counterpoint rather than imitation or quasi-canon. The phrases unfold according to this scheme:

<i>Superius:</i>	A		A	
<i>Altus:</i>		C		C
<i>Tenor:</i>	B		B	
<i>Bassus:</i>		D		D

Compère sets the first two stanzas of the 'Ave Virgo gloriosa' hymn to the (A) (B) duets while to the (C) (D) duets he sets alternating lines of the 'Maria mater gratiae' text. Again Compère sets his alternating texts to alternating duets. It should also be noticed that he uses alternating duets throughout the piece, in both *partes*, and their presence can be justified more readily by

reasons of musical consistency than by textual requirement – though the two are not at odds with one another.

Compère sets part of the third and fourth lines of the 'Ave Virgo gloriosa' hymn to a nearly-repeated homophonic passage. For the third line, three words fall in almost exact homophony – 'O Maria florens...' – leaving the final word of the phrase, '...rosa', to be set with rhythmic interest leading to a cadence. For the fourth line, the setting is not as verbally felicitous. The rhythmic pattern that Compère wishes to repeat has space for six syllables. This means that the setting that fit 'O Maria florens' perfectly, leaving the final word 'rosa' for melisma, must now dissect the word gratiosa. 'Esto nobis grati-' receives the repeated phrase and '-osa' receives the melisma leading to the cadence (see example 6). The aural effect is perfectly acceptable and does not compromise the text's comprehensibility. It does seem clear, however, that Compère's setting here was the result of his musical decision to repeat a passage – repetition or near-repetition being one of the noteworthy qualities of this piece.

example 6, bars 32-42

cta

cta A - ve Vir - go glo - ri -

cta

cta A - ve Vir - go glo - ri -

Ma - ri - a ma - ter gra - ti - ae...
o - sa...
Ma - ri - a ma - - - ter gra - ti - ae
o - sa...

ma - ter mi -
a - ve gem - ma spe - ci - o - sa
ma - ter mi -
a - ve gem - ma spe - ci - o - sa

#

se - ri - cor - di - ae O Ma - ri - a flo - rens ro -
O Ma - ri - a flo - rens ro -
se - - - ri - cor - di - ae O Ma - ri - a flo - rens
O Ma - ri - a flo - rens

sa e -
sa tu nos ab ho - - - ste pro - te - ge e -
ro - sa e -
ro - sa tu nos ab ho - - ste pro - te - ge e -

The image shows a musical score for four voices, likely a motet. The score is written on four staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are Latin: "sto no - bis gra - ti - o - - - sa_ et". The first staff has a sharp sign (#) above the second measure. The lyrics are: "sto no - bis gra - ti - o - - - sa_ et". The second staff has the lyrics: "sto no - bis gra - ti - o - sa et". The third staff has the lyrics: "sto no - bis gra - ti - o - sa et". The fourth staff has the lyrics: "sto no - bis gra - ti - o - sa et".

In both of the motets we can see that the marriage between verbal and musical forms is largely a happy one. Perhaps because of the predominance of repeated musical material as a formal guideline, the musical form of Compère's motet seems to be the primary driving force—against which the verbal form can be arranged more or less conveniently. Though Josquin seems to rely more on the strength of Poliziano's poetic form to guide his musical one, we can also see how, by using sound musical organization, Josquin could also have arrived with the same musical form, regardless of the text. That verbal and musical forms unite so well in each of the motets need not surprise us—indeed we might expect as much. Nevertheless, this union does not give license to suppose that verbal forms have a heightened importance in the contemporary mindset, given that musical rationale can explain the shape of the music as well as text can. This does not, however,

negate the importance of the texts on their own. Their theological clarity, particularly in their compilation, seems to establish them as highly important to the composers.

Chapter Six

'...Singers before the Altar' : Obrecht's *Laudemus nunc Dominum*

Hor non si vede le pitture rappresentatrici delle divine deità esser al continuo tenute coperte con coperture di grandissimi prezzi? e quando si scoprono, prima si fa grande solennità ecclesiastiche di vari canti con diversi suoni e nello scoprire la gran moltitudine de' populi, che quivi concorrono, immediate si gittano a terra, quella adorando e pregando, per cui tale pittura è figurata, del acquisto della perduta sanità e della eterna salute, non altra mente, che se tale iddea fusse li presente in vita?¹

Do we not see that pictures representing the Deity are kept constantly concealed under costly draperies and that before they are uncovered great ecclesiastical rites are performed with singing to the strains of instruments; and at the moment of unveiling the great multitude of peoples who have flocked there throw themselves to the ground, worshipping and praying to Him whose image is represented for the recovery of their health and for their eternal salvation as if the Deity were present in person.

- Leonardo da Vinci

In chapter four, I referred to Botticelli's *Madonna of the Magnificat* as a text that was adorned by a painting, or perhaps more rightly a painting that was adorned by a text. In this chapter I begin with another example from the visual arts – the fragment of an altarpiece on which Obrecht's image appears. This reference to the visual arts is useful because the painting of Obrecht has an analogous aesthetic function to the music of a motet – the painting in relation to the altarpiece of which it is a part, and the music in relation to its text. We can observe this relationship particularly in Obrecht's *Laudemus nunc Dominum* – a motet for the dedication of a church. Both altarpiece and motet (with its text that speaks of 'singers before the altar') establish a locus of worship by adorning it. In this chapter I explore the aesthetic function of Obrecht's motet – its text as an instrument of presenting theology, and its

¹ *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codex Urbinas Latinas 1270*, fols. 3^r-4^v. Published in facsimile as vol. 2 of *Treatise on Painting*, ed. and trans. by A. P. McMahon (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956). The passage was first uncovered to me through Martin Kemp's article, 'The Altarpiece in the Renaissance: a Taxonomic Approach', in *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance*, ed. by P. Humphrey and M. Kemp (Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 1-21 (p. 6).

music in relationship to that text. This motet proves particularly useful because of a contemporary discussion of it which actually comments on text-music relations. Before looking at the motet, however, we must consider the first half of the analogy.

1 The Painting

In 1991 both the musicologist Rob Wegman and the art historian Dirk De Vos published articles on a painting dated 1496 of a 'Ja Hobrecht'. It was De Vos who in 1987 identified the panel as a portrait of the composer Jacob Obrecht (see plate 3).² Wegman undertook his article in conjunction with his soon-to-be-published *Born for the Muses*³ while De Vos's article was written in conjunction with his preparation of the *Hans Memling Catalogue*,⁴ which he published while curator of the Groeningemuseum in Bruges (both monographs were published in 1994). De Vos's journal publication and subsequent inclusion of the Obrecht portrait in the Memling catalogue met some stiff criticism, pointing to, among many things, the presence of white lead paint in the portrait, which Memling never used.⁵ Naturally, an attribution to Memling caused scepticism since the painting's original frame dates it at 1496, two years after Memling's death.⁶ Wegman posited the plausible theory

² R. Wegman, 'Het 'Jacob Hobrecht' portret: Enkele biografische observaties', *Musica antiqua*, 8 (1991), 152-54 and D. De Vos, 'Een belangrijk portret van Jacob Obrecht ontdekt: Een werk uit de nalatenschap van het atelier van Hans Memling?', in *Jaarboek 1989-90 Stad Brugge, Stedelijke Musea*, (Bruges: 1991), pp. 192-209.

³ (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

⁴ (Brussels: Ludion, 1994).

⁵ See *Born for the Muses*, p. 297n. See Lorne Campbell's review of the Hans Memling exhibit in the Groeningemuseum. *The Burlington Magazine*, (April, 1995) pp. 264-65. See also A. Washton, 'Notes' <www.washtonbooks.com/artnotes2.htm> where the author discusses the recently-discovered pencil copy of the painting in an 18th century book.

⁶ De Vos convincingly argues the frame as original, based on the presence of paint on it which matches the paint used in the portrait itself. He further suggests that the likeness was painted while framed. This could be considered evidence that the date on the frame does not refer to the date of completion but was added as the date of receipt by its patron (*Catalogue*, p. 156n). The grisaille on the back of the portrait is by another artist and postdates the

that, while Memling began the painting in the last year of his life, one of his students might have finished it posthumously. Wegman supported this by pointing to the varying quality in the painting, particularly in the anatomy of the hands and left shoulder.⁷ Unfortunately, the debate on attribution was not over. After having been auctioned off by Sothebys to the Kimbell Art Museum in Texas (15th January 1993), the curatorial staff there began to test new theories including the possibility, highly optimistic from the Kimbell's perspective, that the painting was by Jeroen Bosch of 's Hertogenbosch.⁸ The investigation seems to have reached a dead end, however, and the authorship is still in contest.⁹

Attribution is important to this discussion because the portrait's original frame has hinge marks on the right side suggesting that the portrait was the left frame of a polyptych. Knowing its authorship might shed more light on the content of the missing panel(s) and thus on Obrecht's function as its accompanying devotee. Without an attribution, we have less chance of being sure of the content of the missing panel. We can assume its sacred content based on the contemporary tendency for such altarpieces to contain sacred figures.¹⁰ It was most likely an image of the Virgin Mary or of Christ, given Obrecht's praying hands which seem to point to the lost panel. The lesson

likeness of Obrecht. (See N. Edwards. 'Collections,' 'European,' 'Portrait of Jacob Obrecht,' 'Conservation Information,' <<http://www.kimbellart.org>>.)

⁷ See *Born for the Muses*, p. 297.

⁸ I am grateful to Rob Wegman for pointing me to this investigation, as well as for general advice about *Laudemus nunc Dominum* in private correspondence.

⁹ I am grateful to Nancy Edwards, Curator of European Art at the Kimbell, for suggestions on attribution through a private correspondence. She has noted that some of her colleagues suspect that the painter may not have been Flemish at all, but French.

¹⁰ The *Hans Memling Catalogue* provides several examples of portraits as part of a polyptych where the central or second panel was the Virgin or Christ. See *Triptych of Benedetto Portinari* (DDV 57); *Triptych of Jan Crabbe* (DDV 5); *Portraits of Willem Moreel and Barbara Vlaenderbech* (DDV 22); *Triptych of Adriaan Reins* (DDV 37); *Triptych of St. Christopher* (DDV 63); and esp. *Portrait of a Young Man in Prayer* (DDV 80) which bears a striking resemblance to the Obrecht portrait and has the sitter praying to the Virgin.

gleaned from this is one of context. Evaluating the surviving panel alone, the piety of the singer is the main content (see plate 3). As has been noted before, Obrecht is dressed in a clerical garment with a fur stole that suggests his rank of chaplain.¹¹ His prayerful posture and quiet demeanour stand in contrast to his career, which was among the most mobile of his generation.¹² While the exact devotional function of such a piece is elusive, altarpieces of this size¹³ with portraits as their partial content usually functioned in more intimate venues for private or semi-private worship. In this context, the portrait was the lesser part of an object that consecrated a place as a locus of worship, whether in a home or a side chapel.¹⁴ Without the missing panel, we miss the function of the singer's presence. The image of the singer in prayer before the altar serves to further adorn the (lost) sacred image to his left.

In spite of its pious connotations, the portrait does not give real evidence of exceptional piety in Obrecht because so many similar portraits exist for sitters whose moral character was less than praiseworthy.¹⁵ Obrecht's works, on the other hand, and particularly the ones with compiled texts, give evidence of the composer's rich devotional life, whether or not the texts were compiled by his prayerfully displayed hands or merely set to music by them. The compilation of freely-composed and liturgical texts in *Laudemus nunc Dominum* betrays careful theological considerations. This text is connected to the formal framework of Obrecht's music and the musical form

¹¹ See *Born for the Muses*, p. 297.

¹² See also F. Fitch, "For the sake of His Honour" Obrecht Reconsidered', *TVNM*, 48 (1998), 150-63 (p. 155).

¹³ Actual size: 44 x 28 cm (*Catalogue*, p. 155).

¹⁴ For a discussion of the uses of altarpieces such as this one see C. Harrison, 'The Northern Altarpiece as a Cultural Document', in *The Renaissance Altarpiece*, pp. 49-75.

¹⁵ See L. Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits* (London: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 9 et seq.

works alongside the textual one to create an effective high point in the feast for the dedication of a church.

2 The Motet

In 1496, the year inscribed on the portrait's original frame, Obrecht resided in Antwerp, working as choirmaster for the Church of Our Lady.¹⁶ Around this time and perhaps for the annual re-dedication of this church, celebrated on 15th July, Obrecht composed *Laudemus nunc Dominum*.¹⁷ Wegman assigned the motet a *terminus ante quam* of 1496 since it seems to have been the piece mentioned by Mattheus Herbenus¹⁸ in the 1496 manuscript copy of his *De natura cantus*.¹⁹ Herbenus described certain 'cantus ac hymnos' and gave an example of one by a 'Jacobus Hoberti, eius patriota' which was 'honorem consecrationis templi'. In this passage Herbenus describes the piece as having 'set notes one by one so that they were given syllables in such a way that the mind could be easily carried to the heights of contemplation while the beauty of the song was rightly preserved

¹⁶ See *Born for the Muses*, p. 317.

¹⁷ For a discussion of the consecration of the *Onze Lieve Kathedraal Antwerpen*, see *The Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp*, ed. by W. Aerts (Antwerp: Fonds, 1993), p. 73. Mary Jennifer Bloxam has hypothesised about the original event for which the motet was composed and sees a more-than-circumstantial connection between the emphasis on Jacob in the motet text and the construction of a new church in the parish of 'Sint Jacob' in Antwerp in 1491. See *A Survey of Late Medieval Service Books from the Low Countries*, p. 353.

¹⁸ Herbenus was a grammarian and a schoolmaster who was aide to the more famous Roman grammarian, Niccolò Perotti (on Perotti, see chapter 2, note 61). See also *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, ed. by A. Rabil, 3 vols (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), II, 192.

¹⁹ *Munich, Bibliothek der Stadt, Clm 10277*, fols. 1^r-56^v; published as *Herbeni Trajectensis De natura cantus ac miraculis vocis*, ed. by J. Smits van Waesberghe, *Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte*, 22 (Köln: 1957). Wegman uses 'Johannes' as Herbenus's cognomen and the confusion surrounding Herbenus's name is cleared up in K.-J. Sachs, 'Zu den Fassungen der Musikschrift des Mattheus Herbenus', *Die Musikforschung*, 55 (2002), 395-405.

as well'.²⁰ Recent research has uncovered a 1495 manuscript copy of Herbenus's tract, in which there is no mention of Obrecht, thus helping to confirm the date for *Laudemus nunc Dominum*, if it is indeed to this work that Herbenus refers.²¹ If Herbenus was discussing *Laudemus nunc Dominum*, his comments give us something more than just a helpful tool for dating Obrecht's motets. They give us a rare moment of contemporary music criticism—in which word-tone relations seem to be a main concern.

Herbenus criticises music that causes 'vocum refractionibus' and describes this scornfully as something that allows neither the music nor the syllables to be understood.²² Wegman has suggested that Herbenus was therefore praising the motet *Laudemus nunc Dominum* for its clear text setting.²³ Indeed, the grammarian most certainly was interested in the way the motet presented words syllabically. Yet, it is interesting that, for all his text-directed language, Herbenus actually suggests a peculiarly musical aesthetic.

His complaint is not simply that music breaks up words and therefore causes verbal jibber-jabber ('garrias'), though this is certainly part of his concern. His complaint is also that music which distorts words actually distorts the musical integrity of the work. He champions syllabic settings in music because the syllabic setting organises the music itself, slows it down, and allows it to be understood ('cognoscere'). Herbenus is concerned that

²⁰ 'Quibus singillatim comprehensis notulis, una cum verborum debite applicatis syllabis, mens ad altiore contemplationem facile rapitur, dum pulchritudo cantus tam apte conservatur', Sachs, p. 399.

²¹ Berlin, *Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Ms. lat. qu. 479*, fols. 1^r-37^v. For a discussion of the difference between these sources, and the light it lays on Herbenus's tract, see Sachs.

²² 'dum ita garrias ut neque verbum neque syllabam unam neque virtutem compositionis cognoscere valem', Sachs, p. 399.

²³ *Born for the Muses*, p. 317.

melismatic music does not allow enough time for the intervals to be properly digested. 'The ratio of judging is engulfed, therefore, in such singing, which flies by the ears so quickly, so before you are able to make a judgement, it is all over.'²⁴ In the chapter that follows (cap. X) Herbenus waxes more aesthetical. He further wishes to clarify what makes music delightful, namely that it is to be governed by numbers ('*numeris gubernetur*'). So, while we know that Herbenus enjoyed vocal music because of its ability to reach the human mind, as well as the heavens, with numerical perfection, the relationship of these musical qualities to the words they set is so interlinked that a lack of formal clarity in one creates a lack of clarity in the other. Both words and music work in parallel towards the same goal, which Herbenus describes as '*iucunda ac decora laus Deo*'.²⁵ The connection to Tinctoris's '*musica laudes Dei decorat*' needs no clarification.²⁶

Whether Obrecht thought about this piece in terms of its setting of text is a matter yet to be explored. We can assume that such a clear setting was unnecessary to inform Herbenus of the function of the work (in his words, '*in honorem consecrationis templi*'). Were the motet used in a re-dedication service for The Cathedral of Our Lady, its function would have been evident to anyone aware of the chronology of Brabant's most magnificent church.

The Church of Our Lady was mammoth in size, boasting a numerologically significant seven aisles. Cryptic symbolism is not without

²⁴ '*Absorbetur igitur in talibus cantibus iudicandi ratio, qui tam celeriter aures praetervolant, ut, antequam de eis iudicium fiat, iam evanuerunt.*' Smits van Waesberghe, p. 59.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁶ In a list of '*antiquissimis et recentioribus musicis*' Herbenus lists '*Ioannes Tinctoris*' and '*Franchinus Gafurus*'. See *Ibid.*, p. 17.

precedent in Obrecht's *opus*,²⁷ and one might begin an argument for such devices by pointing to the seven notes in the incipit of each voice, setting the text 'laudemus nunc Dominum'. Nevertheless, the motet did not survive in any sources north of the Alps so its reception there, other than the comments by Herbenus, is elusive.

The motet does survive in two Italian sources: in *Vatican City, Cappella Sistina 42* (c. 1505)²⁸ and Petrucci's *Motetti a cinque* (Venice, 1508). The earliest source for the motet was compiled in Rome during the reign of Julius II, and probably dates from the middle of his reign c.1503-1507.²⁹ The pontiff had a special reason to enjoy Obrecht's *Laudemus nunc Dominum* during the time of its admittance into the chapel's manuscripts around 1506.³⁰ It was, after all, in this year that he laid the cornerstone of the Basilica of St. Peter. While the completion of St. Peter's would extend well into the sixteenth century, the chapel might have collected the motet in expectation of the completion of the building project started in that year.

The use of Petrucci's *Motetti a cinque* is more elusive than that of *VatCS 42*, simply because it is a print. It could merely have been a source of musical distribution, from which performance copies would be made. It could

²⁷ The *Missa* 'Sub tuum presidium' has exactly 888 semibreves, perhaps signifying the perfect octave, with 333 semibreves in the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* and 555 semibreves in the remaining parts of the mass. See *Born for the Muses*, pp. 337-40.

²⁸ For a discussion of this source see R. Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries*, Renaissance Manuscript Studies, 5 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1996), esp. for chronology, pp. 224-25.

²⁹ Sherr, *Ibid.* See also, A. Cummings, 'Toward an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet', *JAMS*, 34 (1981), 43-59 and J. Dean, 'Listening to Sacred Polyphony c. 1500', *EM*, 25 (1997), 611-38.

³⁰ Because of the multiplicity of scribes that worked on *VatCS 42*, Sherr was able to date with great precision the entry of the motet into the source. See *Papal Music Manuscripts*, p. 224.

also have been a performance copy for a small chapel choir. It could have had private devotional purposes outside of performance altogether.³¹

The text of the motet is noteworthy, not only because it is a compilation of various texts, but also because the compiler liberally paraphrased and, in many sections, departed entirely from pre-existing biblical and liturgical texts. In doing so he betrayed a clear theology of altar-making and it is this theology that makes the text so impacting in the consecration of a devotional locus. The text is below with the *cantus firmi* texts inserted in boldface type at the point at which they occur in relation to the secondary texts:

1] Laudemus nunc Dominum in canticis et modulationibus sonorum, quoniam hodie salus huic domui facta est. **[cantus firmus 1:] Non est hic 5]aliud, nisi domus Dei et porta celi.** Numquid non David fecit stare cantores contra altare et in sonos eorum dulces fecit modos, ut laudarent nomen Domini sanctum 10]et amplificarent mane Dei sanctitatem? Psallamus igitur singuli. Sint oculi tui Domine super domum hanc quam edificavimus tibi, et exaudias deprecationem populi tui 15]sacrificia et holocausta super altare tuum offerentis, Alleluia.

Let us now praise the Lord with songs and musical sounds, for this day is salvation come to this house. **This is none other than the house of God and the gate of heaven.** Did not David set singers before the altar and by their voices make sweet melody, that they might praise the holy name of the Lord and magnify the holiness of God in the morning? Let us therefore all sing psalms. May thine eyes, O Lord, be upon this house which we have built for thee, and mayst thou hearken to the supplication of thy people when they offer sacrifices and burnt offerings on thine altar, Alleluia.

[cantus firmus 2:] Vidit Jacob scalam, summitas eius celos tangebatur, et descendentes 20]angelos, et dixit: Vere locus iste sanctus est, Alleluia. Cantemus Domino canticum novum, laus eius in ecclesia sanctorum, Alleluia.

Jacob saw a ladder, the top of which touched heaven and the angels were descending and he said, 'Indeed, this place is holy', Alleluia. Let us sing unto the Lord a new song, let his praise be in the congregation of the saints. Alleluia.

Numquid non patres nostri Cain, 25]Abel, Noe, Abraham, Jacob, Mosyses, Aron, David, Salomon,

Did not our fathers Cain, Abel, Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, David, Solomon, Zerubbabel and

³¹ See H. Brown, 'The Mirror of Man's Salvation', p. 751. See also chapter five of my 'Text-Tone Relations c.1500'.

Zorobabel, et Jesus Josedec
 in diebus suis edificaverunt altaria
 Domino, et nomen Domini invocantes
 30]exaltaverunt templum sanctum
 Domino paratum in Gloria
 sempiterna? **[cantus firmus 3:]**
Erexit Jacob lapidem in titulum
fundens oleum desuper, Alleluia.
 35]Laudemus igitur Dominum,
 quodiam hodie salus huic domui facta
 est, Alleluia.

Jesua son of Jozadak build in their
 days altars unto the Lord, and calling
 upon the name of the Lord exalt the
 holy temple prepared for the Lord for
 everlasting glory? **Jacob set up the**
stone as a memorial pillar, pouring
oil over it, Alleluia. Let us therefore
 praise the Lord, for this day is
 salvation come to this house.
 Alleluia.³²

As Jennifer Bloxam has rehearsed, the *cantus firmi* of the motet almost universally appeared as the first, second, and third antiphons in the second nocturn of matins on the feast of the Dedication.³³ The freely composed texts that surround them are somewhat harder to identify.

Lines one and two cannot be identified with any biblical or liturgical text. Line three (beginning with 'quoniam...') comes from the gospel of Luke where Jesus, having sought out and visited the tax collector Zacchaeus, pronounces His benediction. This passage is repeated again in lines thirty-six and thirty-seven. The sentence beginning in line six has no similarities to existing texts, but is an account of well-known biblical events.³⁴ The sentence beginning in line eleven (with 'Psallamus') has similarities to several passages from the Psalms but no exact concordance.³⁵ The sentence beginning in line twelve is a partial quote from III Kings³⁶ chronicling Solomon's dedication of

³² From *New Obrecht Edition*, vol. 15, p. 83, trans. by L. Holford-Strevens.

³³ *A Survey of Late Medieval Service Books*, pp. 344-53. Here Bloxam compares local models for these chants with the ones employed by Obrecht. The chants vary from region to region but they are absent from sources in Bruges and Antwerp, preventing Bloxam from securing a localisation. Nevertheless, the variants between Obrecht's chant and the ones used in other institutions may suggest nothing more than an imaginative memory as Obrecht recalled the chants for his setting here.

³⁴ See Ecclesiasticus 47:11-12

³⁵ See Psalm 46:7, 91:2, and 97: 1.

³⁶ 8:29-30.

the temple whose foundation would last until Christ's advent, and to which Christ likens himself.³⁷ The phrase that follows the word, 'domum', however, is the original product of the text compiler. This original passage continues until the end of the *prima pars*. The *secunda pars* begins with the familiar first line of Psalm 149, 'cantemus Domino canticum novum' ('Let us sing to the Lord a new song'). Notice that the compiler changes the verb to first-person plural instead of the Vulgate's 'cantate'.

The passage and list of names in lines twenty-four through twenty-seven have no location in the liturgy and do not correspond with any list of names in the Old and New Testaments or the Apocrypha. There are careful theological assertions being made by the compilation of names, especially in connection with the *cantus firmi*.

The list of names presents a historical survey of altar building among the people of God from creation until the establishment of the lasting temple in Jerusalem which foreshadowed Christ. Surprisingly, the two surviving sources for the motet differ in their readings of this list of names.³⁸ Petrucci lists Abraham, Aaron, David, and Jesus Josedech, while *VatCS 42* lists Cain, Abel, Jacob, Moses, Solomon, and Zerubbabel. Both lists are chronological and, when conflated, one fills in the other's gaps.

	Creational	Patriarchal	Exodus figures Kings	Post-Exilic	
RISM 1505²		Noah, Abraham,	Aaron, David,	Jesus Josedech	
VatCS 42	Cain, Abel,		Jacob, Moses,	Salomon, Zorobabel	

Wisely, when considering the musical setting of this list (discussed below) Chris Maas conflated the two sources to supply a more believable underlay than either source provided on its own. When considering how well each list

³⁷ John 2:19.

³⁸ See Bloxam, *A Survey of Late Medieval Service Books*, p.346.

completes the other, and considering how the names may be conveniently set to music in groups of two as indicated in the chart above, it seems fair to assume that each source omitted a portion of the list, supplying only the text of every other group of two names. When the lists are conflated, we see Obrecht's text as a useful inventory of altar-builders from the Bible.

It is, however, somewhat surprising to find Cain at the head of the list. The first murderer is not often labelled as one of the *patri*. Obrecht chose to include Cain, who was the first altar builder mentioned in the Bible, even though his sacrifice was rejected and his seed cursed. Patristic theology established the symbolic type latent in the story of Cain and Abel and the two brothers were connected, most famously by Augustine, with two kingdoms: *civitate hominis* and *civitate Dei*.³⁹ Cain's presence here, among the *patri*, serves as a gentle reminder of the supplicant's all-too-often impious state before God, a reminder that is seconded by the next name on the list, Noah. It was, after all, only after God's flooding the wholly sinful world that Noah built his altar and Noah (somewhat surprisingly recalled by Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel after a picture of an altar) was found drunken and naked by his sons.

Restoration for mankind was re-established in Abraham, the original patriarch of the Hebrews, whose belief in God 'was accounted to him as righteousness'.⁴⁰ His devotion was tested by God, who asked him to place his promised son Isaac on the altar—a reminder, in the context of the motet,

³⁹ [XV.xv]: 'Hunc secutus Abel, quem maior frater occidit, praefigurationem quandam peregrinantis civitatis Dei.' *The City of God against the Pagans*, trans. by G. E. McCracken and others, 7 vols (London: Harvard University Press, 1957-72), v (1967), 494.

⁴⁰ Romans 4:9.

that we should be ready to relinquish even our most precious positions at the request of God.

The list of names in the motet continues with Obrecht's namesake Jacob, the father of the twelve tribes of the Hebrew people. The altar-making experience of this patriarch is reiterated in the three *cantus firmi* texts.

Jacob built an altar after a dream in which he saw a ladder leading to heaven (see lines 33-34). The third and final *cantus firmus* ('Erexit Jacob lapidem') recalls Jacob's anointing of the stone of this altar. In the gospel of John, Christ's words, 'you shall see the heavens open and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the son of man,'⁴¹ an allusion to Jacob's vision, confirm that the vision actually foreshadowed Christ, who would build a heavenly ladder through the cross.⁴² Obrecht evokes the heavenly ladder by including Jacob's words, '*Non est hic aliud, nisi domus Dei et porta celi*' in the *cantus firmus* simultaneously with Christ's words '*quoniam hodie salus huic domui facta est*' in the other four voices.⁴³ We have come to 'the house of God' and the salvation of God has come to 'this house'.

The next figure in the list of names, Moses, witnessed the creation of the great altar of the tabernacle, though he made two altars prior to it. The first was built when God gave the Israelites a victory over the Amalekites.⁴⁴ He made another altar after God gave His law to the people of Israel.⁴⁵ His

⁴¹ 1:51 (*DR*).

⁴² This theme of Christ as a Jacob's ladder is also present in the seventh stanza of Obrecht's *Salva crux*:

<i>'tu scala, tu ratis</i>	Thou art the ladder, thou the raft
<i>tu, crux desperatis</i>	Thou the last plank
<i>tabula suprema;</i>	For the desperate;

(trans. L. Holford-Strevens, *New Obrecht Edition*, vol. 16, p. 84).

⁴³ Bars 25-34 in the *New Obrecht Edition*, vol. 15, p. 71.

⁴⁴ Exodus 17.

⁴⁵ Exodus 24.

brother Aaron's presence on the list is apt in that he was the officiating priest at the altar of the tabernacle.

David, the second king of Israel (and next on the list) was the figurehead of the golden age of the Hebrew people – what St. Augustine labels as 'iuventutis populi Dei'.⁴⁶ It is from David's lineage that Christ descends according to the genealogy in Matthew's and Luke's gospels as well as Old Testament prophecies. David's altar experience is also chronicled in the *prima pars* (lines six through eleven). David's son Solomon, the next name on the list, constructed the first permanent temple in Jerusalem with the altar in the centre.

After the Israelites returned from Babylonian captivity in 538 BC the people regrouped and rebuilt the temple in Jerusalem under the leadership of Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel and Jeshua son of Jozadak – the next two names on the list.⁴⁷ It was their reformed temple, with some alterations by Herod, the governor of Judea, which lasted until the time of Christ around 500 years later. The presence of their names on this list, therefore, is of no small significance in tying up the links between the Old Testament altar-builders and the new temple to which Christ compared Himself.

Obrecht's list is an appropriate sampling, not a comprehensive survey, of Biblical altar makers. His choice seems calculated but it seems to have been ill-represented in the two surviving sources, each of which presents only half the names Obrecht may have had in mind. Were there a familiar Biblical or liturgical citation for the list of names, we might infer that the scribe and

⁴⁶ *Civ. Dei*. [XVI.xliii], p. 202.

⁴⁷ The compiler has chosen to include the father of Jeshua but not of Zerubbabel, presumably because the name of the former could be confused with other figures with the same name (i.e. Joshua son of Nun or Jesus son of Mary), all translating to Iesus in Latin.

editor chose to omit a text that their readers could have easily re-constructed. As it stands, it seems that Obrecht's interest in providing a carefully selected survey of altar-makers may not have been fully appreciated by the compilers of *RISM 1505*² and *VatCS 42*. One might infer that the list of names did not play an important part in the ontology of the motet, but this would be to overlook the fact that both sources do at least provide some part of the list. A better inference might focus on the essentially *musical* function of the sources, in which *text* provides a supporting but secondary role.

Again, if theological content is any indicator, then the text of this motet is clearly important. The next task is to try and see how the musical material relates to the complex theological motif of altar-making. In what ways are the two parts of this work, the text and the music, separate and in what ways do they connect in their overall devotional purposes? Just like the panel from the Obrecht altarpiece, the music serves to highlight the thesis of the work as a whole, though just like the Obrecht panel, the music can also stand alone. Herbenus enjoyed the passages of syllabic setting in the work but he does not recall the fact that these passages are complemented by equal-voiced polyphony throughout the work. With this in mind, a closer look is required to see how near in his criticism Herbenus actually came to Obrecht's original conception.

The motet's three *cantus firmi* always appear in the *tenor* voice and are all antiphons from the Matins of the *Commune dedicationis Ecclesiae*.⁴⁸ An example of Obrecht's later style, the motet's *cantus firmi* do not perform the crucial structural role that they do in many of his earlier works. Nevertheless, as we have seen, their texts do play a structural role in the text of the motet as a whole.

The *prima pars* begins with a short syllabic *incipit* setting for the opening lines: 'Laudemus nunc Dominum'. Lines one through four of the text (ending in 'est') are then set nearly syllabically. These same lines of text are then repeated and the rhythmic complexity increases so that the phrase 'canticis et modulationibus' is set to jaunty rhythms in all voices (see example 1).⁴⁹

⁴⁸ *New Obrecht Edition*, p. XXXV. The chants, as Chris Maas has identified, are *Liber responsorialis*, (Solesmes, 1895), 237, 241, 238 (in order of appearance).

⁴⁹ All excerpts transcribed after *New Obrecht Edition*, vol. 15, pp. 69-83 but with note values restored.

example 1, bars 16-20

Superius
[Domini]num in can - - - ti - - -

Contratenor primus
est Lau - de - mus nunc Do - mi -

Tenor
[Non] est hic

Tenor secundus
[nunc] Do - mi - num in can - ti - cis et

Bassus
[Laude]mus nunc Do - mi - num lau - de - mus

cis et mo

num in - - - can - - -

a - - -

mo - - - du - - - la - ti - o

nunc Do - - - mi - - - num

A superficial glance might read this change in rhythmic complexity— one that does not really begin in earnest until the setting of the repeated ‘in canticis et modulationibus’— as a signal that Obrecht intended to highlight this

phrase by literally living out its meaning in the music. Certainly the rhythmic contrast sounds very 'musical'. It would be easy to read this passage as a sort of proto-text painting. A more objective look would consider that, having presented the text syllabically, in a declamatory style, Obrecht now reaches the threshold of possibilities afforded to him by that syllabic style and begins using more rhythmically interesting material. That it begins on the phrase 'in canticis et modulationibus' seems less pointed when we consider that the rhythmic patterns he adopts can be found throughout the *prima pars*.

Obrecht turns to duet in his setting of text-lines six through eight ('Numquid non David... dulces fecit modos'). In an interesting coincidence, the only other lengthy passage of two-voice texture is in the setting of another 'numquid non' proposition. In the *secunda pars* the list of names that begins 'numquid non patres' is also set to duets.⁵⁰ The duet passage in the *prima pars* consists of five discrete phrases, offset by rests and they divide the text as follows:

Numquid non David/ fecit stare cantores/ contra altare/ et in sonos eorum/ dulces fecit modos/	Did not David set singers before the altar and by their voices make sweet melody
--	--

A more grammatical five-part division of this text could not be imagined. Nevertheless, the division of the text into five parts makes for a rather choppy presentation of its message (for example, in the isolation of both prepositional phrases). The text was divided into five parts, not because

⁵⁰ Excepting these two, the only other passage of two-voice texture in the motet is a short passage in bars 45-47: the setting of 'et amplificarent mane Dei sanctitatem'.

it has five obvious grammatical sections, but because Obrecht wrote five musical phrases.

The setting of the text passage beginning with 'Psallamus igitur singuli' (see example 2) seems emphatic. The extended homophonic phrases and the strong cadences at their ends seem to suggest Obrecht was highlighting these words. Nevertheless, he does position the setting of the text phrase, 'sint oculi tui Domine super domum hanc', as a musically consequent phrase to the setting of 'Psallamus igitur singuli'. In doing so, the 'sint oculi tui Domine super domum hanc' passage is separated from its relative clause, 'quam edificavimus tibi', by the polyphony that then follows the two homophonic passages.

In the *secunda pars*, the second of the motet's chant melodies unfolds in semibreves while the other parts interact in counterpoint above and below it, creating a lusciously dense polyphony. The musical passage containing the enigmatic collection of patriarchal names is the first break in this texture and the entire list of names is set to alternating duets. The first duet, between *superius* and *altus*, is a syncopated melody set against a descending scale (see example 3).

example 2, bars 48-58

The musical score shows a vocal line in G major with lyrics: [sanctita] tem Psal-la-mus i-gi-tur sin-gu-li Sint o-cu-li. The bass line provides a homophonic accompaniment with block chords and moving bass lines. A fermata is placed over the final chord of the phrase.

tu - i Do - mi - ne su - per do - mum - hanc quam e - fi

fi - ca - vi mus ti - bi et ex - au - di - as de - pre -

ca - ti - o - nem po - - - pu - li tu - li sa -

example 3, bars 122-127

Superius
Num - quid non pa - - -

Contratenor primus
Num - - - quid non

tres no - - - - - stri

pa - - - tres no - - - stri Ca - - - [in]

From what the underlay in the sources suggest, the names are grouped in pairs and set to alternating duets.⁵¹ Thus Cain is paired with Abel, Noah is paired with Abraham, etc. leaving Jeshua son of Jozadek to finish alone. If this isolation of the final name is intentional on Obrecht's part then the intention is to call out the nominal associations between the re-builder of the post-exilic temple, Jeshua son of Jozadek, and Jesus, whose body is the temple of God. This intent is perhaps made more evident by the *tenor secundus* who, in the only surviving source with this part,⁵² is given only the text 'et Jesus'. Though it is set beneath three minims and two semibreves, this still provides too few notes for the five-syllable 'et Jesus Josedec' and thus the text may have been shortened to 'et Jesus' in performance.

The motet continues in alternating duets, finishing out the semantic unit the same way it began, to arrive back on a final C before moving on to an obviously contrasting following section.

The relationship between text and music in the setting of the integral 'exaltaverunt templum sanctum' passage is an audible one, simply because of its lengthy syllabic setting (see example 4). It was perhaps this passage that prompted Herbenus's comments. The homophony begins, however, in the middle of the semantic notion and thus it disconnects the structural sense of the music and the semantic sense of the text, leaving us to wonder what about the relationship between words and music pleased the grammarian if not the preservation of the grammatical integrity of phrases.

We may safely say, however, that there was something about the homorhythmic passages that pleased Herbenus. They make the text

⁵¹ See also *New Obrecht Edition*, vol. 15, pp. xxxvi-xxxviii for collation of sources.

⁵² Vat CS 42, fols. 183^v – 188^r

intelligible and the music approachable, however divided the actual phrases of the text may be. That Obrecht connected the two duet passages to the two similarly-constructed 'numquid non' sentences seems like a large-scale formal decision that is linked directly to a feature of the text (i.e. the two rhetorical questions) and this might have been something the grammarian would have noticed. Nevertheless, the theological usefulness of this text would have been evident, with or without its setting. The musical form of the piece, its section breaks and alternation between cantus firmus, homophony, and duet imitation, is clear with or without the text.

example 4, bars 164-74

3 The Painting, the Motet, and the Altar

The function of the panel as part of an altarpiece was to set apart a specific location, most likely in a home, and hallow it for worship by means of a physical agent of adornment. The 'singer before the altar', Obrecht, faces the missing panel of the altarpiece in a posture of prayer. The presence of his image is not primarily a compliment to his piety but a testimony to the worthiness of the subject to whom he prays. In one sense, Obrecht's likeness

serves as an example, suggesting that if this singer can prostrate himself before the altar, others ought to follow his lead. In another sense, Obrecht's likeness decorates the chapel, as singers at an altar always would.

The text of the motet highlights the relationship between God and those who kneel before his altar, particularly by establishing a link between the altars of the Old Testament and the altar of the New Testament in the paschal lamb of Christ. The texts of the *cantus firmi* and the corresponding story of Jacob's dream help to make the tie between Old and New Testament altars. The music, however, hallows the altar by decorating it aesthetically. The motet text establishes for what reason the place is to be hallowed, while the music is the physical agent that aids in hallowing the location.

Herbenus may have valued syllabic homophony because it provided text clarity but in providing text clarity it also provided the musical coherence that made the motet so enjoyable—and Obrecht must have known this because it is so evident in the music itself. We can therefore assume, both from Herbenus's testimony and Obrecht's compositional hand, that the text was not always the driving force behind textual clarity. It is true that, just like the intercessory power of the Virgin and Child would have been made more clear by the presence of a beautifully rendered singer before them, so too the devotional power of this compiled text is made more effective by a coherent musical setting. Through this coherence, however, the setting stands on its own as a musical structure, irrespective of the text (as the beautifully rendered Obrecht portrait now stands on its own). Both the portrait and the music serve the aims of the respective works of which they are a part. Nevertheless, we would be unwarranted in thinking that Obrecht relied on the text to govern his

musical structure in the same way that we would be unwarranted in thinking that the portraitist relied on the content of the altarpiece as a whole to govern his depiction of Obrecht.



Portrait of Jacob Obrecht, Kimbell Art Gallery, Texas, reproduced

from www.kimbellart.org

Chapter Seven

Isaac's *Prophetarum maxime*, Its Sources, and Their Sources

Despite his seminal role in the development of polyphony in Florence, Heinrich Isaac's motets are not often considered as examples in studies of compositional style. Certainly this is due in part to Isaac's prolific output and the lack of a complete modern edition of it. Nevertheless, the relative security of the facts surrounding his biography, at least during his mature life, allows his works to be clearly traced in their transmission from Florence to other musical institutions. Observing the transmission and use of a work as it travels through a source stemma is one way to consider the work in context and, for the purposes of this study, to consider the way that context may inform our understanding of contemporary notions about words and music. This context includes historical events surrounding the location where a source was in use but it also includes the very sources themselves and the testimony given by scribal and editorial practice. For the purposes of this study, I will limit myself to one important but little-known compiled-text motet by Isaac: *Prophetarum maxime*. I will first endeavour some comments on the text itself, its setting, and the relationship between the motet's musical and verbal components. I will then uncover aspects of musical thought surrounding the context of each of the motet's original sources. Finally, I will compare scribal and editorial practices in the various sources for the motet.

That *Prophetarum maxime* is Florentine in conception seems likely, given its text in praise of the city's patron saint, John the Baptist. It is likely that the motet was part of the devotional events of his feast day, 24th June.

The motet is difficult to place within Isaac's biography because of his steady relationship with Florentine patronage. Because the motet exists only in sources that date from after 1516, it may have been a later work of Isaac's. It was perhaps written during the last three years of his life (1515-1517), which were spent just outside Florence.¹ The motet survives in two families of sources, which we may provisionally label as Florentine and German.² The Florentine group consists of *Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale II.I.232*, fols. 32^v-35^f (hereafter *Fn232*), *Cortona, Biblioteca Comunale Mss. 95-6*, fols. 62^f- 65^v and 60^f – 63^v /*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles Acquisitions 1817*, fols. 64^f-67^v (hereafter *Cortona/Paris*), and *Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Mss. Magl. XIX 164-7*, no. LXII (hereafter *Fn164-7*). The German group I have labelled thus because all the sources within it have some connection to the version of the motet found in the Grimm and Wirsung print, *Liber selectarum cantionum quas vulgo motetas appellant sex quinque et quatuor vocum* (Augsburg, 1520), fols. 220^v -227^r (hereafter *RISM 1520⁴*). The manuscripts that can be hypothetically traced to this source are: *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vaticana Latina 11953*, fols. 1^v - 4^f (*bassus* only, hereafter *VatL11953*) and *Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare Ms. A17*, fols. 98^v - 101^r (hereafter *PadA17*). Also grouped in this German family is Fridolin Sicher's organ book, *St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek Codex 530* (hereafter *St Gall*), in which Isaac's motet is intabulated on fols. 126^v-128^v.³

¹ See F. D'Accone, 'Henrich Isaac in Florence: New and Unpublished Documents', p. 472 et seq.

² See M. Just, *Studien zu Heinrich Isaacs Motetten* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Tübingen, 1960), p. 54.

³ See E. Kempson, *The Motets of Henricus Isaac (c. 1450-1517)* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of London, 1998), p. 433. Here she also notes an occurrence of the motet in the inventory, *Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek Ms. Pal. Germ. 318* which appears in modern edition by Jutta Lambrecht, *Das "Heidelberger Kapellinventar" von 1544* (Heidelberg: Heidelberg University and Library Press, 1987).

1 Text

The motet text is a compilation of biblical, liturgical, and freely

composed texts. It is as follows:

1] Prophetarum maxime vatumque princeps
egregie, qui matris in utero manens flexis
genibus redemptorem salutasti et quo nato
paternae vocis organa perempta novum
5] solvuntur in canticum. luceque fruens
digito terrarum orbis demonstrasti salutem
dicens:

'Ecce agnus Dei ecce qui tollit crimina mundi'

Secunda pars

Concede nobis (concede nobis)
10] tuas digne concinere laudes viasque tuas
et vocem in deserto clamantem. Nostra
modulatione prosequi (prosequi). Per eum
cuius tu superis inferisque fuisti precursor
posuit os meum dominum. Quasi gladium
15] acutum sub umbra manus tuae [suae]
protexit me.

Elizabeth Zacharie magnum virum genuit
Joanem Baptistam praecursorem Domini.

Tertia pars

Inter natos mulierum non surrexit (non
20] surrexit) maior Joanne baptista.

Greatest of the prophets, and excellent prince
of seers who while in your mother's womb,
kneeling, saluted the Redeemer, and when
you were born, the destroyed organs of your
father's voice broke out into a new song and,
benefiting from the light, with your finger you
pointed out the salvation of the world, saying:

Behold the Lamb of God. Behold him who
takes away the crimes of the world.

Allow us worthily to proclaim your praise and
follow with our music your ways and voice
crying in the desert, through him of whom you
were the precursor above and below. The
Lord has made my mouth like a sharp sword;
under the shadow of your [his] hand he has
protected me.

Elizabeth and Zechariah begot a great man,
John the Baptist, precursor of the Lord.

Among those born of women, none greater
has arisen than John the Baptist.⁴

The first two words of the text are found in a hymn for the Litany of All Saints as the first line of a stanza dedicated to St. John the Baptist.⁵ The account that follows them in lines one through six of the motet marks the nativity of John as recalled in the gospel of Luke.⁶ The motet gives not a quotation but a condensed overview of the story.

The 'ecce agnus dei...' passage harkens to the words of the gospel writer, but the substitution of '*crimina*' for '*peccata*'⁷ must be seen as an intentional alteration as it occurs in all the motet's sources but neither in

⁴ This text is constructed as a consensus of the manuscript evidence and I am indebted to Bonnie Blackburn and Mark Graham for help with the translation. For readings of text as found in each source, see the *variorum* edition in appendix B.

⁵ *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, ed. by G. Dreves, 55 vols (Leipzig: Reiland, 1893), xv, no. 162.

⁶ Luke 1:5 et seq.

⁷ The passage, John 1:29, reads 'ecce agnus Dei, qui tollit peccatum mundi' in the Vulgate.

Jerome's vulgate nor the liturgy of the Nativity of St. John. Though the two words may seem interchangeable, their difference is pointed. '*Peccata*' is usually translated as 'sins'. '*Crimen*' has a more varied meaning. Classical sources usually use the word as we would use 'accusation', though it can be translated as 'misdeed' or 'crime'; the etymological connection between the latter and our English word is self-evident. The word '*crimen*' had a variable meaning in Renaissance Latin thanks to Jerome's translation of the Bible and Augustinian theology. Jerome maintains the classical meanings of the two words but sometimes employs '*crimen*' to describe grossly abnormal misdeeds. Augustine, however, uses the word '*crimen*' to describe the most grievous type of sin, for which no atonement can be made, save that of Christ.⁸ The alteration of the motet text causes it to emphasise Christ's taking away the most deadly of sins.

The 'concede nobis' that follows the 'ecce agnus dei' passage is a stock phrase occurring in pleas to many patron saints but, while this phrase sounds clichéd, the passage that follows it shows theological depth. Lines ten and eleven recall the passage in Isaiah where the prophet foretells John's

⁸ In the Vulgate, '*ἁμάρτημα* and its derivatives are translated 'peccatum.' In all instances, the word describes the misdeeds of man committed against God in man's turning from righteousness. *Crimins*, however, is much less frequently used and is usually employed to translate '*ἔγκλημα* which is, again, a legal term for accusation (see Acts 25:16). More rarely, *crimins* is used to translate '*ἄτοπος* which most often means wrong in the 'out of place' sense (as in Acts 28:6, here rendered 'harm') but can also mean a moral wrongdoing (as in Luke 23:41 and Acts 25:5). Augustine makes the distinction between the two words clear in his *Enchiridion de fide spe et charitate* (chapter 64) writing, 'interest quidem quantum: neque enim quia peccatum est omne crimen, ideo crimen est etiam omne peccatum' ('but a distinction must be made according to the sin, according to the gravity of the case. It does not hold that because every crime is a sin, therefore every sin is a crime'). L. Arand, translator of the work, gives credit to Augustine as the earliest writer to distinguish between lesser sins (*peccata, quotidiana, minuta, venialia*) and *crimina* which is moral sin. See *Faith, Hope and Love* (London: Longmans, 1952), n. 208. For a discussion of the meaning of the Greek words translated by Jerome, see *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, rev. and ed. by F. W. Danker, 3rd edn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000). Latin text of Augustine taken from *Opera omnia*, ed. by vars., 15 vols (Paris: 1836-), vi (1937), 328.

coming, describing him as a voice crying in the wilderness. The passage is recalled by all four gospel accounts and, in the gospel of John, the patron saint declares himself to be the one Isaiah described.⁹ Lines twelve through the first half of fourteen seem to be a freely composed description of the purposes of John's life.¹⁰

The next passage, beginning 'quasi gladium', bears some relation to the Introit at Mass of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. The Introit includes a snippet from another passage in Isaiah where the Old Testament prophet explains himself as a mouthpiece of the Lord. It reads, 'de ventre matris meae vocavit me Dominus nomine meo: et posuit os meum *ut gladium acutum: sub tegumento manus suae protexit me.*'¹¹ This passage from Isaiah is re-issued in the *lectio* for the same Mass as 'et posuit os meum *quasi gladium acutum: in umbra manus suae protexit me.*'¹² As Isaac's text is closer to the *lectio* and, consequently, the Vulgate, we may infer that he was working from scripture and not liturgy. In either context, the pronoun '*suae*' refers to God, '*me*' refers to the prophet, and thus it translates 'like a sharpened sword, He protected me under the shade of His right hand'. The text of the motet, as presented in *Fn232, Cortona/Paris, and VatL11953* retains the pronoun '*suae*' but, by doing so, the passage containing it seems disconnected from the text prior to it. *PadA17* does not use the Biblical text at all, but simply repeats the previous text, 'inferisque fuisti precursor'; this can comfortably be considered a corruption. The text as preserved in the other

⁹ Isaiah 40:3, Matthew 3:3, Mark 1:3, Luke 3:4, and John 1:23.

¹⁰ Though one based in scripture—*cf.* John 3:30, 'Illum oportet crescere, me autem minui.'

¹¹ *Liber usualis*, pp. 1499-1500, (*emphasis mine*). The Douey-Rheims translation of Isaiah 49:1-2 reads, 'The Lord hath called me from the womb, from the bowels of my mother he hath been mindful of my name. And he hath made my mouth like a sharp sword: in the shadow of his hand he hath protected me.'

¹² *Liber usualis*, p. 1500, (*emphasis mine*).

sources weaves the passage from Isaiah into the semantics of the passage already in process by changing the pronoun from 'suae' to 'tuae', and thus the antecedent of the altered pronoun is no longer God, but John the Baptist. Because the speaker of the passage is the singer himself, the 'me' within the context of the motet is the singer, as was already referred to in line twelve. It is, therefore, under the shade of John's hand that the singer is protected.

Had the variance been limited to one source, scribal error would be the obvious answer. Had the variance been present in sources that obviously link in the motet's stemma, one could see the change as something passed from source to source. Neither is the case. *Fn164-7* contains 'tuae' while *Cortona/Paris* (a source to which I will soon show it to be closely related) contains 'suae'. *RISM 1520*⁴ contains 'tuae' while *VatL11953* (a source with obviously German repertoire,¹³ whether connected to the German print or not) contains 'suae'. That the variant does not seem to be connected with source lineage, but is also not isolated to one source, suggests a few interesting notes about scribal practice in relation to the text.

In the format altered from the Vulgate, the text shows ingenuity but changes the rhetorical function of the passage in Isaiah. The passage is transformed from one exposing the way God cared for His prophet Isaiah (a meaning no less transferable to John) to a passage lauding John's ability to be used by God to care for the singers. It is impossible to identify which text the composer had in mind for the motet.¹⁴ This aside, it is interesting to think that scribes were either entering the text from their memory of the Bible, thus

¹³ See the index in R. Casmiri, 'Canzoni e mottetti dei sec. XV-XVI', *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale*, 14 (1937), 145-60.

¹⁴ There are probably good reasons for giving more credence to *RISM 1520*⁴ given its close association with Isaac's student Ludwig Senfl (see below).

using 'suae', or that they were thinking of the text as a semantic whole and thus changed the pronoun to 'tuae' for the sake of integration. Either event suggests the text to be more flexible than we commonly think it to be. Both suggest the text as an important part of the work—on the one hand as an element of biblical *auctoritas*, and on the other as a necessarily well-constructed, sensible paragraph.

This short passage about the care of John the Baptist is followed by the first antiphon at second vespers of the Nativity of St. John, 'Elizabeth Zacharie magnum virum genuit', and this passage needs no commentary.

The *tertia pars* is a setting of the fourth antiphon at second vespers in the same feast. The passage quotes Jesus, from the gospels of Matthew and Luke,¹⁵ as he explains the greatness of John the Baptist. The liturgy is an incomplete quotation, however, and Christ's words actually read, 'Non surrexit inter natos mulierum maior Ioanne Baptista; qui *autem* minor est in regno caelorum, maior est illo.'¹⁶ So while the text extracted for the motet is purely in praise of John, Jesus presented this enigmatic picture of John as one who is both greater than any born of a woman and yet, the least in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than he. It is understandable why the text compiler chose to omit the last phrase; it deflates the thesis of the motet text.

2 Setting

Isaac's text is yet another example of careful compilation, but what of its setting? Isaac's later motet style already biases a listener's ears towards hearing a close relationship between text and music because of the lengthy

¹⁵ 11:11 and 7:28 respectively.

¹⁶ Matthew 11:11 *emphasis mine*: 'there hath not risen among them that are born of women a greater than John the Baptist: yet he that is the lesser in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he' (DR).

use of homorhythm – oftentimes connected, though with little proof, to laude. Here, as in the motets mentioned before, it would be easy to read moments of syllabic setting as emphatic, without considering them as purely musical gestures based on stylistic reasons. It was, after all, the very text-centeredness of the lauda that gave it its function. Nevertheless, it is impossible to know whether it was the musical qualities of the lauda, the genre's ability to clearly present a text, or perhaps the emotional effect of stylistic pastiche that influenced Isaac in moments of syllabic setting in this motet.¹⁷ It is beneficial to take a closer reading of the musical setting of this carefully compiled text to better understand the aesthetic functions of both music and text.¹⁸

The piece begins with syllabic imitative phrasing followed by a short equal-voiced polyphonic passage leading to a cadence. The piece moves back into homophony for 'matris in utero' but then returns to equal-voiced polyphony, again leading up to a cadence. The passage setting 'flexis genibus' is set to imitative phrasing and this then precedes the homophonic setting of 'redemptorem salutasti'.¹⁹ It is tempting to hear the dotted minim, crochet, minim, minim, semibreve rhythm as a fanfare, characterising John's heralding of the Redeemer, but this same rhythmic figure occurs throughout, even in homophonic settings of texts irrelevant to the resounding 'ecce agnus dei' of John.²⁰ The section that follows is a working out of the material introduced in the setting of 'redemptorem salutasti' leading up to the cadence

¹⁷ My suspicion is that, like most instances of pastiche, the laude-style passages here are meant to evoke by means of association. Given Florence's rich tradition in laude, especially during the Savonarola regime, it is easy to imagine the pious mindset Isaac's music evoked.

¹⁸ The reading that follows should be accompanied by my edition of this motet, included as appendix B.

¹⁹ Bar 22 et seq.

²⁰ For instance, the setting of 'digito terrarum' in bar 58.

on G in bar forty-one. The *pars* continues on with imitative phrases that lead into a long section of free polyphony. Thus far, Isaac alternates between textures in a way that lends the piece musical interest. He generally changes texture as he changes text phrase, highlighting the semantic structure of the text with the formal structures of his music.

The next major section begins with the setting of 'ecce agnus dei...'.²¹ Given the liturgical familiarity of this text, Isaac develops a *cantus-firmus* structure for its setting, with a chant-like melody unfolding in quasi-canon between the *altus* and *tenor*. (I say 'chant-like' because I have been unable to locate a *cantus prius factus* that concords with the *tenor* part in this passage.) The liturgical text seems to encourage the new *cantus firmus* texture, and it comes at an opportune time musically, in that the need for rhythmically independent lines is felt acutely, especially after the simplicity of the opening of the *pars*.

The first section of the *secunda pars* is constructed around nearly-syllabic imitative phrases. Moments of homophony naturally occur between two or more voices, as the rhythmic simplicity of each phrase allows them to align frequently.²² An equal-voiced polyphonic passage ends in a canonic, then imitative duet between *altus* and *bassus*.²³ Their duet runs the motet headlong into a deliberate homophonic setting in *tempus perfectum* of the first antiphon for second vespers of the Nativity of St. John.²⁴

The thick 'chordal' section arrives as a wall of sound – in stark contrast to the previous passage. That Isaac was making an emphasis here needs no

²¹ Beginning bar 70.

²² See *tenor* and *bassus* bars 111-13 and *tenor* and *bassus* bars 121-23.

²³ Beginning bar 145.

²⁴ Beginning bar 160.

arguing. That it was related to the text certainly seems likely. The section is almost entirely syllabic, so in this sense Isaac must have been writing with the text close at hand. He naturally would have been, however, because the text would have been present in the chant book from which he copied the *superius* voice. The text and music align well in this section because it is the only section for which Isaac seems to have used the text and melody of a previously existing chant. It is vicariously, therefore, that the music of this section relates to its text. The music relates to the governing *cantus firmus*, which, in turn, was originally designed for its text. The musical emphasis and the textual emphasis work side by side here. The motet's audience would have likely heard this passage as a stylistic pastiche, perhaps even as laude style, and its liturgically-important text would have been familiar and affecting.

The *tertia pars* bears the text of the fourth antiphon of second vespers of the Nativity of St. John, but relationship between the music and the associated chant melody is less clear than Isaac's setting of the first antiphon at second vespers.²⁵ The final *pars* of the piece functions as a closing gesture, one of free polyphony, leading up to the final extended cadence which in *Fn164-7* bears an 'amen', while in other sources the piece closes on the name of the saint.

The motet has an articulately compiled text set to music which works towards articulating the same message—a praise of St. John. The very thing that saves the music from dullness—discrete sections of contrasting textures and styles—also highlights the sectioning of the text. The frequent syllabic settings, ones which rarely remain exclusively syllabic for the duration of the

²⁵ The text 'Inter natos mulierum...' is also present in the short responsory at sext of the same feast.

text phrase, have a musical effect of equal merit to their contribution to text clarity. Just as in previous examples, Isaac's formal clarity in music results in formal clarity and intelligibility for the text.

3 The sources in their context

The motet alone can give us some light into the relationship between words and music. The cultures surrounding its transmission can also illumine this relationship as they inform us of the motet's uses. Better understanding the uses of the motet can add clarity to its musical testimony. It is therefore to the motet's transmission, and then its sources themselves, that we now turn.

3.1 *Fn232*

Fn232 has clear ties to both Florence and the Medici. Anthony Cummings's exhaustive research on the manuscript leaves little doubt about its provenance. The ascription to Leo X in the guard sheet, fol. 111^r, indicates that the source was completed after the election of the first Medici Pope in 1513.²⁶ Cummings presented several other arguments which narrow the date even further, citing watermarks present which occur only in sources from 1522 forward.²⁷ Thus he pushed the ambit of the date further forward. In the end, Cummings dated the manuscript's compilation to the years of 1516-1521. This means that, though possibly the youngest source for the motet, it was likely finished after Isaac's death (1517).

Fn232 is a choir book with a content solely devoted to sacred pieces. In fact, with the exception of a Gloria, Credo, Passion, and a textless piece,

²⁶ A. Cummings, 'A Florentine Sacred Repertory from the Medici Restoration', *AM*, 2 (1983), 267-332 (p. 277).

²⁷ Esp. Briquet #492, see C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier, dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusq'en 1600*, 2nd edn, 4 vols (Leipzig: 1923), I.

the manuscript is a collection of motets.²⁸ The exact use of the source is unknown. It is known that the Medici were involved in the music of the Cathedral and, more prominently, the Baptistery of San Giovanni. In fact, as Frank D'Accone has chronicled elsewhere, the Medici patronage of San Giovanni caused the chapel there to swell to almost four times the size of the Cathedral's chapel.²⁹ It would be a useful concession here to hypothesise that the manuscript was in use by one of the two institutions' chapels.

The musical institutions of the Cathedral and the Baptistery were bastions of polyphonic music throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, lapsing only momentarily during the Savonarolan period.³⁰ When the cathedral chapel was completely re-instated on 10th August 1510, the Calimala Guild recorded the event in their archives. It seems that the Florentine consuls decided to re-institute the chapel of singers because of 'how much an adornment it was to the divine service', that it would 'resound to the honour and praise of Our Lord Jesus Christ and our precursor St. John the Baptist', and that it would be 'a consolation to many individuals to re-adorn the said temple with the said chapel of singers'.³¹ Again, the words of Tinctoris's *Complexus* are confirmed. Unsurprisingly, the presence of singers served a purpose of ornamentation or adornment—not to present sacred texts more clearly.

²⁸ *Census-Catalogue*, vol. 1, p. 216.

²⁹ F. A. D'Accone, 'The Musical Chapels at the Florence Cathedral and Baptistery during the First Half of the Sixteenth Century', *JAMS*, 24 (1971), 1-50 (pp. 14-15).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³¹ '*quanto adornamento fussi circa al culto divino*'; '*per honore et laude del Nostro Signor Yhu Xpo. et del nostro precursor San Giovanni Batista*'; '*et consolatione di molti particolari riadornare detto temio di detta cappella de' cantori*'. The complete report is transcribed and translated in *ibid.*, pp. 10 and 40. It is interesting to note that in the Isaac motet, John the Baptist is '*praecursorem Domini*' whereas, according to the '*giudichereboni*' of Florence, John is '*nostro precursor*'. Again, the mutation of liturgical or Biblical ideas seems to have been normative.

The liturgical associations of the motet suggest it was probably first designed for the celebration of the Nativity of John the Baptist. The importance of devotion to St. John, both in the life of Florence and in the life of the Medici family, is demonstrated in a 1518 entry of the diary of Paride de' Grassi, master-of-ceremonies to Leo X, the first Medici Pope. As Bonnie Blackburn has already mentioned, there was a long standing dispute between Leo X and Grassi about the level of feast day that was to be celebrated at the Nativity of John the Baptist and an entry in Grassi's diary chronicles the moment where he acquiesced to the pontiff and allowed the Credo to be sung on the feast day – an inclusion which was normally reserved for Sundays.³²

Grassi notes:

Unde ego videns istam devotionem Papae quae eo maior in ipso est quo ipse Joannes vocatur et florentinus nam natio Florentina hunc sanctum celeberrimum veneratur preter ceteros ut gratificare Papa, dixi [...] quod antiquitus [...] hoc festum habeat cappellam Papalem in Vigilia et in die nam et vespere esse solebant, et in die missa solemnibus quam celebrabat presbiter cardinalis et etiam faciebat sermo et credo, non dicebatur nisi festum caderet in dominica itaque cum hoc festum sit celebre in ecclesia, nam testimonio ipsius Domini nostri Hiesu Christi, inter natos mulierum non surrexit maior: quod verbum etiam infideles et mauri et ferre [sic] omnes nationes omnium sectarum hanc die, pre ceteris colunt, venerantur, et adorant.³³

Seeing this devotion of the Pope, which is all the greater in him because his name is John and he is Florentine, for the Florentine nation venerates this most celebrated saint above all others, in order to gratify him I said that in former times [...] this feast had a *cappella papale* on the Vigil and on the day itself, for there used to be both vespers, and on the day a solemn Mass celebrated by a cardinal priest, and there was also a sermon, and the Credo was not said unless the feast fell on a Sunday. Thus, since this feast is much honoured in the church, for according to the testimony of our Lord Jesus Christ, among those that are born of women no greater has arisen, which word even the infidels and Moors and almost all nations of all sects worship, venerate and adore on this day.³⁴

This correspondence includes Grassi's quotation of a passage of liturgy present in *Prophetarum maxime*. To support his argument he, like Isaac, omitted the phrases that followed the 'inter natos mulierum' text to make his rhetorical point. We can assume that his familiarity with the

³² B. Blackburn, 'Music and Festivities at the Court of Leo X: a Venetian View', *EMH*, 11 (1992), 1-37 (pp. 20-21).

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

passage of text was not unique and this at least is a firm demonstration that many of those hearing *Prophetarum maxime* would not have needed to hear the words articulated to know their semantic content – they could achieve this from memory.

If the opinions of the first Medici pope are a reflection of his Florentine nationality, as Grassi notes, then part of what made *Prophetarum maxime* a welcome addition to the Florentine choir book, *Fn232*, must have been the subject of its text. Parishioners of the Cathedral and Baptistery, Medici or otherwise, would have shared in their countryman Leo's delight in the praise of the Baptist. This first Medici pope took his particularly Florentine hagiology with him to the papacy, further binding Florence and Rome in an ecclesiastical partnership that would continue on and off at least through the reign of Clement VII (1523-34). This partnership becomes more interesting as we consider the history of *Cortona/Paris* and *Fn164-7*.

3.2 *Cortona/Paris*

If *Fn232*'s context is chiefly devotional with political overtones, that of *Cortona/Paris*, the motet's next oldest source, might be characterised as chiefly political with devotional overtones. The *Cortona/Paris* part books are ornate presentation manuscripts. They were most likely compiled for Giulio de' Medici before he ascended the throne of St. Peter as Clement VII in 1523. That the manuscripts belonged to Giulio is evident from the coat-of-arms present in folio 41^r, which is the Medici escutcheon and crest surmounted by a cardinal's hat and supported by banners bearing initials linked to Giulio. This, therefore, suggests that the books were compiled before 1523, else the

cardinal's hat could not have been present in reference to Giulio.³⁵ The part books also contain Jean Mouton's *Quis dabit oculis*, the text of which lamented the death of Anne of Brittany in 1514. This narrows the ambit for the source's compilation to between 1514 and 1523.

The repertoire of *Cortona/Paris* is more mixed than *Fn232*, the former containing thirty chansons, four frottolas, and twenty motets.³⁶ The part books contain the noteworthy Medici song *Palle, Palle* as well as Isaac's setting of Angelo Poliziano's lament for Lorenzo de' Medici, *Quis dabit capiti meo aquam*. As Cummings has pointed out before, these pieces suggest that the presence of *Prophetarum maxime* in such a Medici/Florentine part book might be less an indication of devotion to saintly prayer and more of an indication of Florentine patriotism. Moreover, Cummings also pointed to the illumination of the initial 'P' of the motet's *incipit* in the three surviving part books. It contains a device that lends credence to this patriotic reception (see illustration 1). It seems that the white dog contained therein, a symbol of *fides*, and the collar surrounding the charge, which bears the motto '*costante*', are both associated with Averardo detto Bicci, the fourteenth-century ancestor of the Medici family.³⁷ The message of the illumination is clear: the Medici are faithful sons of Florence. This illumination and the presence of the motet within this heavily political source present an interesting slant on the role of the motet's text. One could well imagine that the motet would have immediately evoked a sense of Florentine patriotism, its subject matter known from the syllabic setting of its *incipit*. The listening audience would have been familiar with the sentiment, if not the letter, of the text and their spirits would have been roused

³⁵ See A. Cummings, 'Giulio de' Medici's Music Books', *EMH*, 10 (1990), 65-122 (pp. 79-80).

³⁶ *Census-Catalogue*, vol. 1, p. 166 and vol. 3, p. 28.

³⁷ Cummings, 'Giulio', p. 91 et seq.

during the *tempus perfectum* section as the choir recalled the blessings on Elizabeth and Zachariah in the birth of John. The Medici audience would have been glad for the pious sentiment created by the performance of the work – the subject of its text a Florentine icon. In such a performance situation, with a close intertwining of devotional humility and aggrandising Medici tradition, the nuance of the text must have been of lesser importance when compared to its less subtle political overtones.

Of course, this is not to isolate the reception of *Cortona/Paris* from that of *Fn232*. The difference between the two is a matter of degree. In the context of a courtly performance, the intention of the adornment is partly to highlight the grandeur of the Medici family, partly to evoke Florentine ‘patriotism’, and partly devotion to John the Baptist. In an ecclesiastical context, the emphasis might simply have been more swayed towards Johannine devotion.

It would be wrong, however, to credit the music itself with supporting any political agenda; it is simply impossible to know what kinds of connotations the mix of lauda-style and imitation would have evoked in a Florentine audience. It is the content, if not the detail, of the text – not the music – that would have been the largest factor in shaping a political reception.

A letter from Giulio to his cousin Lorenzo II gives insight into the mind of *Cortona/Paris*'s chief recipient concerning our question of music and words.

Giulio writes:

Prorsus Laurenti: nullum enim genus antiquarum literarum omisi, quod non attingerem, quia suspiciebar, praecipua vitae ornamenta esse literas, incenaque etiam sum

Certainly, Lorenzo, I neglected no genre of ancient letters and I enjoyed them, because I felt letters to be the principal ornament of life; I also endeavoured to learn music and

maximo studio perdiscendi Musicam et
Picturam quoniam haec ad perfectionem
corporum notitiam adiumentum affert
maximum, illa, quod faciat, nos otium
honeste & cum magna animi voluptate
tenere, si modo illud complecti velimus.³⁸

illustration 1

painting thoroughly, because they are of the
greatest help in perfecting the body; they
keep us engaged in a noble occupation, to
the great pleasure of the soul if we want to
master them.

³⁸ Cummings 'Giulio', p. 73.

The image displays two pages of a musical manuscript, oriented vertically. Each page features a large, ornate initial letter 'R' decorated with intricate floral and scrollwork patterns. The musical notation is written in a medieval style on five-line staves, with Latin text written below the notes. The text on the left page includes 'zitate', 'stipate', 'quia amore languet', 'Rophetoy', and 'qui matris in u'. The text on the right page includes 'quia amore languet', 'Rophetoy', 'e qui matris in utero', and 'flexis genibus'. Handwritten annotations in the left margin of each page identify the manuscript as 'MS 95' and 'MS 96'.

Giulio's distinction between 'letters' and 'music' supports the notion of a functional division between the two arts. Again, the concept of *ornamenta* arises, but in this instance, it is not music, but literature that ornaments life.

Music, instead, like painting, gives opportunity to contemplate ratios and perfect the body. It seems, then, that the chief recipient of *Prophetarum maxime*, as performed from *Cortona/Paris*, would have seen performed music as an opportunity to contemplate the ratios of the notes and thus to perfect his body. Where this leaves the sacred text is unclear. Certainly the motet could not exist without it, but Giulio's understood value of musical performance seems to lie in its musical properties, even if he saw a parallel value in the study *antiquarum literarum*.

3.3 *Fn164-7*

The connection between *Cortona/Paris* and the third oldest source for the motet, *Fn164-7*, has become clearer through the research of this dissertation.³⁹ An exact provenance has never been obvious for the seminal collection of Italian, French and Latin polyphony. It has always been assumed that the part books were compiled for one of the major families of Florence, though when this would have happened has been the cause of much speculation.⁴⁰ Indeed, dating of the manuscript has been elusive even in the face of compelling arguments. Alfred Einstein suggested that the manuscript must have dated from shortly after 1520 because the pieces by Pisano in *Fn164-7* seem to be copied after Petrucci's 1520 print, while pieces in *Fn164-*

³⁹ See 'The Part Books of a Florentine Expatriate: New Light on *Florence*, *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MSS Magliabechi XIX. 164-167*, *EM*, 33 (Nov. 2005), 639-45. I am indebted to Anthony Cummings for offering his help in the preparation of this section as well as providing me with a typescript of his forthcoming monograph, *Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Manuscripts Magliabechiana XIX. 164-167* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007) which provides a complete codicological report on the manuscript and offers suggestions as to the significance of its structure.

⁴⁰ Alfred Einstein presents this in 'Dante on the Way to the Madrigal', *MQ*, 25 (1939), 142-55 (pp. 149-50) and he also describes the various scribal hands present in the sources. Howard M. Brown also suggests the sources as owned by an established Florentine family in his introduction to the facsimile edition of the manuscript printed as part of *Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, 5, 4 vols (London: Garland, 1987), i, vi.

7 which occur in prints of the late 1520s (i.e. those by Pierre Attaignant) are obviously not copied after the later publications.⁴¹ Einstein was especially comparing *Fn164-7* to Petrucci's 1520 collection of the music of Bernardo Pisano, whose works make up an astonishingly large part of the manuscript.

In Joshua Rifkin's 1973 article comparing Florentine scribal hands, he convincingly argued that the scribe who copied the vast majority of *Fn164-7* was also the scribe who copied *Biblioteca del Conservatorio Ms. Basevi 2440*.⁴² Both manuscripts, therefore, were dated from sometime during the second Medici restoration of 1512 to 1527, having been linked to a single scribe working within that period. Later, *Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Mss. Magl. 178* was linked with this scribe as well.⁴³ Furthermore, it has been argued that the collection of music in *Fn164-7* suggests a date of around 1520, simply because of the absence of pieces by Verdelot, whose popularity quickly overshadowed Pisano's after the arrival of the former in Florence in 1521.⁴⁴ The impression was that *Fn164-7* was primarily a collection of contemporary secular music for a noble family with tastes for new Italian and French songs as well as a devotional interest in older motets.

The watermarks, however, undermine a c.1520 date and this discrepancy should point to the lack of certainty surrounding the source's provenance. *Fn164-7* contains Briquet #5463, a watermark in the shape of a cross pommee with a plain base terminating in a vertical line,⁴⁵ which occurs

⁴¹ 'Dante on the Way to the Madrigal', pp. 147-50.

⁴² 'Scribal Concordances for Some Renaissance Manuscripts in Florentine Libraries', *JAMS*, 26 (1973), 305-26 (p. 313).

⁴³ See *Census-Catalogue*, vol. 1, p. 230.

⁴⁴ The most recent mentioning is in I. Fenlon and J. Haar, *The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century: Sources and Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 173.

⁴⁵ *Les Filigranes*, vol. 2, p. 327.

in other Florentine manuscripts as well, but only among those that either have a broad possible range for dating, or can be dated with some certainty from after 1528. *Florence Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Magl. 111* and *112* both have Briquet #5463 and seem to date from after 1528.⁴⁶ *Florence Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Magl. 122-5* also bear the mark and certainly date from as late as 1532-7 because of their inscription to Alessandro de' Medici, Duke of Florence.⁴⁷

There has also been an argument for a Roman origin of *Fn164-7* based partially on its original binding. In *The Italian Madrigal*, Iain Fenlon and James Haar note the compelling evidence suggesting that this style of binding occurred in books of mainly Roman origin.⁴⁸ The coin impressed on the original binding is a reproduction of an antique coin bearing the inscription 'Divvs Augustus', a motto also reproduced on the banner covering the medallion in the *bassus* book (illustration 2).⁴⁹

This medallion is one of the two clues within the *bassus* part book that have haunted those interested in establishing a provenance for *Fn164-7*, the other being the coat-of-arms inscribed in the second opening of the book (see illustration 3). In a moment of good providence, I stumbled upon the identity of these hitherto unidentified family devices.

The escutcheon belonged to the Buonaparte family, an ancient Tuscan clan with a prominent political profile. In the mid-fifteenth century, the

⁴⁶ *Fn111* and *Fn112* are related in many ways and both contain chansons which seem to be copied after Attaignant's *Chansons nouvelles* (Paris, 1528). See L. Bernstein 'La Courone et le fleur des chansons à troys: A Mirror of the French Chanson in Italy in the Years between Ottaviano Petrucci and Antonio Gardano', *JAMS*, 25 (1973), 1-68 (p. 18).

⁴⁷ See *Census-Catalogue*, vol. 1, pp. 224-25 and 227-28.

⁴⁸ *The Italian Madrigal*, pp. 173-74. I am grateful to David Fallows for pointing me to this discussion as well as helpful private correspondence about *Fn164-7*.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* See also T. Marinis, *La legatura artistica in Italianei secoli XV e XVI: notizie ed elenchi*, 3 vols (Firenze, 1960), I, plate LXXXIX. Marinis places this binding in the chapter on Rome.

Buonaparte family, whose chief property was situated in the hilltop town of San Miniato, were in warm relations with the Medici house and its head, Cosimo il Vecchio.⁵⁰ In the early sixteenth century, however, the Buonaparte family of San Miniato was divided because of partisan politics based on allegiance or opposition to the ruling family of Florence – the Medici.

By the sixteenth century, there was dissent among the children and grandchildren of the head of the Buonaparte household, Piero. Piero's eldest son Benedetto remained politically neutral but both Benedetto's sons, Pier-Antonio and Giovanni, took part in the uprising against the Medici in 1527.⁵¹ Meanwhile, Jacopo Buonaparte, brother of Benedetto and uncle to the conspirators Pier-Antonio and Giovanni, was close confidant to the second Medici Pope, Clement VII. Indeed, a long relationship can be traced between Jacopo Buonaparte and Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (as he was known before his installation on the throne of St. Peter in 1523).⁵² Jacopo Buonaparte was present in Rome in 1527 when the city was sacked, preserved from harm by receiving shelter along with the Pope's closest aides in the Castel Sant'Angelo.⁵³ Jacopo's record of the 1527 sack of Rome is one of the most important surviving accounts of the event.⁵⁴

After defeat in Rome, Clement VII recognised his only hope was in allying his forces to the German imperial army. This precipitated yet another attack on Florence by a foreign and papal army, an event that had become a

⁵⁰ See M. Cecchi, *Storia genealogica della famiglia Bonaparte dalla sua origine fino all'estinzione nel ramo già esistente nella città sanminiatese* (Florence: Cecchi, 1846), p. 116.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp.119-20 and 139.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁵³ For a transcription of his account see C. Milanese, *Il Sacco di Roma del MDXXVII narrazioni di contemporanei* (Florence, 1867), pp. 245-408 transcribed from *Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ms. Fondo Pio no. 53*.

⁵⁴ For a study in English, see J. Hook, *The Sack of Rome 1527* (London: McMillan, 1973).

recurring theme in Florentine life in the previous two hundred and fifty years. The result of this attack was the re-establishment of Medici control and banishment of the two anti-Medici Buonapartes, Pier-Antonio and Giovanni.⁵⁵ After the illegitimate son, Alessandro de' Medici, was given power over the city, however, he granted clemency to the two brothers. Pier-Antonio and Giovanni returned to San Miniato, which was then an annex of Florence after the completion of Michelangelo's enlargement of the city's wall.⁵⁶ In 1531 Pier-Antonio held the office of *camerlingo* according to the records of the convent of SS. mo Crucifisso in San Miniato.⁵⁷ Meanwhile, Jacopo, then in his mid-fifties, had settled in Rome for good, enjoying the benefits of court life under the second Medici Pope.

The Buonaparte family's prominence can still be felt in San Miniato today, from the *Piazza Buonaparte*, to the family tomb in the church of San Francesco. The tomb, like many monuments in the town, bears the family's coat-of-arms (illustration 4), which resembles the one found in Fn164-7.

A form of the family escutcheon was added in the early sixteenth century to a fifteenth-century Florentine manuscript of Dante's *Convivio*.⁵⁸ The manuscript seems to have been given to Pier-Antonio at least sixty years after its 1465 completion.⁵⁹ The added inscription in fol. 2, which was written in the same ink as the escutcheon, reads, 'Convivio di dante alighieri

⁵⁵ Cecchi, p. 142.

⁵⁶ Under the direction of Michelangelo, the walls of Florence were extended to include San Miniato in 1529 when the city-state was under attack from French and papal troops. See M. Levey, *Florence: a Portrait* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1996), pp. 305, 310 and 314.

⁵⁷ *Archivio storico comunale di San Miniato, Opera del SS. mo. Crucifisso, no. 324.*

⁵⁸ *Bodleian Ms. Ital. d. 5.*

⁵⁹ See A. G. Watson, *Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435-1600 in Oxford Libraries*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 86-87.

fiorentino di pierantonio di benedetto buona parte e delli amici parenti e di tutti quelli che sene volessino servire.' (See illustrations 5 and 6.)

There are two major variants between the occurrences of the arms. The first is the direction of the bend (the diagonal line), in some cases sinister, in some dexter. This variance, however, can be seen even within *Fn164-7*, as the medallion on the back of the folio bearing the coat-of-arms also bears the Buonaparte escutcheon, with the bend going in the opposite direction from that of the complete achievement on the opposite side (see illustration 3). The escutcheons also vary in the number of bends, some having two, others one. Both variants can be attributed either to matters of cadency (i.e. differentiation between personal arms within a family) or scribal error.

The question of provenance for *Fn164-7* cannot be completely answered, however, until a single owner can be attached to the complete achievement present in the *bassus* book. It seems convincing that the escutcheon on both the inscribed medallion and the complete achievement belonged to a member of the Buonaparte family. The only manuscript that can be linked to an individual, the anti-Medici Buonaparte, Pier-Antonio, bears the family escutcheon and not a complete achievement (a likelihood, given its inscription to both Pier-Antonio and 'delli amici parenti'). While providing a familial link to *Fn164-7*, the copy of the *Convivio* cannot inform us, therefore, on the personal heraldic symbols of any of the members of the family.

While a certain answer is still unclear, I propose that there are several reasons to suggest the owner of *Fn164-7* to be the pro-Medici Buonaparte,

Jacopo (c.1478-1541).⁶⁰ His association with Giulio de' Medici, both before and after Giulio became Clement VII, explains the geographic difficulties of Florentine paper and Florentine script in a Roman binding. It also explains the connection in contents between *Fn164-7* and a set of part books that have recently been established as belonging to Giulio. Furthermore, there are heraldic reasons why the emblem found in the *bassus* book may have belonged to Jacopo and not to one of his family members.

Firstly, the coat-of-arms does not depict arms at all. The escutcheon in the complete achievement is an oval cartouche instead of the more normally used shield, as in the Bodleian example. This is in keeping with the general, though not exclusive, use of the oval cartouche by members of ecclesiastical communities and clerics, since both groups seem inappropriately suited to symbols of war. Secondly, the lines which drape down on either side of the cartouche seem to represent the clerical cords used in ecclesiastical heraldry. While the charges that are corded at the bottom of the arms are rather indescribable and slightly smudged, thus obscuring the rank indicated by such cords, it seems unlikely that the scribe could have intended the lines as anything but cords. Whatever the nature of the corded charges, the presence of cords at all, combined with the use of the oval cartouche, points to a clerical ownership. Jacopo Buonaparte was named a canon in Florence's cathedral in 1498 and renounced this title to be named canon of St. Peter's in Rome in

⁶⁰ For the chronology of Jacopo's life see R. Boldrini, *Dizionario Biografico dei Sanminatesi*, (Pisa: Pacini, 2001), p. 58. The burden of uncovering the vast number of sources on the families of San Miniato has been left almost entirely to local scholars such as Boldrini, to whom I am indebted and with whom I am delighted to share this interesting fact about one of the greatest native sons of San Miniato.

1510.⁶¹ Thus he would have been right in using such emblems in his complete achievement.

Moreover, the outward curving devices present on either side of the crest of the arms suggest the heads of crosiers, a device also connected to ecclesiastical use. Of course, this device is similar to the horns on the coat-of-arms found above the family tomb and could simply be a secular device always associated with this particular grotesque-face crest.

The content of the part books also suggests a connection with Jacopo based on his proximity to Giulio de' Medici. There are seventeen correspondences between *Cortona/Paris* and *Fn164-7*.⁶² In fact, even the orders of *Fn164-7* and *Cortona/Paris* are similar, with numbers nine, ten, and eleven of *Cortona/Paris* corresponding to numbers sixty-four, sixty-three, and sixty-five of *Fn164-7*. Interestingly enough, all the works by Compère found in *Fn164-7* are also in *Cortona/Paris*.

The completion of *Fn164-7* could have taken place in Florence, or Rifkin's unidentified Florentine scribe may have been working in Rome around

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁶² These are: no. 35, Compère's *Che fa la ramazina* (*Cortona/Paris* no. 28); no. 39, *Fortuna desperata/Vidi la forosetta/Voi m'havete/Fortuna* (*Cortona/Paris* no. 19); no. 46 (2), Josquin's *Entre je suis en gran pensier* (*Cortona/Paris* no. 21); no. 47, *Tant ravy suis en la bonte* (*Cortona/Paris* no. 23); no. 49, *Jouly mariner passe mon sene* (*Cortona/Paris* no. 4); no. 62, *L'autre jor je cavacloye* (*Cortona/Paris* no. 27); no. 63, *Gentil galans de fransa* (*Cortona/Paris* no. 10); no. 64, Compère's *Je suis amie d'un forier* (*Cortona/Paris* no. 9); no. 65, Compère's *Alons fere nous barbes* (*Cortona/Paris* no. 11); no. 66, Compère's *Voles ouir une sanson de chyons* (*Cortona/Paris* no. 14); no. 68, Compère's(?) *Ille est ung bon homme* (*Cortona/Paris* no. 23); no. 69, Compère's *Une playsant filette* (*Cortona/Paris* no. 3); no. 71, Isaac's *Prophetarum maxime* (*Cortona/Paris* no. 54); no. 72, Josquin's *Paratum cor meum Deus* (*Cortona/Paris* no. 50); no. 76, Josquin's *Alma redemptoris mater/Ave regina coelorum* (*Cortona/Paris* no. 30); no. 79, Josquin's *Missus est angelus Gabriel* (*Cortona/Paris* no. 61); no. 81, Josquin's *O bone et dulcis domine Yhesus* (*Cortona/Paris* no. 31). The complete index appended to A. Cummings's *Florence...164-167* (forthcoming, 2007) will be the most up-to-date inventory of the source and its holdings. This list is compiled, therefore, after Cummings's index as well as my own consultation of the sources. The reader may also cross-reference the inventory given in H. Brown, *Florence...* (1987) with G. Gröber, 'Zu den Liederbüchern von Cortona', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 11 (1887), 371-404, though the latter is erroneous at points.

1520. The collected folios could have been completed in Rome as a copy from *Cortona/Paris* and ancestral sources or might have come from a Florentine exemplar in the Medici library and been transported to Jacopo in Rome, for he was living there from 1510 forward.⁶³ Whatever the case, we should expect some interaction between Rome and Florence during the reign of the second Medici Pope and a connection to Jacopo would easily explain such interaction. While in Rome, Jacopo would have had the folios bound in their Roman bindings, bearing a Roman coin corresponding to the enigmatic Roman motto 'divus augustus incipit' found within the *bassus* part book. Unfortunately I have been unable to find a familial or institutional connection to the Latin motto but it is hoped that the connection of the part books to the Buonaparte family, and possibly Jacopo, might help others find its significance more readily.

Now that something can be said for the context of *Fn164-7*, we must see how all this relates to *Prophetarum maxime*. I have already mentioned the especially Florentine content of both *Cortona/Paris* and *Fn164-7*. Anthony Cummings suggested, in reference to *Cortona/Paris*, that the part books were politically charged objects full of music meant to confirm the rule of the Medici. I would posit a slightly different position on the reception and use of *Fn164-7*. It seems dangerously tempting to view Cummings's picture through a modern lens of patriotism and loyalty, one naturally shaded with negative images of flag-waving Victorians, not that Cummings intended us to take such a reading. I would rather like to suggest a reception of *Fn164-7* through a more noble view of loyalty and submission to a ruling party in an age when there was still

⁶³ See Boldrini, p. 58.

some hallowed ritual surrounding the praise of a monarch or ruling family. *Fn164-7* may have been specifically Florentine in agenda, and may have been owned by a rather dubious Medici crony who followed the ruling family at the cost of dividing his own, but in the days of majestic court rule, there was still a great deal of courage and honour in being a follower.

The relationship between Jacopo Buonaparte and Giulio de' Medici is still largely a matter of mystery. Nonetheless, we can expect some warmth between them based on Jacopo's choice to link himself with Giulio for most of his life, and Giulio's patronage, indeed, even protection of Jacopo from death during the sack of Rome. *Prophetarum maxime* as a part of this source may have been a reminiscence of home for a Florentine expatriate. It may have been material for yet more overemphasis on St. John in Rome thanks to the presence of another Medici Pope. It seems certain that the inclusion of *Prophetarum maxime* within the source is primarily a result, not of its music, but of the subject of its text—and that fact does bear remembering here.

Of course, the reasons why *Prophetarum maxime*, and indeed, *Cortona/Paris* and *Fn164-7*, are considered Florentine are not limited to the subject matter of the texts within. The *composers* of much of the music in both sets of part books were also Florentine. *Fn164-7* could be considered a tribute to Bernardo Pisano, one of Florence's most prolific native composers. Isaac was, of course, Flemish, but his lengthy tenure in Florence also makes his name somewhat synonymous with Florentine music of the late fifteenth century (the music of Jacopo Buonaparte's youth). With this in mind, it is not so conclusive that it is solely the Florentine devotional aspects of *Prophetarum maxime* that make it smack of Florence. It may have been a

well-known piece that was equally well known to be Isaac's (public knowledge of the piece's composer is requisite because, of the Florentine sources, the motet is only attributed in *Fn232*) and thus included in *Fn164-7* as a reminiscence of Isaac and, vicariously, Florence.

illustration 2

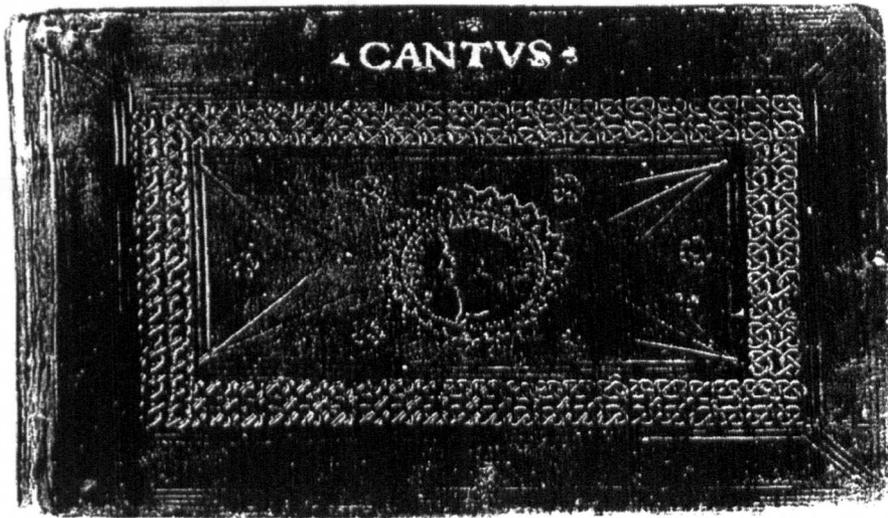


illustration 3

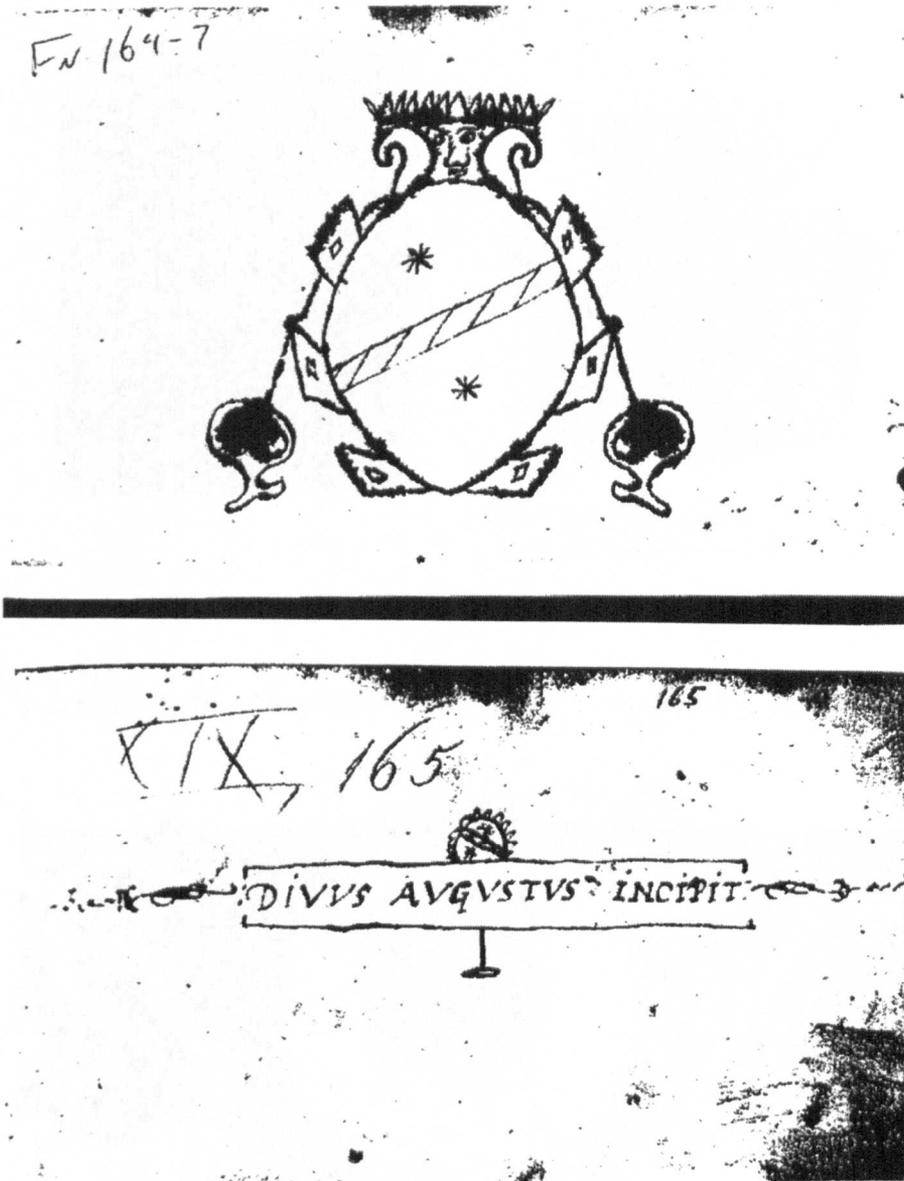


illustration 4



The Buonaparte family
arms, as registered in 1779.

illustration 5

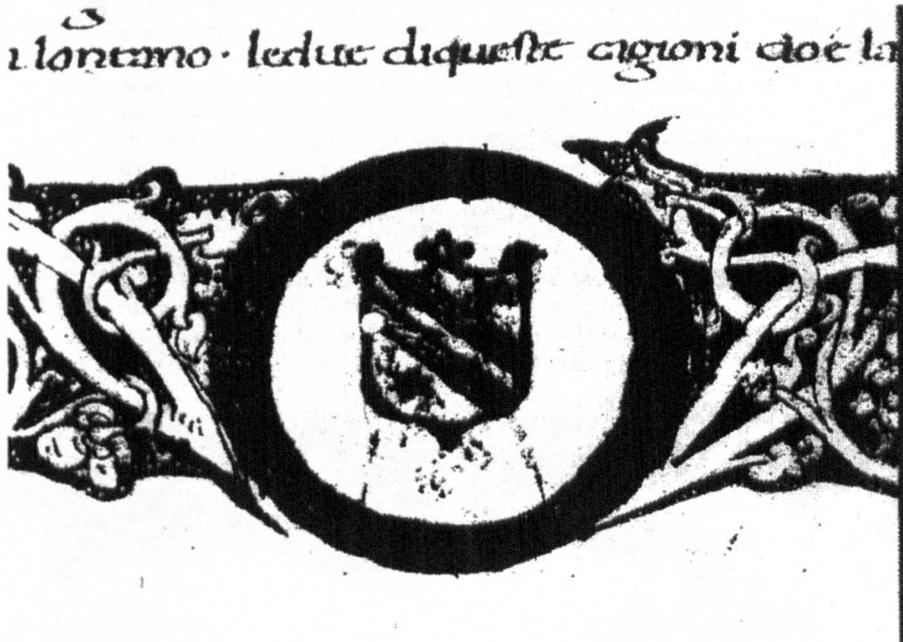


illustration 6

Conuino di dante alighieri
 di piezandonio di bernardone
 buona parte
 edelli amici uenerati ad tutti quelli
 de fere no lessino feruente

COME DICE ALPHILO SOPHO
 nel primio della sua incognita p...
 tutti gli uomini desiderano illu...
 mimente la cagnone che puo essere ai
 che caluna: colui che prouidetur di propria
 natura impariet e inchi...
 tione: Onde accio che la cagnone e illu...
 ma pfectiore della nostra anima nell'op...
 le stulticia nostra felicitate tutti naturalmente el suo del...
 derio stano felicitati. Nonimene da questa nobilissima p...
 che molti sono priuari y diuerse cagnone che dentro da o...
 mo e di fuori d'esso lei rimouono dall'buo cagnone.

De l'buo d'auomo possono essere due difetti e impedimenti
 luno dall'parte del corpo l'altro dall'parte dell'anima. In la
 parte del corpo quando le parti sono indebitamente disposte
 sicche niuna puo ricouere: si come sono i sordi e rauici e simili
 li allora. Dall'parte dell'anima e quando la fantasia uere
 messe che s'ha figuratrice di uerose dilectationi: nelle qua
 litate tanto inganno che puelle ogni cosa puere aut...
 D'istori dall'buo possono essere formalmente due cagnone
 inche l'una delle quali e inuidia che dice dicitur: l'altra di
 uicia che l'aprima e la uicia similitate e d'istore lo qual d'istore
 alle tene gli uomini la maggior numero: sicche
 puelle dilectatione: essere no possono l'buo e dilecto di
 luogo doue l'aprima e nata e nutrita: Imperadice calora
 l'buo da ogni studio non solamente fusto madagerie: s'ha
 diosi l'ancano: ledue di queste cagnone che l'aprima d'istore




3.4 *VatL 11953*

To some degree the Germanic sources of *Prophetarum maxime* are more easily traceable in provenance. This is, of course, excepting *VatL 11953*. This fragmentary and damaged *bassus* part book has only been studied as an exemplar of secondary nature when compared to more complete sources.⁶⁴ The source is rather difficult to place in terms of repertoire as well, with three mass sections, twelve motets from an eclectic group of composers, two German sacred and five secular songs, eleven French secular songs, one textless song later found to have borne a Dutch text, and one unidentified textless piece.⁶⁵ It is interesting to recall, as mentioned above, that both *Fn232* and *VatL 11953* concord in their text— each using ‘suae’ instead of ‘tuae’ – though *VatL 11953* is thought to be of German origin.⁶⁶ Given the difficulty in placing this source within a context, I will reserve my comments on it to the discussion of scribal practice further below.

3.5 *RISM 1520⁴*

The two other remaining manuscripts seem to relate to the Augsburg print *RISM 1520⁴* in some way. The print date, editor, dedicatee, and circumstances that surrounded the conception of *RISM 1520⁴* are all known.⁶⁷ The date of the print’s completion, 28th October 1520, is included in the epistle by Conrad Peutinger (1465-1547) on the final page.⁶⁸ In the epistles that begin and end the print, we find allusions to the death of Emperor Maximilian I

⁶⁴ The only modern study of the source is found in R. Casmiri, ‘Canzoni e mottetti’.

⁶⁵ For more detail see *Census-Catalogue*, vol. 4, p. 71.

⁶⁶ It is labelled in *Ibid.* as ‘ca.1515-1530 German’.

⁶⁷ For a full discussion of the source see M. Picker, ‘*Liber selectarum cantionum* (Augsburg: Grimm and Wirsung, 1520): a Neglected Monument of Renaissance Music and Music Printing’, in *Gestalt und Entstehung musikalischer Quellen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. by M. Stähelin (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), pp. 149-67.

⁶⁸ ‘Ex aedib. nostris. v. Kal's Novembris Anno salutis MDXX’.

(in 1519) and while it is not stated outright, it is implied that the print's dedicatee, Cardinal Lang von Wellenberg, Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, was hoped to follow in the emperor's liberality regarding his patronage of the two printers. Ludwig Senfl's name is also noted in these prefatory and concluding epistles as the editor of the volume. It stands to reason, therefore, that the version of *Prophetarum maxime* included therein was a copy from one of Senfl's own manuscripts containing the work of his teacher, Isaac. There are no clear ways of seeing whether or not Isaac's motet was relayed from its Florentine sources to *RISM 1520*⁴. The variants do suggest that the print was transcribed from a source no longer extant.⁶⁹

While the prefatory and concluding epistles of *RISM 1520*⁴ have been recently transcribed and translated,⁷⁰ I have nevertheless included them, along with some notes about the classical citations within them, as appendix A. The two epistles betray quite a lot about the aesthetic sensibilities of the print's compilers. Both documents express Platonic notions commonly found in writing on music of this period, particularly the passages that re-echo the Renaissance infatuation with *musica quâ musicae*.

In the third paragraph of the dedicatory epistle, the author argues that the benefits of music are something only fully achievable by man, since man can contemplate its ratios. While the brute beasts are often soothed by music, man can be made conscious of heaven while still in the body as the body receives the music and thus carries the heavenly ratios to the soul which

⁶⁹ See the charts included in appendix B.

⁷⁰ S. Schlagel, 'The *Liber selectarum cantionum* and the 'German Josquin Renaissance'', *JM*, 19 (2002), 564-615 (pp. 611-15). The epistles also appear in transcription in M. Bent, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik*, pp. 295-304.

is then aligned by them. Though an opportune moment, mankind's unique ability to communicate through language is not mentioned here.

Lines seventy through seventy-five of the prefatory epistle, which express discontent with some lascivious music, seem suspiciously like the discontent voiced by Quintilian in that 'our modern music [...] has become emasculated by the lascivious melodies of our effeminate stage and has to no small extent destroyed such manly vigour as we still possessed'.⁷¹

The lists of things for which music is most apt, found in both letters, are similar to the lists in Quintilian's *Institutio* [I.x.9-21], which point out the many uses of music. It is never explicitly stated how music comforts those who mourn or consoles those in love, for example, but it is said to act by 'harmonising' or 'banishing discord', not by conveying comforting words. The ability to align and order seems to be the cardinal virtue, indeed, the only thing worth praising.

The final epistle by Peutinger seems no less a re-issuing of Quintilian, but here we see why the rhetorician is invoked. In the second paragraph Peutinger entirely conflates oratory and music. Peutinger begins by asserting that all other disciplines are subject to 'oratio', both in style and structure, but thereafter the art is referred to only as 'ars ipsa'. It is only when Peutinger begins to reference Quintilian's stories of Themistocles and Aristophanes that we realise that the 'ars' to which Peutinger refers is no longer 'oratio' but 'musica'. We are left wondering whether the feminine pronoun ('ipsam') of

⁷¹ 'Quae nunc in scenis effeminata et impudicis modis fracta non ex parte minima, si quid in nobis virilis roboris manebat...' *Institutio* [I.x], p. 174.

line eighteen is referring to the previously mentioned 'oratio' or the 'musica' of line twenty-five.⁷²

Whether Peutinger's meaning was speech or music, the point is the same: once we understand the structural features of rhetoric (whether musical or verbal) we may apply them to any discipline of which we learn the merest rudiments. The idea that certain arts provide a template for others is the basis of the medieval educational curriculum. The form of a good speech is, therefore, a useful template for the developments of other formal structures. Likewise, we may assume, from Peutinger's conflation of the two, that the form of a good motet is a useful template for the structure of a verbal text. Again we see no disparity between good verbal and musical form.

It is the structure of music that aligns the soul with the body as mentioned in the prefatory epistle. Of this structure, 'songs and the sweet inflection and modulation of voices is not the least element' [lines 31-32]. It is clear by this distinction that Peutinger understood the greatest part of Music to be something beyond 'songs...and modulation of voices'—i.e. beyond performance of particular pieces. Though the voice is the common *medium* for music and speech, the rhetorical structure of both, and particularly of music, elicits the greatest praise here. We may safely infer that the absolute structures of the music preserved in *RISM 1520*², its harmony and rhythm, are most praiseworthy to Peutinger. Though the texts set within often have their own oratorical structures, and without them the music would be unthinkable in performance, these texts do not elicit Peutinger's attention.

⁷² Peter King has assumed it to refer to *oratio* and the translation appended here reflects that assumption.

Indeed, the prefatory and concluding epistles of the print would naturally wish to argue the supremacy of music in an absolute sense. The novelty and importance of the Augsburg print was in its being a musical document. Its contents, however, are both musical and verbal. In fact, the quality of the type-facing is praised in the same letter and this praise must have included text type-facing as well. The impression both epistles give of the book's readership, however, is of a chiefly musical one.

3.6 *PadA17*

The motet was copied by Friar Giordano Passetto in 1522, perhaps from the 1520 print, into the well-used choir books of Padua Cathedral.⁷³ As well as maintaining a fruitful relationship between Padua Cathedral and San Antonio church, the friar was responsible for opening up the town to the musical centres of Europe. *PadA17* is one of two manuscripts copied by Passetto during his lifelong tenure at the Cathedral.⁷⁴ Its content is exclusively sacred – one Te Deum and 124 motets.⁷⁵

Though the original conception of *Prophetarum maxime* was aimed at Florentine devotional needs and political interests, its content was easily appropriated in Padua, as its presence in Passetto's manuscript testifies.

⁷³ The inscription in fol. 188 of *PadA17* reads 'Frater Jordanis pasetus venetus ordinis praedicatorum scripsit hec manu propria ad laudem Dei 1522.' See *Census-Catalogue*, vol. 3, p. 3. While there are few common variants between *RISM 1520^f* and *PadA17*, the ones that do exist do not agree with other sources. See Appendix B critical notes. The repertoire of *PadA17* bears some resemblance to that of Petrucci's *Motetti de la Corona* (see B. Blackburn and F. Carey's article, 'Passetto, Giordano' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed. (London, 2001)) but, strangely, Isaac's motet does not appear in any of the Petrucci prints. It is hard to imagine that Passetto had access to the Florentine manuscripts and this leaves *RISM 1520^f* as his most likely source, especially given his proven reliance on, and connection to, printed sources. See also B. Blackburn, 'Petrucci's Venetian Editor: Petrus Castellanus and his Musical Garden', *MD*, 49 (1995), 15–45, (pp. 37–38). This is not to ignore, however, the possibility of a source now lost from which Passetto could have copied Isaac's motet.

⁷⁴ The other being *Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare Ms. D 27*.

⁷⁵ *Census-Catalogue*, vol. 3, p. 3. See also H. Colin Slim, 'An Anonymous Twice-Texted Motet (À A. T. M.)', in *Words and Music, the Scholar's View*, ed. by L. Berman (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1972), pp. 293-317.

Perhaps this was because, given the required feast days of the ecclesiastical calendar, it was quite natural for Padovans to take opportunity to praise the herald of Christ over other possible subjects of devotion. After all, 'that was born of a woman, no greater man arose than John the Baptist', even if Padua's patron saint is Anthony. *Prophetarum maxime* is situated within a large section of Johannine motets in *PadA17*, testifying to the prominence of devotion to St. John.⁷⁶

The organisation of the source suggests that the motet was included, at least in part, because it was a nice complement to the other Johannine motets in the manuscript. While the source on a whole is not clearly organised by subject, *Prophetarum maxime* occurs as the fifth of a group of Johannine motets, of which it is the most substantial. This group of Johannine motets is followed by a group of four motets with texts devoted to St Peter.⁷⁷ It cannot be ignored, however, that an appropriation of this motet into worship may have stemmed from an interest in the solely musical qualities of the piece, however it was grouped within the source. Passetto's dedication to compiling a collection of high-quality music meant including this motet by Isaac. Given its presence in three surviving sources that predate *PadA17* and perhaps many more that do not survive, the motet must have been, musically speaking, among the best Johannine motets available at the time.

⁷⁶ For an in-depth study of the entire manuscript, see J. G. Constant, *Renaissance Manuscripts of Polyphony at the Cathedral of Padua*, (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1975), p. 15 et seq.

⁷⁷ For a contents list and discussion of *PadA17* see *Ibid.*, pp. 51-158 and 261-370.

3.7 *St Gall*

With this purely musical value in mind, it is unsurprising to find Isaac's motet transcribed into organ tablature in *St Gall*, the organ book of Fridolin Sicher. In the 1992 transcription of the manuscript, H. J. Marx dates its compilation between 1512 and 1521 with a single late addition in 1531.⁷⁸ He does so based on the inclusion of Mouton's *Quis dabit oculis*, the chronology of which has already been discussed. Combining this fact with the presence of a watermark connected with the paper mills of François Bergier dating from 1516⁷⁹ and the many correspondences between *St Gall* and both *RISM 1520*⁴ and Antico's *Motetti Libro Primo* (Venice, 1521), the suggested date for the source is c.1520. Other than the transposition of the piece and consistent rhythmic changes, the reading of *Prophetarum maxime* in *St. Gall* seems remarkably like the version in *RISM 1520*⁴. Versions of *Prophetarum maxime* in both *PadA17* and *St Gall* suggest a wide dissemination of the motet not long after the appearance of the Augsburg print.

There are several possible reasons why the motet appears in *St Gall*. Isaac's reputation in Switzerland may have been heightened in the 1520s due to the dissemination of his works by his student, Senfl. In a sense, both *RISM 1520*⁴ and *St Gall* are a reflection of the tastes of northern Roman Catholic parishioners interested in the music of their countryman. Indeed, Fridolin Sicher, the copyist of *St Gall*, was forced to leave Switzerland in 1531 due to

⁷⁸ *St. Galler Orgelbuch*, ed. by H. J. Marx, Schweizerisches Musikdenkmäler, 8 (Winterthur/Schweiz: Amadeus, 1992), pp. 296-300.

⁷⁹ See *ibid.*, p. 329.

the Calvinist Reformation and might naturally have esteemed Isaac as a father of 'German' Catholic music.⁸⁰

What sets apart the occurrence of *Prophetarum maxime* in *St Gall* from the other Germanic sources is that the piece is extracted from its text. The merit of the motet is therefore no longer even partially laid up in elegantly compiled biblical and liturgical texts, nor is it even in the pious praise of John the Baptist. What began as a Florentine devotional and political motet meant to adorn the praises of 'nostro praecursore' ended in *musik für musik*.

4 Testimony from scribes and printers

As for the sources that do contain the motet's text, their individual styles of text-underlay give insight into the understood relationship between words and music. It is beneficial to examine them side by side to begin to discern the cognitive processes of scribes with regard to text.⁸¹

4.1 Fn232

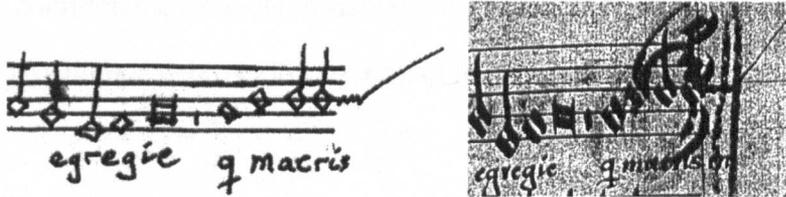
Fn232 is a choir book and because Isaac's motet receives only four openings within it, there is less space in this source than in others. Given this fact, one would expect the staves to be full – perhaps overly full – of text, with the result that a line break might cause an ostensibly implausible text underlay. This is never the case. For instance, in the first opening, the first line of the *tenor* voice ends with a rest followed by two semibreves and two minims. The scribe was obviously out of space for text and one might expect him to have placed the word 'in' on the line below so as to avoid the

⁸⁰ For the mid-sixteenth-century German reception of fifteenth-century Catholic music see Schlagel.

⁸¹ I am grateful to my supervisor Dr Warwick Edwards for his helpful contributions on the subject of the cognitive process of scribal practices and am looking forward to reading more in his forthcoming publication on text and music. The reader is encouraged to preface the following passage with the introductory notes to appendix B, where I discuss the method by which I placed text in the *variorum* edition.

inelegance of placing a word outside the margin of his staves (see illustration 7 and bars 11-18).

illustration 7



expected line ending

Fn232

Instead, the scribe ran his text over the margin. He did this even though the phrase inevitably ends in melisma and thus the most intuitive (or seemingly intuitive) underlay would set 'qui matris in utero' syllabically no matter where the 'in' fell. Whether or not the singer would have instinctively done so, the scribe indicates such a setting by placing four syllables at the end of the staff to match the four notes there – even if this leads to a slight visual inelegance.

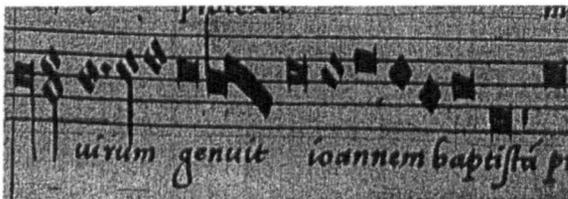
In *Fn232*, as in most manuscripts of this period, texts are grouped into small sections and placed beneath notes with which the sections seem associated. Quite naturally, passages like 'redemptorem salutasti' (bars 22-29) and 'novum solvuntur in canticum' (bars 42-46) are set beneath passages that perfectly accommodate their syllables. In these instances, *Fn232*, along with all other sources for this piece, situates the text phrases directly after the rests that precede syllabic passages in order to make certain that these words were set to the passages that best accommodate them. This is in spite of the fact that, to a modern reader, there seems to be no musical ambiguity as to where these passages of text belong.

The words are not broken up into syllables in *Fn232*. They are merely written, as if out of a passage of prose, beneath the musical passages to

which they correspond – keeping with standard scribal practice. So while the scribe seems dedicated, in some sense, to placing certain passages of text beneath certain phrases of music, he does not usually do this by making precise connections between syllables and notes. This is no less the case in the lengthy homorhythm in the section of *tempus perfectum* (bars 160 et seq.).

There the antiphon text is grouped into phrases: 'Elizabeth Zacharie', 'magnum virum genuit', 'Joanem Baptistam', 'praecursorem Domini'. These are then set to their corresponding musical phrases. The visual grouping results from the scribe's use of spacing; he places extra space between each text-group, even when there is no rest in the music (see illustration 8).

illustration 8



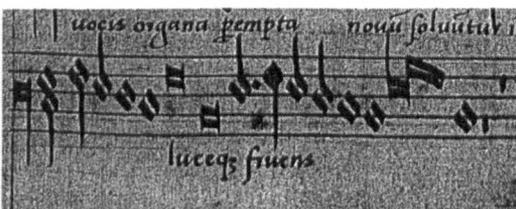
bassus

The above example is interesting in that, while there is no rest in the music – the normal indicator of a space in the text – there *is* a reasonable *musical* criterion for a new verbal phrase. The text break occurs before the start of a new musical phrase, spelled out by the cadence on a G major triad (see bar 169), even if the cadence is not followed by a rest. Whether or not the scribe was aware of this, I should not care to say. If he was, it would imply mental listening as he inscribed the words. While we have never had reason to think that they did otherwise, it seems that monitoring scribal

practice this closely can concretely demonstrate moments of their mental integration of text and music.

In some instances the spacing of words and their placement beneath passages definitely seems to indicate the scribe's attempt at prescribing particular passages of text to passages of music. The scribe of *Fn232* normally provides a new section of text after every rest. For example, in bar fifty one, the *altus* receives the words 'luceque fruens' after the semibreve rest. The *bassus* part, however, which is moving in breves in counterpoint with the *altus*, does not have a rest at this point in the music. The scribe has seen it necessary, therefore, to set the words 'luceque fruens' beneath the *bassus*'s breves in order for the two contrapuntal parts to have the same words (see illustration 9). It seems in that this instance the scribe saw it as integral to the piece to have the *bassus* align his words with those of the *altus*, whereas, in any other situation, the scribe would have merely included the 'luceque fruens' text together with the *bassus*'s previous text grouping, 'in canticum'. Of course, how the scribe accomplished this without a score is a matter of speculation, though one answer would be that he was mentally reproducing a piece he had already heard or sung. Nevertheless, because all scribes treat this passage in the same way, this may be simply a feature that remained with the transcription of the motet as it travelled through its stemma.

illustration 9

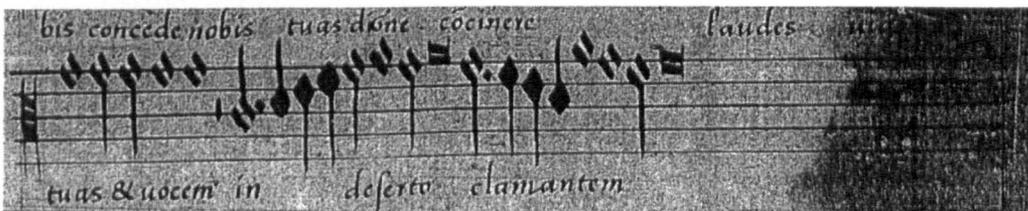


Fn232 bassus

An example of 'prescriptive' texting that is unique to this source occurs in the *altus* bar 114 (see illustration 10). After a rest, the scribe provides only the word 'in'. After a short run of crochets, the singer is given another word, 'deserto', placed beneath a minim, semibreve, and minim. After another breve, the singer is given another word, 'clamantem', which is the last word indicated before the next rest. In this instance the scribe seems to have prescribed certain parts of this short musical phrase to certain words. This dictation occurs in none of the other parts. Its lack of precision simply suggests that the word 'deserto' must fall beneath some of the longer notes and that 'clamantem' must occur underneath the last musical phrase of the line. Why could this setting not have been accomplished by writing the three words out in a single unbroken phrase?

The situation becomes clearer if we notice that many of the underlay practices that we see as intuitive are, in this period, being nonetheless dictated by scribal practice. This may allow two conclusions. Firstly, the underlay theory fostered by later theorists was first set down in scribal practice, though in scribal practice, as we will see below, it was much less normalised. Secondly, normal singing practice may have been rather different from our intuitions, given that scribes found it necessary to prescribe a specific underlay in situations where our intuition would suggest such prescriptions unnecessary.

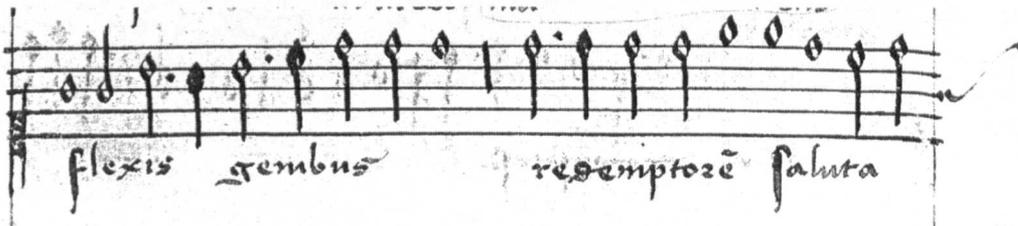
illustration 10



It does seem obvious that the scribe sees the placement of text phrases beneath coordinated musical phrases as part of his duty in recording the motet. We certainly do not see a consistent practice of fixing syllables beneath notes. If we did, this would point to an understood theory of text underlay, long before music theorists began to discuss it. Instead we see that certain phrases of text are to be associated with their intended musical setting. Granted, there may have been some sort of hidden underlay practice in which the scribe's underlay might cue an awareness of how to set each syllable but given the slight variances between sources on where to place text, this seems unlikely.⁸²

4.2 *Cortona/Paris and Fn164-7*

Cortona/Paris can be linked with *Fn164-7* in many ways, both in terms of their historical and cultural significance in relationship to their owners, as was argued above, and also in terms of texting. I will therefore discuss them simultaneously. Indeed, when examining the layout of text between the two, it is easy to argue their relation. At a glance, the examples in illustration 11 show a striking resemblance. Yet, for two sources so closely connected, the *illustration 11*

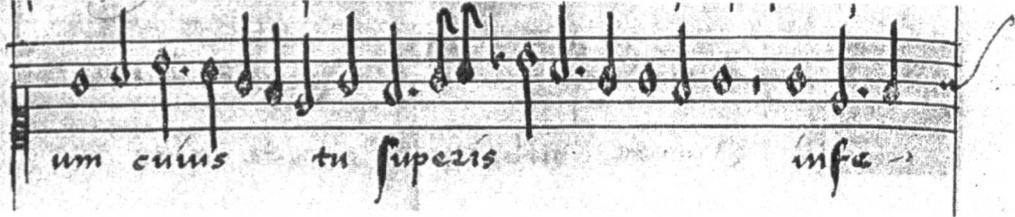


Cortona/Paris, superius

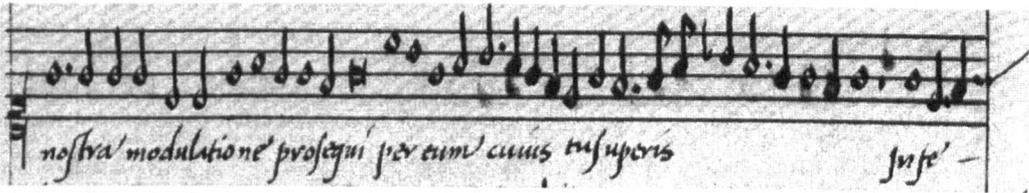
⁸² See W. Edwards, 'Phrasing in Medieval Song: Perspectives from Traditional Music', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 5 (1996), 1-22.



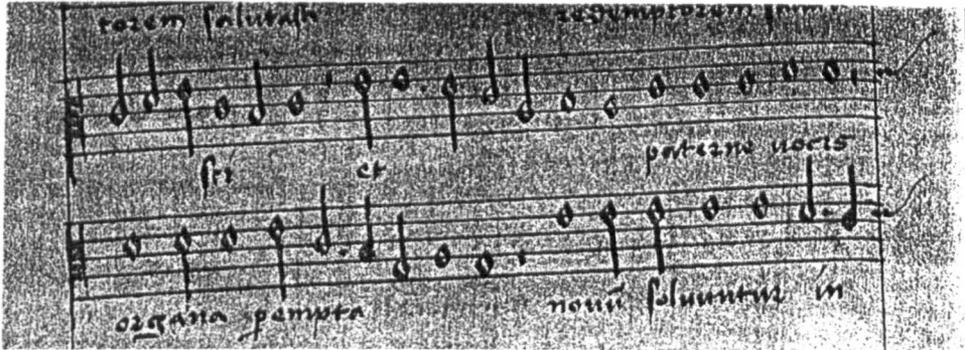
Fn164-7, superius



Cortona/Paris, superius



Fn164-7, superius

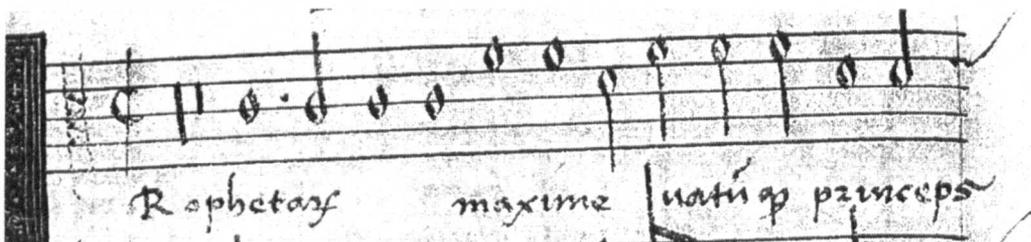


Cortona/Paris, tenor

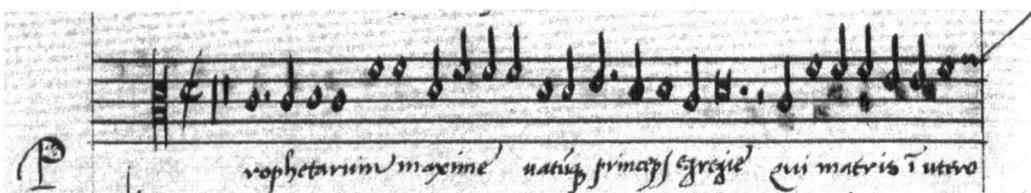


Fn164-7, tenor

differences are telling. While both scribes place their text in such a way as to associate the same passages of text and music, they do not always go about this in the same way. In the opening phrases of the *altus*, the scribe of *Fn164-7* gives an extra-long space between 'maxime' and 'uatumque', thus presenting a phrase grouping of: 'Prophetarum maxime', 'uatumque princeps egregie'. *Cortona/Paris* places an extra-long space before 'maxime' and by doing so sets the word 'maxime' beneath the notes to which it must occur (see illustration 12). Perhaps the scribe of *Fn164-7* was attempting to indicate to the singers the way the words should be grouped when sung. This he does by grouping the words in a way that indicates the way they will relate to the *illustration 12*



Cortona/Paris



Fn164-7

breaks between musical motifs. The scribe of *Cortona/Paris*, however, chose to place the words beneath the notes to which they correspond. The former method could suggest a scribal practice that indicated underlay not by spatial relationships between words and music but by relationships in the spacing of text, autonomous of the music. The words and their underlay were possibly communicated by the grouping of words and not only by their position in relation to notes.

The major difference between *Cortona/Paris* and *Fn164-7* is that the scribe of the latter had a penchant for filling up melismas with repeated text. So whereas in *superius* bars 76-90, the scribe of *Cortona/Paris* repeated the words 'crimina mundi' once, each repeat falling neatly after rests, the scribe of *Fn164-7* repeated the words three times, spreading each of the four occurrences out beneath the melismas. In bars 46-57 of the *tenor*, *Fn164-7* presents the words 'luceque fruens' three times, whereas the phrase only occurs once in *Cortona/Paris*. Indeed, there are several instances where the scribe of *Fn164-7* inserts a repeat of a text where other sources have only a single iteration.⁸³ The liberty that the scribe of *Fn164-7* took in repeating text, when compared to that of *Cortona/Paris*, suggests a freedom given to scribes, possibly even passed on to singers, to repeat texts as desired in order to fill out the music. I have mentioned elsewhere the seemingly-arbitrary choice surrounding repeated text in Petrucci's opus.⁸⁴ The scribe of *Fn164-7* practised the same seemingly arbitrary choice for text repetition.

⁸³ *Bassus*, bars 14-16; *superius*, bars 33-37; *tenor*, bars 46-50; *superius*, bars 78-90.

⁸⁴ 'Text Repetition in Petrucci's Motet Prints', (paper given at the 2004 International Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Jena).

In comparing the two sets of part books, the interest lies in the flexibility given to the two scribes. Since one source is probably a copy of the other (or both from a source now lost), their difference, in terms of underlay, suggests that this aspect of the work was flexible and that scribes may have employed various different methods of communicating underlay without an understood theory driving them.

4.3 *RISM 1520*⁴

As explained before, the details surrounding the leap from the three Florentine sources to *RISM 1520*⁴ are unclear. More important than stemmata, however, is the technological leap from manuscript to print. It may be tacitly assumed that the earliest printers of music, including Grimm and Wirsung, generally reproduced scribal practices. It is evident, however, from any close study of early music printing with movable type (c. 1498-1520s) that there were some major differences.⁸⁵ Moreover, the size of *this* particular print (22.5 x 48 cm) allows a more generous spacing of notes than, say, *Fn164-7*. With more space between notes comes more space between letters and syllables in text.

The final epistle that closes the print expounds the importance of *musica* without much attention to *litteras*. Nevertheless, with its sumptuous spacing and clear type-facing, the print itself seems at first glance to be vastly superior in its representation of text-word correspondence when compared to the earlier manuscript sources. In the first folio alone, there are twenty words that are broken into syllables by the type-setter, not because of line breaks,

⁸⁵ For a comparative study of the textings of Petrucci's motet prints and some manuscript concordances see my 'Text-Tone Relationships c. 1500....,' chapter four.

but seemingly to indicate underlay.⁸⁶ This is in contrast to the other sources which from their first openings might at best syllabify the word 'manens'.⁸⁷ Yet, the actual information conveyed by the print in the syllabification of words is often rather limited and sometimes superfluous.

For example, the most striking syllabification in the first opening of *RISM 1520*⁴ is in the setting of the word 'genibus' (see illustration 13). The *altus* would naturally call for the word to be divided because of a line break. In the other three voices, the type-setter has indicated that the word 'flexis' should fall beneath the semibreve and minim of each voice's respective imitative phrase. Then the syllable 'ge-' is introduced for the next note (in all voices, a dotted minim). The final two syllables are withheld until the final group of notes and then placed, without much precision, beneath them. The question is, in what way does this communicate more information than if the printer had simply left the word intact? Given our modern advantage of understanding the development of text underlay in theoretical writing, we think it quite natural for a singer to sing a melisma on the 'e' vowel of the word 'genibus' while retaining the last two syllables for the last two notes.

illustration 13

⁸⁶ For an interesting discussion of syllabification in Sparato's music, see F. Tirro's 'La stesura del testo nei manoscritti di Giovanni Spataro', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 15 (1980), 31–70 (p. 41).

⁸⁷ Again, see *Cortona/Paris* which is alone in its particular division of the *altus* and *tenor*.



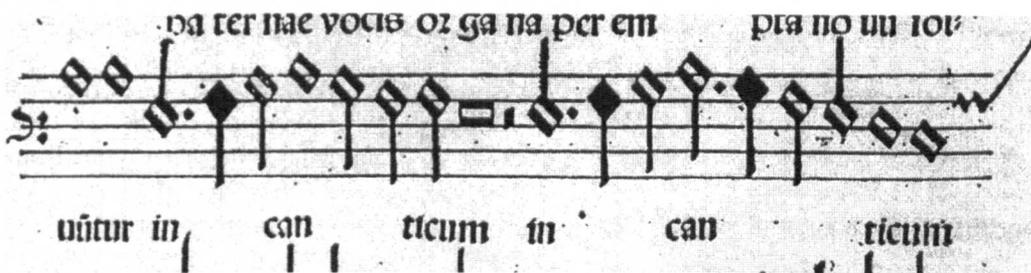
Even less informative is the syllabification of the word 'salutasti' in all voices. It occurs beneath a musical phrase that suggests a syllabic setting of the text followed by a melisma on the penultimate syllable.⁸⁸ The first three syllables of the word 'sa lu ta-' are placed, with more or less directness, beneath three semibreves. That 'salutasti' is broken into syllables

⁸⁸ Bars 23-33.

at all is surprising because it occurs beneath a set of notes that seem to imply a rather clear underlay.

This is not to say that there are no occurrences of syllabic division which are clearly meaningful. The setting of the *repeated* phrase 'in canticum' seems to betray some sort of prescription in an instance when underlay might otherwise be ambiguous (illustration 14).⁸⁹

illustration 14



bassus

The minim *b* and the dotted minim *c'* are candidates for the syllable 'can-', but so would be the minim *a* and minim *g*. The editor helpfully places the syllable unambiguously beneath the *c'* to make the underlay clear. Nevertheless, in the setting of the preceding word, the syllable 'can-', which also might be given to one of many notes, is placed directly between the minim *b* and the semibreve *c'*. Both notes are equally good candidates for the syllable and the editor's ambiguity in the setting of the first 'in canticum' makes it hard to read his unambiguous setting of the second with great confidence.

Ascribing such precision to the underlay of the print can be misleading. Remembering that in many instances the text is placed beneath rests instead

⁸⁹ Bars 43-50.

of notes,⁹⁰ it is hard to know which instances of syllabification indicate that the broken-off syllable should fall precisely beneath the note under which it is found and which instances indicate that the syllable should merely occur on the next nearest appropriate note. Moreover, because mid-line syllabification was a relatively new practice in 1520, with the most concentrated instances of its occurrence being within printed music, one might see the breaking up of syllables in *RISM 1520*^f as simply a stylistic issue not indicating a heightened concern for the text underlay of the pieces therein but simply the result of the space constraints imposed upon the printer. The fact that words are so frequently broken into syllables in this print may simply be the result of its generous spacing between notes, a spacing that necessarily required spaces between letters and syllables. In some instances the printer uses this extra space to be meaningful with his underlay, while in others he might be less intentional. Whichever is the case, it is most likely the spacing of the music that facilitated the text underlay, not the text underlay that encouraged luxurious spacing in the music. This luxurious spacing might even be the result of the mechanics of printing. In printing, unlike writing, more than just a note-head's space is required for a given note because an entire metal block must be placed into a grid—a metal block consisting of the note-head-shape and the surrounding negative space that holds the shape together.

4.4 *PadA17*

In spite of certain unique musical concordances between *RISM 1520*^f and the motet's next oldest source, *PadA17*, there are surprising variants in underlay, which the reader may observe from the appended edition and

⁹⁰ Two instances are the *altus*'s setting of 'paternae vocis' on fol. 221^f where the syllable 'pa-' falls on a minim rest and fol. 223^v where the syllable 'tu-' of 'tuas' falls on a breve rest.

critical notes. While every scribe approaches underlay with certain idiosyncrasies, the differences here are quite numerous and betray, yet again, the fluid state of text-word relations. *PadA17* contains some surprising underlay practices that also help us see that the process of placing words and music in this period is not as clear as the rules given by a later generation of theorists might indicate.

An example comes from the setting of the ‘*ecce agnus dei*’ passage in the *superius* (see illustration 15). The passage boxed in below seems to *illustration 15*

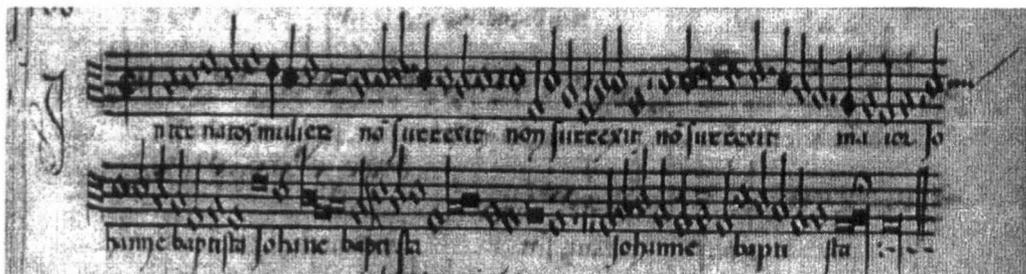


suggest that the long string of semiminims carry multiple separate syllables, thus changing what would intuitively be read as (and implicitly suggested in other sources as) a long melisma to a less melismatic setting. This underlay is peculiar to *PadA17* but it radically changes the relationship between words and music within the *superius* voice, albeit in the small-scale.

Oftentimes, Passetto presents an underlay that, in any hypothetical realisation, causes two different texts to be sung at the same time, even though other sources provide an underlay that avoids such an occurrence. One prominent example comes from the homorhythmic *tempus perfectum* section, where the disparity between the words in each voice is thus aurally exposed.⁹¹ For whatever reason, Passetto omits the words ‘*magnum virum*’ from the *bassus* voice (which remains nonetheless grammatically correct:

⁹¹ Bar 160 et seq.

illustration 17



tenor

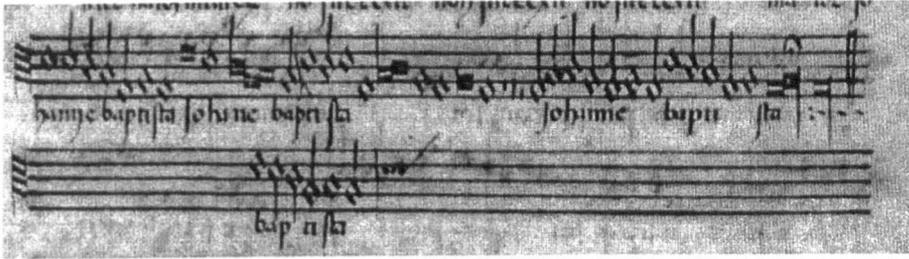


altus

We could be tempted to see these underlay decisions as ones that would have been corrected by the *cappella* during performance. It is interesting to note, however, that Passetto returned to this copy of the motet and added a musical correction without making any indication of underlay changes. Furthermore, this very correction gives us some insight into his perceptions on underlay.

The final phrases of the motet were originally miscopied. Passetto added his correction below the original staves. The phrase on the lower system can simply be inserted after the *a* minim (see illustration 18).

illustration 18



It is interesting to note that the originally omitted passage is considered a discrete unit that, in some way, seems held together by the word 'baptista'.

It would be easy to focus on Passetto's unusual underlay at the risk of ignoring the coherence between his and other sources. On the large scale, text phrases are usually associated with their musical counterparts as seen in other sources, particularly *RISM 1520*⁴. But it is on the small scale that the relationship between words and music is less clear.

4.5 *VatL11953*

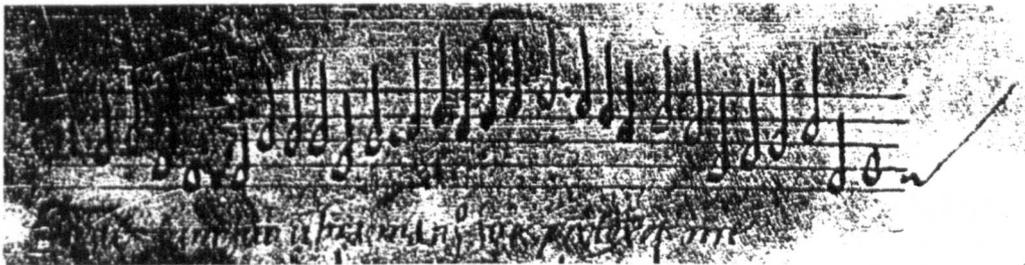
VatL11953 has only a few anomalies worth mentioning in terms of text setting. The scribe was quicker to group large passages of words together, leaving long passages of music un-texted. An example of this is the setting of the passage leading up to the 'ecce agnus dei' (bars 60-70). The scribe does not repeat the 'terrarum orbis' passage as others do, and thus ends up finishing the text by the ligature in measure sixty-six. Perhaps to avoid the staff looking too bare, the scribe syllabifies the word 'dicens' and places the second half of the word in the middle of the opening melisma on fol. 2^v (see illustration 19). A similar circumstance takes place in the setting of 'nostra modulatione [...]'⁹² and 'sub umbra [...] protexit me' (illustration 20).⁹³

⁹² Bar 121 et seq.

⁹³ Bar 154 et seq.

illustration 19

The scribe's process of simply writing the words down in sequence leaves the singer in charge of placing words beneath notes in a singable way and this division of labour rather epitomises the mindset towards words in musical sources. The source is primarily musical but has some sort of onus to represent the text associated with this music.

illustration 20

5 Conclusions

What should be clear from this comparison is that the sources, though varied, suggest the same underlay – on a broad scale – regardless of their variance. Each scribe approximates text-phrases to compatible musical phrases but only on limited occasions does precise underlay seem to be a priority for the scribes. While an ambiguous conclusion at best, it does

suggest that scribes felt some sort of duty to contribute to the combination of words and music vis-à-vis their underlay. The nature of that contribution, however, varies from scribe to scribe, suggesting that this part of the process of preserving music is less normalised than any other part—certainly not theorised. Each scribe presents what is essentially a single performance of the piece, insofar as text underlay is concerned. This is evident from the variants between the manuscripts at moments where the scribes are obviously prescriptive about underlay. The print source, while seemingly more clear in terms of underlay, in fact communicates much the same information as the manuscript sources. Furthermore, in the many instances where a word is syllabified to communicate what seems to the modern reader as superfluous information, we may carefully posit that the original readers of the manuscript might not have seen the scribe's underlay as superfluous at all. Working without a written theory as they were, these moments of scribal prescription about underlay may have provided useful information for singers, whether or not they followed the prescriptions. Of course, to assume this is also to assume only a limited amount of functional theory about underlay among singers, hence the necessity of the scribe's prescriptions.

While we cannot make far-reaching conclusions from this point alone, scribal practice with this kind of flexibility towards underlay must inform our view of the ontology of a motet. Whatever the motet *is*, text underlay must be a flexible part of its transmission—and composers certainly must have been aware of this flexibility.

Chapter Eight

Conclusions

1 Observations and conclusion

In the survey of music presented above, we have seen some of the variable ways in which a musical setting can relate to its text, as well as instances where any relationship at all is hard to substantiate. In Josquin's *O Virgo prudentissima* the word 'Audi' is repeated syllabically again and again as a verbal plea to the virgin. In Brumel's *Nato canunt omnia*, the semantic structure of an antiphon text determines the musical phrasing. In Obrecht's *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*, lists of attributes are sectioned off into musical phrases to highlight the multiplicity of the patron's good virtues. In Regis's *O admirabile commercium*, the type of text governs the type of setting, with a carol and a lullaby given simple textures. In Obrecht's *Factor orbis* the musical structure seems to correspond to that of the compilation. Indeed, the relationship between musical and verbal structures is evident in more than one motet mentioned above. Particular evidence for the relationship between words and music, however, comes from the many instances of homophony, sometimes seemingly for emphasis, found in several motets above, though especially in Obrecht's *Laudemus nunc Dominum* and Isaac's *Prophetarum maxime*. The latter's extended passage of homophony in the setting of the Johannine vespers antiphon 'Elizabeth Zacharie magnum virum genuit' seems to be a pastiche of the lauda-style but it also emphasises the summary text of the motet.

Nevertheless, in examples like Compère's *Omnium bonorum plena*, there are many passages where musical forces alone seem to be dominant. In Compère's *O genitrix gloriosa* and Obrecht's *Mille quingentis*, largely musical forces seem to work irrespective, though not always out of synchronicity, with the text. In the former, Compère's agenda to repeat passages of music is the most prominent structural feature of the piece, though this often corresponds to his text. In the latter, imitation of the transposed *cantus firmus*, and long-breathed musical phrases take precedence over the skilfully crafted text. While this seems to be an ambivalent collection of data, there are some sure conclusions that we may posit.

Firstly, it is safe to say that despite the emphasis of contemporary *intelligentsia* on 'absolute music' (and the muteness of contemporary theorists towards word-tone relations), there is no doubt that composers had at least some interest in the relationship between words and music. The abundant correspondence between verbal structures and musical ones, coupled with the less-frequent but undeniable small-scale emphases on certain passages of text point to some verifiable correspondence between words and music. Furthermore, the very compilation of the texts suggests that the composers had an interest in them, however the texts might relate to the music itself, and this alone precludes 'absolute music'. Of course, the collection of pre-existing musical material that came with such compilations also provided a wealth of musical inspiration for the composers and may also have been a motivating factor in compilation.

Secondly, the relationships between words and music, both formally and in small-scale instances, are by no means identical across the repertoire and vary from the obviously inseparable to the arguably separate. Composers are not consistent, even within a single motet, in the way they relate their music to their text, sometimes sticking to a pattern of correspondence between, say, line and stanza division, and sometimes simply setting one complete text one way while setting the following complete text in another way. This inconsistency is also manifest in the way scribes and printers deal with the underlay of text, each applying a similar but by no means identical method to depict both large and small scale connections between words and music.

Thirdly, the stylistic features of sacred music composed in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries are particularly adept at accommodating words. The same features which make the music of the Josquin generation more apprehensible also make their musical texts intelligible and prominent. Clear section divisions aid the listener in formal comprehension. The same section divisions may also correspond readily to text divisions. Imitation itself provides the listener with a guide to a passage; when an imitative phrase is repeated, the listener acknowledges its familiarity and therefore understands the composition more clearly. Points of imitation can also easily accommodate single lines of poetry or single clauses in prose. Passages of homophony are comparatively simple (by the very nature of homophony) and therefore the music proves easier to comprehend. Homophony also generally makes text intelligible.

When taken in balance, these three observations should suggest that, while there are many moments of connection between words and music in the motets of this generation, the relationship between the two was not yet theorised, perhaps not yet even conceived of as such. Many of the moments of connection between words and music must have been the result of musical sensibilities, however these sensibilities might relate to the text. While composers often connected the sectioning of their music, and even stylistic elements within these sections, to text and text type, these compositional choices are not the result of an agenda, theorised or un-theorised, to make text intelligible, prominent, or predominant. Such an agenda might easily be proven of the Montiverdi generation but, though it might easily be conjectured of the Josquin generation (based on musical style and reverse chronology, let alone specific instances of text emphasis), the inconsistencies in word-music relationships within this earlier generation suggest that each composer wrote music based on their own aesthetic sensibilities, regarding text where appropriate and regarding music throughout.

2 Application

How then do we proceed in listening to such music in the face of such a complex understanding of words in music? It seems that to recreate something of the listening practice contemporary to the motets we must remind ourselves of what we can be sure about, in terms of sacred text and music. In relation to the first, we can attempt to recreate the *auctoritas* of the biblical or liturgical texts, recognising not only contemporary familiarity with the texts but also their

profound veneration of them. With such veneration in mind, we convince ourselves of the salvific and laudatory merit of simply being present while such sacred texts are sung, without any devotional need for their being understood during their recitation. We also attempt to recreate in ourselves the saturation of church doctrine that would allow even the most fragmented presentation of a sacred text to convey a message (the verity of which would have been beyond doubt). With this posture towards the texts already in mind, we can recreate a musical listening practice that focuses on the particularly musical qualities of the motets – their proportion and harmony – and the way these ratios might perfect the body. It is little surprise that they also correspond to aspects of the text. The formal felicity of both is of paramount importance and formal structures, where clear, are easy to collate. If they collate, we cannot ignore this, but we need not over-emphasise it, nor spend long hours searching for it.

In following this listening practice we will have uncovered the *tertium quid* between the anachronistic positions I mentioned in the introduction. This *tertium quid* avoids proto-symphonic *absolutmusik* because the motet text itself is of obvious importance and obviously connects with the music in varying ways. This *tertium quid* also avoids being text-focused because the motet has musically justifiable structures that correspond to a clear compositional practice. Granted, this middle road I have presented will at times seem difficult to apply in its generality, but it would not be uniquely so. The appreciation of most early works of art requires the modern to avoid gravitating towards one or other more recent positions of interpretation, the boundaries of which are often far from clear.

Appendix A

Prefatory Epistle and Epilogue from
*RISM 1520*¹***Liber selectarum cantionum quas
vulgo mutetas appellant sex quinque
et quatuor vocum (Augsburg, 1520)***¹

Folio 1

1]Reverendissimo et Amplissimo Principi ac Domino, domino Matheo, Sanctae Romanae ecclesiae Tituli s. Angeli Presbytero Cardinali, et Archiepiscopo Saltzburgensi, 5]Sacroque sanctae sedis Apostolicae Legato, etc. Domino nostro observandissimo, Sigismundus Grymmius Medicus, et Marcus Wirsingus Augustani, que humilime sese commendant.

10]Cum Quintiliano auctore Princeps et domine, domine clementissime, apud priscos idem essent Musici, qui et vates et sapientes argumento sunt Moses, David: caeterique Hebreorum poetae, item Zoroaster, Linus, 15]Orpheus, Museus, Moscus, Empedocles, Parmenides, Heraclitus, Plato, Pythagoras, alii que innumeri. constatque Musica capi omne quod vivit. quoniam coelestis anima qua universitas animetur, originem sumpsit 20]ex Musica, ut Platonica habet traditio, quae et Musas Jovis et Mnemo[s]ynes filias coelestium sphaerarum concentus interpretant. Ex Strabonis vero doctrina colligimus, Elephantes mulceri et 25]tympanorum sono. Et in Symposiacis Plutarchus auctor gravissimus scribit. Brutorum pleraque deliniri, afficique plurimum Musica. Cantu item Delphinos moveri. Testis locuples est Pindarus.

30]In homine autem peculiaris adesse videtur ratio. Quia modulator sonus in corpus musicae memoriam deferat: cuius anima in coelo fuerit conscia. Propterea nullum fere haberi tam immite, tam asperum pectus, 35]quod non oblectamentorum talium teneatur affectu. Peripateticis quoque visum est, ominibus insitum esse, oblectari naturalibus motibus, cui sint argumento pueri, qui vix dum nati, modulis permulcentur. 40]Maximus Tyrius, qui primas tenere putat inter Platonicos Philosophos humanam musicem, quae animos circuit, quid nam aliud esse dixerimus inquit, que pedagogicum quoddam officium, quod

To the most reverend and excellent Prince and Lord, Matthew, Cardinal Priest of the holy Roman Church the titulus of Sant' Angelo, Archbishop of Salzburg, holy Legate of the Holy Apostolic See, our most respectful Lord: Sigismund Grimm, Medicus, and Marcus Wirsung, Augsburgers, commend themselves most humbly.

Prince and most gentle Lord: According to Quintilianⁱ there were students of music even among the ancients, for example the bards and wise men Moses, David, and the other poets of the Hebrews; likewise Zoroaster, Linus, Orpheus,ⁱⁱ Museus, Moscus, Empedocles, Parmenides, Heraclitus, Plato, Pythagoras, and innumerable others. Let it be agreed that all that lives is seized by Music, since the celestial spirit by which creation is enlivened takes its origin from Music, as the Platonic tradition holds, which explicates both the Muses of Jove and the daughters of Mnemosyne as the harmony of the heavenly spheres.^{iv} We take as true from the teaching of Strabo that elephants are mollified by the sound of timpani;^v And in the *Symposia* that profound author Plutarch writes that many of the beasts are softened and much affected by Music;^{vi} likewise dolphins are moved by song. Pindar gives copious evidence of this.^{vii}

In mankind, however, a particular situation seems to be present, because a tuneful sound carries the memory of music into the body; of which mankind's spirit was privy in heaven. Therefore almost no heart is considered to be so coarse and so hard that it is not gripped by the fondness of such pleasures. Indeed, it seemed to the Peripatetics to be innate in everyone to be delighted by natural rhythms. As evidence of this, children, even just-born, are soothed by melodies. Maximus of Tyre,^{viii} who thinks that among the Platonic philosophers human

45]animae affectiones moderatur: Id enim nimiam elationem impertumque animi quasi quibusdam incantationibus demulcet, et remissionem atque infractionem sublevat, exacuitque. Musicae namque artifex
 50]aptissima est in luctu levando, in contundenda iracundia, in comprimenda audacia, in temperanda bonorum virorum cupiditate, in sanando dolore, in consolandis amoribus, in levanda miseria. Optima haec
 55]in sacrificiis comes, sodalis in convivio, imperatrix in bello, aptissima praeterea ad celebritates inspergendas leporibus.

Sed cur apud te Reverendissime Princeps Musicen tam multo celebrius sermone, aut
 60]jeius exaggerare dignitatem studemus. Cui tu ipse amplissimo ornamento esse possis. Satis enim constat excellentissimam dignationem tuam scientem hanc ipsam Musicen esse optimam nobilissimi oculi
 65]ministram semper tibi fuisse loco cuiusdam atque omnium fidelissimi commilitonis musicaeque expertes immodulabilesque veluti prophanos a sacris penetralibus tuis procul ablegatos.

70]Quamobrem cum aliquot numeros musicae, non eius quidem quae hodie in choris puellarum saltationibusque lascivis carminibus perstrepat, levis ac plane frivola, sed gravis illius, ac imprimis principum
 75]virorum auribus dignae harmoniae, quae receptiori nomine Mutetae vocantur, publicare ferebat animus, laboriosissimo hoc immodicaeque impensae opere recognitas, ab praeclaro artis ipsius excoltore, Ludovico
 80]Senfello, qui Musicam Caesaris Maximiliani Capellam, post inclyti praeceptoris sui Isaci Orphei Germani excessum, illustrarat, hoc ipsum opus sub nomine tuo, sacraque umbra alarum
 85]celsitudinis tuae in lucem prodire curavimus, Sperantes id et iucundissimum [sic] tibi futurum, et simal nos tua ex animo deditissima mancipia, ubi ubi [sic] opus erit suavi aura beneficentiae tuae afflari. Nosque
 90]jugiter, ut hactenus dignatus es benignis oculis tuis respicere clementissime Princeps, nae quidem ex tantillis nostris meritis, sed per sola mentis tuae generositate, literarum amore, genuinaque in literatos ac studiosos
 95]omneis animi tui perpensione. Quibus te deus optimus, maximus longaeum conservare velit. Ex Augusta Vindelicorum etc.

Sub privilegio summi Pontificis et Caesaris

music held primacy of honor, since it surrounds souls, says, 'For what else would we say it to be, but a certain pedagogical capacity, which moderates the spirit as if with certain chants, and both relieves and stimulates the ebb and flow of the emotions.' For the creator of music is the one most skilled in relieving grief, suppressing anger, repressing overbearance, tempering the cupidity of the exalted, cleansing sadness, consoling love, relieving misery. It is the best comrade in sacrifices, company at the table, mistress in war, and most suitable besides for sprinkling feasts with charm.

But why before you, most reverend Prince, do we celebrate Music in such a long speech, or strive to build up its dignity? You yourself would be Music's fullest ornament. For it is quite agreed that this learning, Music itself, is your most outstanding grace; that the favored maidservant of your noble relaxation has always stood, for you, in the stead of the most faithful comrade-at-arms; and that those ignorant of music and the tin ears have been kept far off, like the profane from your sacred shrines.

Therefore, we are led to publish some number of musical settings, not of course the sort which nowadays rattles among choruses of girls, with lascivious dancing and singing, unserious and obviously frivolous; rather of the graver sort, and above all of that harmony fit for the ears of leading men, which commonly goes by the name of Motet. They have been edited sedulously and at no little expense by the outstanding proponent of the art, Ludovic Senfl, who adorned the choir of Emperor Maximilian after the death of his famous teacher Isaac, the Orpheus of Germany. We have brought forth this work under your name and under the sacred shade of the wings of your eminence. We hope that it will be most delightful to you, and at the same time that we will be truly your most devoted servants, whenever there will be need for the sweet breath of your beneficence to blow. For you have seen fit to look upon us continually up to the present with your beneficent gaze, most clement Prince, not only on account of our puny merits, but also through the generosity of your mind, the love of letters, and the genuine diligence of your spirit towards all belletrists and students. For which, may God Greatest and Best preserve you in old age. At Augsburg.

Under the supreme privilege of the Pope and

Emperor

Folio 272

Chuonradus Peutinger Augustanus
Iurisconsultus Candido Lectori Salutem.

Conrad Peutinger, Augsburg, juriconsult:
to his good reader, Greeting.

Ingenua et praeclarissima illa ars Musica,
quae feras mitigare, et etiam saevientis et
5]furentis animi dolores pacare, amorem
conciliare, laborantibus quietem
opportunitissimam, et eisdem e contra
incitamentum praebere, ac etiam in bello
animos suscitare, in templis quoque cantus
10]et sonitus varii placandorum Numinum
gratia adhiberi solent.

That honorable and most outstanding art,
Music, softens rages, pacifies the pains of
the raging spirit, secures love, offers to
labourers desirable relaxation and, on the
other hand, stimulation, and even rouses the
spirits in war; in temples too, various songs
and sounds are habitually used for the sake
of placating Divinities.

Verum cum ex cunctis disciplinis fere omnia
orationi obnoxia sint, adeo ut quisque etiam
eruditus numeros, tonos, vocum inflectiones,
15]mutationes, caetera huiusce generis, et
etiam alias comptam et elegantem
structuram ab arte ipsa desideret, atque
mutuet, qua facile perspicimus ipsam et
cognitionem eius rerum causis et disciplinis
20]fere omnibus capessendis, non solum
commodam, sed et pernecessariam, et ab
unoquoque minime negligendam esse,
auctores non vulgares, sed et gravissimi
testant. quare Themistocles alias animo
25]praestans, sed negligentior musices, eius
artis cum imperitum se diceret, suam apud
etiam amicos auctoritatem non parum
inminuisse fertur, et Aristophanes ait: O
bone equidem Musicam nescio praeter
30]litteras, et easdem quidem malas male.

Truly, almost all things in all the disciplines
are beholding to speech, to such an extent
that every learned man would desire, and
borrow, from this very art the measures,
tones, vocal inflections, mutations, and other
items of this same type, even, furthermore, a
well-composed and elegant structure.
Thereby we easily follow a speaker's very
line of thought, once the basics in many of
the disciplines have been grasped. Writers,
not only vulgar ones, but even the most
profound, testify that this art is not only useful
but even quite necessary, and is not to be
neglected by anyone. So Themistocles,
otherwise of surpassing intellect, but rather
less attentive to music, used to say that he
was inexperienced in this art, although his
status among his friends was said to tower
not a little. And Aristophanes relates, 'Oh
how wonderful indeed is music, but I know
nothing (of it) beyond my letters and even of
them but little and badly.'^{ix}

Cum autem cantus et vocum suavissima
inflexio atque modulatio non minima Musicae
pars existat, factum est, ut peritissimi mei
Municipes Sigismundus Grimmus, Medicus,
35]et Marcus Wirsungus, accurata eorum
solertia, studio item exactissimo, labore
summo, et etiam impensa non mediocri,
librum hunc iucundissimum et artis plenum,
Cantum exquisitissimorum elegantioribus
40]characteribus, et rarissimis vocum notulis
exornatum, ab erudito et experto Musico
Ludovico Senfelio Augustano Rauracensi,
quodam divi Maximiliani clementissimi nostri
Principis ab aedibus sacris quam
45]diligentissime (liberali tamen auctorum
eruditione semper salva) recognitum, et iam
ut vides politissime excusum emisere et
publicaverunt, quem tibi ob eius
commoditatem et elegantiam commendo
50]plurimum. Et velim atque rogo, ut animo
synaero et laeto a te excipatur.
Benevaleas quisquis es candidissime Lector.

Since songs and the sweet inflection and
modulation of voices is not the least element
of Music, it has come about that my most
skilful citymen Sigismund Grimm, Medicus,
and Marcus Wirsung, with their usual
precision, exacting zeal, great labour, and
even at no little expense, have published this
book most delightful and full of art, with the
elegant characters of the most exquisite
Chants, and adorned with notes of the finest
songs, examined by that learned and expert
musician Ludovic Senfl of Augst, formerly of
the sacred house of blessed Maximilian most
clement, our Prince, as diligently as possible
(though with the learned erudition of the
authors preserved) and now, as you see,
most exquisitely printed, which to you on
account of its suitability and elegance I most
heartily commend. I hope and ask, that you
receive it with a pure and joyful spirit. May

Ex aedibus nostris v Kals Novembris Anno
salutis M.D. XX.

you fare well, whoever, you are, fine reader.

At our publishing house, 28 October 1520.

ⁱ Trans. by Peter King as cited in S. Schlagel, 'The *Liber selectarum cantionum* and the "German Josquin Renaissance"', *JM*, 19 (2003), 564-615 (pp. 611-15)

ⁱⁱ Quintilian's *Institutio* [I.x.9-21]. The same passages of Quintilian are paraphrased evenly throughout both letters, leading me to believe both to be works written in fairly close conjunction and by the academic Peutingger though he is only ascribed to have written the final epistle. This position is seconded by the obscurity of some of the classical quotations in both letters.

ⁱⁱⁱ Quintilian's *Institutio* [I.x.9] reads, 'ut idem musici et vates et sapientes iudicarentur (mittam alios) Orpheus et Linus.'

^{iv} The myth of the Muses's birth from Jove and Memory is recorded first by Homer in a 'Hymn to Hermes' (line 429 et seq.). See *Homeric Apocrypha; lives of Homer*, ed. and trans. by M. West (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2003) pp. 146-47. Plato never records this story, to my knowledge, but does give frequent praise to Mnemosyne (see *Critias* [108D], and *Euthydemus* [275D]) and in *Theaetetus* calls her 'mother of the Muses'. See *Theaetetus, Sophist*, trans. by H. N. Fowler (London: Heinemann, 1921), pp. 184-85.

^v *Geography* [XV.i.42]. Strabo describes the way Indians train elephants, both by whipping and by the sound of the drums. See trans. by H. L. Jones, 8 vols (London: Heinemann, 1917-32), vii (1930), pp. 70-73.

^{vi} Paraphrase of *De Musica* [1131F-1132B]. See Plutarch, *Moralia*, trans. by B. Einarson, 16 vols (London: Heinemann, 1927-76), xiv (1968), pp. 356-57.

^{vii} In this instance Peutingger is probably quoting an obscure fragment of Pindar (frag. 140b), not normally included among the latter's major works. Here the poet describes dolphins being moved along by the power of melody. See Pindar, *Neuman Odes, Isthmian Odes, Fragments*, trans. by W. N. Race (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1997), pp. 374-77.

^{viii} From Oration no. 37. 'Virtue of the Liberal Arts'. See *The Philosophical Orations*, trans. by M. B. Trapp (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 290-97.

^{ix} This information seems to have been taken directly from Quintilian [I.x.18-20] (see *Institutio*, pp. 168-9) who was, in turn, quoting Cicero. See Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* [I.ii.4], trans. by J. King (London: Heinemann, 1927), p. 17 and Aristophanes, *Clouds* [966 et seq.], trans. by B. B. Rogers (London: Heinemann, 1924), p. 353.

Gall)

Evaluation of the Sources

Fn232 is the oldest of the sources, dating from as early as 1515.¹

Based on its date, this source is the more authoritative one. In the *altus* bars 38-41, however, the scribe seems to have miscopied in a way that would misalign the part severely if followed. In this instance I have followed the reading from *Fn164-7*. A similar, though rhythmically corrected version of this variance occurs in *Cortona/Paris* but, given the concordance between *Fn164-7* and the German family of prints, it seems likely that the reading of *Fn164-7* can be considered felicitous for this passage.

In *St Gall* the *bassus* part of the *tertia pars* is drastically different from the other sources.² Because the *tertia pars* is listed separately in the organ book, it may be that Sicher was working from memory or possibly a lost source that separated the *Inter natos mulieribus* section from the rest of the motet. Because of the impossibility of reconciling these passages from *St Gall* and the other sources I have simply ignored the former for the sake of editorial cohesion.

Due to the subject of this dissertation, I have included the text variants within the score. The first line of text is my own reading of a possible performance underlay. The lines that follow are an attempt at reproducing the texting as present in the motet's various sources. The sources are represented from top to bottom in this order: *Fn232*, *Cortona/Paris*, *Fn164-7*,

¹ See A. M. Cummings, 'A Florentine Sacred Repertory from the Medici Restoration'.

² see also H. J. Marx. 'Neues zur Tabulatur-Handschrift St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 530', *Archive für Musikwissenschaft*, 37 (1980), p. 264-91, esp. p. 266 where Marx discusses the scribe's consistent substitution of minim, crochet rest for a dotted minim, when tied over the bar.

*RISM 1520*⁴, *PadA17*, and *RVat 11953* (bassus only). The symbol / represents a line break in the original source and // represents a page break. Naturally, preserving the look of text underlay from an original source is impossible, so I have chosen to place my emphasis on moments that seem to suggest scribal prescription. This is evidenced through the scribe's (or typesetter's) use of spaces. Where a normal space occurs between text or syllables, I have represented it as such in the edition. Where an unusually large spacing occurs, one that seems to have musical significance, I have aligned the first letter of the word following the long space with the passage in the music under which it occurs within the source. When small spaces occur between words or syllables not corresponding to any musical event I have simply added extra space between the syllables without realigning the broken-off syllable. This conveys the meaning of the source's underlay, though obviously not its look. Where lengthy passages of text occur without an abnormal spacing break, I have presented them here as they occur. When these passages were too long to be accommodated in the edition while trying to set the first letter beneath the note under which it occurs, I have simply printed the whole passage as it occurs and indicated, with an arrow, the place in the music under which the text appears in the source.

Pitch and Rhythm Variants

Voice	Bar no.	Variant	<i>Fn 232</i>	<i>Fn 164-7</i>	<i>Cortona/ Paris</i>	<i>RISM 1520</i> ⁴	<i>Pad A 17</i>	<i>RVat 11953</i>	<i>St. Gall</i>
A	9	Rest-Sm, d'-Sb etc.							X
B	12-3	Extra a-Sb		X					
B	20	col Sb, Sm, .M						X	
B	23	col Sb, Sm, M, M						X	
T	31	b-M, a-Sb, b-M							X
S	33-4	c''-M, b'-F, a'-F, b'-Sb, a'-Sb, g'-M				X	X		
S	34	Rest-Sm, a'-Sm etc.							X

Voice	Bar no.	Variant	Fn 232	Fn 164-7	Cortona/ Paris	RISM 1520*	Pad A 17	RVat 11953	St. Gall
A	34	<i>e</i> ² -Sb, <i>d</i> ² -M, etc.					X		
A	38- 41	<i>g</i> ² -B, <i>g</i> ² -M, col <i>f</i> ² -Sb, <i>e</i> ² -Sm, <i>d</i> ² -Sm, <i>c</i> ² -Sm, <i>d</i> ² -Sb	X						
A	39	Rest-Sb instead of <i>g</i> ² -Sb		X					
A	39- 40	<i>g</i> ² -Sb, <i>g</i> ² -M, <i>f</i> ² -Sb, <i>e</i> ² -Sm, <i>d</i> ² -Sm, <i>c</i> ² -Sm, <i>d</i> ² -Sb, etc.			X				
T / A	40	Rest-Sm, <i>b</i> -Sm etc.							X
S	42	Rest							X
B	43-4	<i>c</i> ² -Sb, Sb, Sb, Sb (i.e. one extra Sb)						X	
B	49	col Sb, Sm, etc.						X	
A	51-2	<i>g</i> ² -M, <i>f</i> ² -Sm, <i>g</i> ² -M, <i>a</i> ² -M, Rest-M, etc							X
A	56	Rest-Sm, <i>g</i> -Sm etc.							X
A	58	<i>d</i> ² -M, <i>c</i> ² -Sm, <i>b</i> -Sm, <i>a</i> -M, etc.					X		
A	59	col <i>g</i> ² -Sb, <i>f</i> ² -M, <i>e</i> ² -M			X				
B	59- 60	<i>e</i> -M, <i>e</i> -M, <i>c</i> -Sm, <i>d</i> -Sm, <i>d</i> -Sm					X		
S	60	<i>d</i> ² -M, <i>d</i> ² -Sm, <i>d</i> ² -M, <i>d</i> ² -M		X	X		X		X
B	62	subst. <i>b</i> flat-Sb for <i>b</i> -Sb				X			
B	64	col <i>c</i> ² -Sb, Sm etc.						X	
B	65	<i>a</i> -Sb, rest M, <i>a</i> -M							X
A	68	Rest-M, <i>f</i> ² -M, <i>e</i> ² -M, <i>c</i> ² -Sm, <i>e</i> ² -Sm							X
S	69	Subst. rest-Sm, <i>g</i> ² -Sm for <i>g</i> ² -M on beat 2							X
S	72	Rest-Sm, <i>d</i> ² -Sm etc.							X
A	81-4	<i>e</i> ² -L, <i>e</i> ² -Sb, <i>e</i> ² , Sb, <i>e</i> ² -B					X		
S	84	<i>a</i> ² -M, col <i>c</i> ² -Sb, <i>b</i> ² -M, <i>a</i> ² -Sb			X				
A	88- 90	<i>d</i> ² -B, <i>d</i> ² -L					X		
B	94	Extra <i>g</i> -B							X
S	94-5	<i>d</i> ² -Sb, <i>d</i> ² -B, rest-Sb					X		
S	98	<i>f</i> ² -Sb, <i>f</i> ² -M, <i>g</i> ² -M					X		
S	100	rest-Sb, rest-M, <i>a</i> ² -M					X		
T	108	<i>d</i> ² -Sb, etc.		X			X		X
B	110	<i>c</i> -Sb				X	X		
A	111	<i>g</i> ² -Sb, <i>g</i> ² -Sb					X		
B	112	<i>c</i> ² -Sb, <i>c</i> ² -Sb					X		
T	114	<i>d</i> ² -Sb, <i>d</i> ² , Sb					X		
A	113	<i>c</i> ² -M, <i>c</i> ² -M, etc.		X					
A	113	<i>c</i> ² -M, <i>c</i> ² -Sm, <i>c</i> ² -Sm, etc.				X			
B	119	col <i>c</i> -Sb, sm, etc.						X	
B	128- 9	<i>e</i> -Sb, <i>f</i> -M, <i>g</i> -M, <i>g</i> -Sm, <i>f</i> -Sm, <i>e</i> -Sm, <i>d</i> -Sm, <i>e</i> -Sb				X			
B	128- 9	<i>e</i> -Sb, <i>f</i> -M, <i>g</i> -M, rest-Sm, etc.							X
S	129	<i>a</i> ² -Sm, <i>g</i> ² -Sm, <i>f</i> ² -Sm, <i>e</i> ² -Sm, <i>d</i> ² -Sm, <i>g</i> ² -M, etc.					X		
S	129	Rest-Sm, <i>a</i> ² -Sm etc.							X
S	130	<i>b</i> ² -natural					X		

Voice	Bar no.	Variant	Fn 232	Fn 164-7	Cortona/ Paris	RISM 1520 ⁴	Pad A 17	RVat 11953	St. Gall
A	130-1	<i>d</i> '-Sb, <i>c</i> '-M, rest-Sm, <i>b</i> -Sm, <i>a</i> -Sm, <i>g</i> -Sm, <i>a</i> -Sb							X
S	131	Rest-Sm, <i>g</i> '-Sm etc.							X
T	133	Extra rest-Sb							X
A	136	<i>d</i> '-Sb, col <i>b</i> -Sb, not col <i>c</i> '-Sm	X						
B	140-1	<i>e</i> -M, <i>d</i> -Sm, <i>e</i> -M, <i>f</i> -M, rest-M, etc.							X
B	151	Rest-Sm, <i>b</i> -Sm, etc.							X
A	153	Rest-Sm, <i>c</i> '-Sm etc.							X
A	157-8	<i>e</i> '-Sb, <i>e</i> '-Sb, <i>c</i> '-M, <i>d</i> '-Sm, <i>e</i> '-Sm, etc.		X					X
B	167-8	<i>g</i> -B, col <i>f</i> -Sb, <i>g</i> -Sb, <i>d</i> -B				X	X		
A	167-8	all col				X	X		
A	169	col <i>d</i> '-B, not col <i>g</i> '-Sb				X	X		
A	170	<i>e</i> '-Sb, <i>c</i> '-Sb, <i>d</i> '-Sb							X
S	170-1	all col	X						
S	171	col <i>g</i> '-Sb, <i>a</i> '-B					X		
B	171	col <i>e</i> -Sb, <i>f</i> -B					X		
T	174	<i>b</i> -Sb in place of <i>a</i> -M and <i>b</i> -M				X	X		
B	174-5	all col					X		
B	176	<i>c</i> -B		X					
S	176	L instead of B					X		
A									
T									
B									
A	179	Rest-M, <i>a</i> '-Sb, <i>g</i> '-M							X
T	184	rest-Sm, <i>d</i> '-Sm etc.							X
A	186	Rest-Sm, <i>g</i> '-Sm etc.							X
S	188	Rest-Sm, <i>d</i> ''-Sm, <i>d</i> ''-M, <i>c</i> ''-Sm, <i>d</i> ''-F, <i>c</i> ''-F, <i>b</i> '-F, <i>c</i> '-F							X
A	190	<i>g</i> '-Sb, rest-M, <i>g</i> '-M							X
A	193	<i>d</i> '-M, <i>a</i> '-Sb, <i>a</i> '-M							X
B	201	rest-M, <i>g</i> -M, <i>a</i> -M, <i>g</i> -M					X		
S	206	Rest-M, <i>f</i> '-M, etc.							X
A	218	L instead of B					X		

N.B.: Rhythmic durations are indicated above using the following symbols:

Mx = Maxima, L = Longa, B = Brevis, Sb = Semibrevis, M = Minima, Sm = Semiminima, F = Fusa, Sf = Semifusa. A dot following one of these symbols indicates a dotted rhythm. The abbreviation 'col' signifies coloration.

All variants between St Gall and the edition are transposed to the key of the edition.

Ligatures

<u>bar no.</u>	<i>Fn</i> 232	<i>Fn</i> 164-7	<i>Cortona/ Paris</i>	<i>RISM</i> 1520 ^t	<i>Pad</i> A 17	<i>RVat</i> 11953
<u>Superius</u>						
14-5	+	+	+	+	+	
39-40	+	+	+	+	-	
56-7	+	+	+	+	-	
79	-	+	-	+	-	
83	+	+	+	+	+	
119-20	+	-	+	+	+	
180-1	+	+	+	+	+	
186	-	+	-	+	+	
211-2	+	-	+	+	+	
213-5	+	+	+	+	+	
<u>Altus</u>						
14	+	+	+	+	-	
29	+	+	+	+	+	
33-4	+	+	+	+	-	
52-3	+	+	+	+	-	
57	+	+	+	+	+	
158-9	+	-	+	-	-	
167-8	+	-	+	+	-	
170	+	+	+	+	+	
178-9	+	+	+	+	+	
212-7	+	+	+	+	+	
<u>Tenor</u>						
44-5	-	+	-	+	-	
49	+	+	+	+	+	
53	+	+	+	+	+	
61-2	+	+	+	+	+	
64	+	+	+	+	-	
65	+	+	+	+	-	
67	+	+	+	+	+	
87-8	+	-	+	+	+	
115	-	-	-	-	+	
116	-	-	-	-	+	
144	+	+	+	+	+	
168	-	-	-	-	+	

170	+	+	+	+	-	
198-9	+	+	+	+	+	
204	+	+	+	+	+	
213-5	+	+	+	-	+	
<u>Bassus</u>						
54-5	+	+		+	-	+
65-6	-	+		+	-	+
80-1	+	+		+	+	+
84	+	+		+	-	+
87-8	+	+		+	-	+
106-7	+	+		+	-	+
117	+	+		+	+	+
118	-	-		+	+	-
168	+	+		+	+	+
175	+	+		+	+	+
186	-	+		+	-	+
199	+	+		+	+	+
206-7	+	+		+	+	+
214-16	+	+		+	+	+

+ indicates presence of ligature; _ indicates absence of ligature

Clefs

Fn232

S	T	A	B
1- C1	1- C3	1- C3 191- C2	1- F3

RISM 1520⁴

S	T	A	B
1- C1 60- G2 91- C1 187- G2 193- C1	1- C3 126- C4 136- C3	1- C3 51- C2 58- C3	1- F3

Fn164-7

S	T	A	B
1- C1	1- C3	1- C3	1- F3

Cortona/Paris

S	T	A
1-C1	1-C3 130-C4 142-C3	1-C3

RVat 11953

B
1- F3

PadA 17

1-C1	1-C3	1-C3	1-F3
------	------	------	------

Entries are given with the bar number followed by a letter signifying the type of clef and a number signifying the line on which the clef rests (counting from the bottom of the staff).

Time Signatures

Fn232

S	T	A	B
1 - ϕ	1 - ϕ	1 - ϕ	1 - ϕ
91 - ϕ	91 - ϕ	91 - ϕ	91 - ϕ
160- 3	160- 3	160-	160- 3
177- ϕ	177- ϕ	(none) 177- ϕ	177- ϕ 182- ϕ 187- ϕ

RISM 1520⁴

S	T	A	B
1 - ϕ	1 - ϕ	1 - ϕ	1 - ϕ
91 - ϕ	91 - ϕ	91 - ϕ	91 - ϕ
160- 3	160- 3	160- 3	160- 3
177- ϕ	177- ϕ	177- ϕ	177- ϕ 182- ϕ 187- ϕ

Fn164-7

S	T	A	B
1 - ϕ	1 - ϕ	1 - ϕ	1 - ϕ
91 - ϕ	91 - ϕ	91- ϕ	91 - ϕ
160- 3	160- 3	160- 3	160- 3
177- ϕ	177- ϕ	177- ϕ	177- ϕ 182 - z 187 - ϕ

Cortona/Paris

S	A	B
1 - ϕ	1 - ϕ	1 - ϕ
91 - ϕ	91 - ϕ	91 - ϕ
160 - 3	160 - 3	160 - 3
177 - ϕ	177 - ϕ	177 - ϕ

RVat 11953

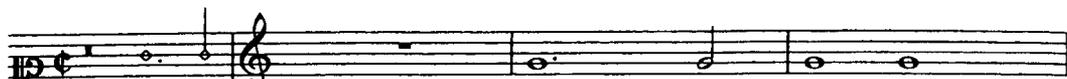
B
1 - ϕ
91 - ϕ
160 - 3
177 - ϕ

PadA 17

S	T	A	B
1 - ϕ	1 - ϕ	1 - ϕ	1 - ϕ
91 - ϕ	91 - ϕ	91 - ϕ	91 - ϕ
160 - 3	160 - 3	160 - 3	160 - 3
177 - ϕ	177 - ϕ	177 - ϕ	177 - ϕ

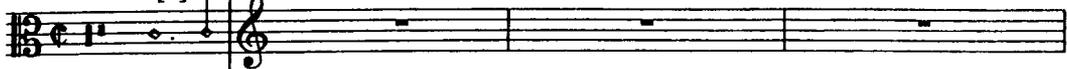
Entries are given with the bar number followed by an approximate representation of the sign from the source.

Prophetarum maxime



Editorial text[**E**]
Fn232 [F1]
Cortona/Paris [CP]
Fn164-7 [F2]
RISM 1520/4 [R]
Padua A17 [P]

Pro - phe - ta - rum
Prophetarum maxime vatumque princeps egregie
Prophetarum maxime
Prophetarum maxime
Pro pheta rum
Prophetarum maxime vatumque princeps egregie qui matris inutero



[E] Pro - phe - ta - rum ma - xi -
[F1] Prophetarum maxime
[CP] Prophetarum maxime
[F2] Prophetarum maxime
[R] Prophetarum ma xi
[P] Prophetarum maxi



[E]
[F1]
[F2]
[R]
[P]

Pro - phe -
Prophetarum maxime vatumque princeps egregie qui matris in
Prophetarum maxime vatumque princeps egregie
Propheta rum ma xi me
Prophetarum maxime vatumque princeps egregie
Prophetarum maxime vatumque princeps egregie

Vat. Lat. 11953 [V]

4

[E] ma - xi - me _____ va - tum - que

[F1]

[CP] vatumque princeps egregie

[F2] vatumque princeps egregie

[R] maxime vatumque princeps egregie

[P]

[E] Pro - phe - tar - um ma - xi - me va - tum - que

[F1] Prophetarum maxime vatumque princeps egregie

[CP] Prophetarum maxime vatumque princeps

[F2] Prophetarum maxime

[R] Prophetarum maxime vatumque princeps egre

[P] Prophetarum maxime vatumque

[E] _____ va - tum - que

[F1] vatumque princeps egregie

[CP] vatum que /

[F2] vatumque princeps egregie

[R] me vatumque princeps e-

[P] me vatumque princeps egregie

[E] ta - rum ma - xi - me _____ va - tum - que

[F1]

[F2]

[R] va tumque princeps egregie-

[P]

[V]

[E] prin ceps e gre - gi - e qui ma - tris in u - te - ro ma -
 [F1] qui matris in / utero manens
 [CP] / e qui matris in utero ma
 [F2] qui matris in utero / manens
 [R] / e Qui matris in u te ro ma
 [P] manens

[E] prin ceps e - gre - gi - e qui ma - tris in u - te - ro ma -
 [F1] qui matris in ute / ro manens
 [CP] / egregie qui matris in utero ma
 [F2] vatumque princeps egregie qui matris in utero / manens
 [R] gi/ e qui matris in utero ma
 [P] princeps egregie qui matris in utero ma

[E] prin - ceps e - gre - gi - e qui ma - tris in u - te - ro ma -
 [F1] qui matris in / utero manens
 [CP] princeps egregie qui matris in utero ma -
 [F2] qui matris in ute - / ro manens
 [R] / gre gi e qui matris in u te ro ma
 [P] qui matris in utero

[E] prin ceps e - gre - gi - e qui ma - tris - in u - te - ro ma -
 [F1] / utero manens
 [F2] qui matris in / utero manens
 [R] / e Qui matris in u te ro ma
 [P] qui matris In utero ma
 [V] / e qui matris in utero ma

15 #

[E] - - nens flex - is ge -

[F1] flexis genibus

[CP] nenes / flexis genibus

[F2] flexis genibus

[R] nens flexis ge

[P] flexisge / ni

[E] - nens flex - is ge - - ni - bus

[F1] flexis genibus

[CP] nens flexis genibus

[F2] flexis genibus

[R] nens flexis ge- / nibus

[P] nens flexis ge / ni bus

[E] - - - nens flex - is ge - ni-bus

[F1] flexis genibus

[CP] // nens flexis genibus

[F2] flexis genibus

[R] nens/ flexis ge nibus re demptorem salu ta-

[P] manens / flexis genibus

[E] - - nens_ fle - xis ge - ni-bus

[F1] flexis genibus

[F2] manens flexis Genibus

[R] nens flexis / ge nibus

[P] nens flexis / genibus

[V] nens flexis ge // nibus

[E] - ni - bus re - dem - pto - rem sal - u - ta -

[F1] redemptorem / salutasti

[CP] redemptorem saluta //

[F2] redemptorem saluta /

[R] ni bus redempto rem sa lu ta

[P] bus redemptorem salu ta

[E] re - dem - pto - rem sal - u - ta - sti sa - lu - ta -

[F1] redemptorem salutasti / salutasti

[CP] redemptorem salu / tasti salutasti

[F2] redemptorem salutasti / salutasti

[R] redemptorem sa lu ta sti /

[P] redemptorem salu ta sti

[E] re - dem - pto - rem sal - u - ta - sti

[F1] redemptorem salu - / tasti

[CP] redemp/ torem salutasti

[F2] redemptorem saluta - //sti

[R] / sti

[P] redemptorem salu ta sti

[E] re - dem - pto - rem sal - u - ta - sti

[F1] redemptorem / salutasti

[F2] redemp- / torem salutasti

[R] redemptorem sa lu ta sti /

[P] redemptorem salu ta sti

[V] redemptorem saluta sti

28

[E] - - - sti et quo na

[F1] - - - & quo nato

[CP] sti et

[F2] sti et quo nato *paterne vocis*

[R] sti et quo na:

[P] sti et quo na

[E] - - - sti et quo na

[F1] et quo nato

[CP] et /

[F2] et quonato

[R] et quo na-

[P] et quo na /

[E] re - dem - ptor - em sal - u - ta - - - sti et quo

[F1] redemptorem salutasti et quo nato

[CP] redemptorum saluta / sti et

[F2] redemptorum salutasti et quo nato

[R] re demptorem sa lu ta sti et quo

[P] redemtoem salu ta sti et quo

[E] re - dem - ptor - em sal - u - ta - - - sti

[F1] redemptorem salutasti

[F2] redemptorem salutasti

[R] redemptorem sa lu ta sti //

[P] redemptorem salu ta sti

[V] redemtoem saluta / sti

34

[E] - to pa - ter - nae vo - cis or - ga - na per - em -

[F1] paterne vocis / organa perempta

[CP] paterna vois / organa perempta

[F2] paterne vocis organa perempta

[R] // to pate rnae vocis organa perem pta

[P] to paterne vocis organa peremp /

[E] - to pa - ter - nae vo - cis or - ga - na per - em -

[F1] paterna vocis / gana perempta

[CP] paterna vocis organa per - / empta

[F2] paterna vocis organa // per empta

[R] // to pater nae vocis or gana perem

[P] na to pater ne vocis organa pe rem

[E] na - to pa - ter - nae vo - cis or - ga - na per - em -

[F1] paterne vocis / organa perempta

[CP] paterna vocis / organa perempta

[F2] paterna vocis / organa perempta

[R] na // to pa ter nae vo cis or ga na per em pta /

[P] / nato paterne vocis organa perempta

[E] pa - ter - nae vo - cis or - ga - na per em -

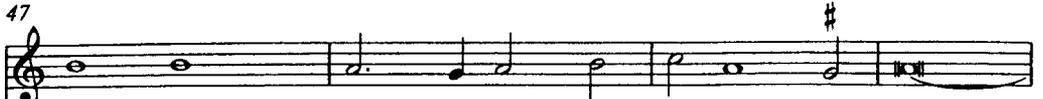
[F1] paternae / voces organa perempta

[F2] pa - // terne vocis organa per empta

[R] pa ter nae vocis or ga na per em pta no vum sol:

[P] paterne vocis / organa perempta

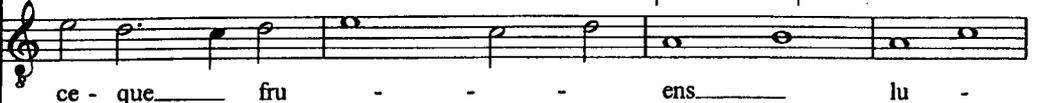
[V] paterna vocis organa perempta



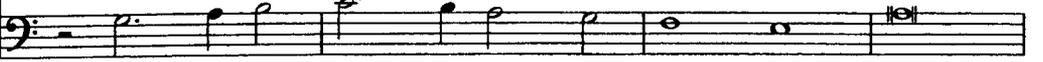
[E] vun - tur in can - ti - cum
 [F1] in canticum
 [CP] / ticum
 [F2]
 [R] / in can ticum
 [P] ticum



[E] in can - ti - cum lu -
 [F1] luce
 [CP] / luce
 [F2] in Canticum luceque
 [R] lu-/
 [P] luceque fruens



[E] ce - que fru - ens lu -
 [F1] /
 [CP] que fruens
 [F2] / luceque fruens
 [R] / lu ce que
 [P] fruens /



[E] in can - ti - cum lu -
 [F1] / luceque fruens
 [F2] In Can- / ticum luceque fruens
 [R] in can ticum / lu ce que
 [P] luce que fruens

[source damaged, possibly 'luceque?']

51

The image shows a musical score for voice and piano. It consists of four systems of staves. Each system has a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment line (treble clef). The piano accompaniment is mostly empty, with some notes in the first system. The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

System 1:
 [E] *ce* - - - - -
 [F1]
 [CP]
 [F2]
 [R]
 [P]

System 2:
 [E] *ce /*
 [F1] *que*
 [CP] *que*
 [F2]
 [R] *ce que*
 [P]

System 3:
 [E] *ce* - - - - -
 [F1]
 [CP]
 [F2]
 [R]
 [P]

System 4:
 [E] *- ce* - - - - -
 [F1]
 [F2]
 [R]
 [P]
 [V]

52

lu - ce - que fru - ens

luceque fruens //

luceque fruens

luceque fruens

lu ce que fru ens

luceque fruens

que fru - - ens di - - gi - to te-ra-

que fruens digito terrarum // orbis

fruens digito ter- rarum

/ fruens digito terrarum orbis

fru ens di gi / to ter ra rum or

di gito

que fru - ens luc - e - que fru - ens di - gi - to ter-

digito terrarum orbis demonstrasti digito terarum

/

luceque fruens digito terrarum orbis

fruens / di gi to ter ra rum or

luceque fruens digito terarum

que fru - - - ens di - gi - to ter-

gito terrarum orbis di// demonstrasti salutem dicens

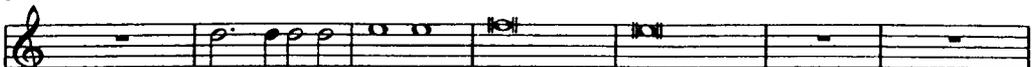
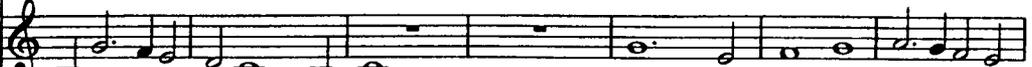
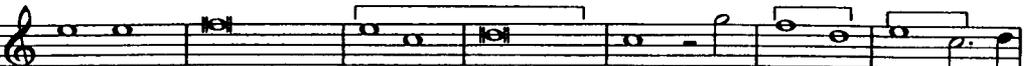
digito terarum

ter ra: /

luceque fruens / ens digito terarum

/ fru ens digito terrarum obris demonstrasti

59

[E]		di-gi - to ter - ra-rum or - bis
[F1]		digito terrarum orbis demonstrasti salutem dicens
[CP]		digito ter / rarum orbis
[F2]		digito terrarum / orbis
[R]		di gi to ter rarum or / bis
[P]		digito terrarum or bis
[E]		rum or - bis de - mon - stra - sti sa - lu -
[F1]		demonstrasti salutem
[CP]		orbis demonstrasti salu- / tem
[F2]		demonstrasti / salutem
[R]		bis // demon stra sti sa lu
[P]		terrarum orbis demon strasti salu
[E]		ra - rum or - - - bis de - mon - -
[F1]		
[CP]		/ orbis demonstrasti
[F2]		// demonstrasti
[R]		// bis demon
[P]		or bis demonstra
[E]		ra - rum or - bis te - ra - rum or - bis de - mon - stra - sti
[F1]		
[F2]		de - / monstrasti salutem
[R]		rum orbis // demonstra
[P]		orbis demon stra sti salu
[V]		salutatem // di

66

[E] de - mon - stra - sti sa - lu - tem di - cens ec - ce _____

[F1] _____ ecce agnus

[CP] demonstrasti salutem dicens ecce // agnus

[F2] demonstrasti salutem dicens Ecce agnus dei

[R] demon stra sti sa lu tem di cens Ec- / ce

[P] de mon strasti lau / dem dicens ecce

[E] _____ tem di - cens ec - ce

[F1] _____ dicens / ecce agnus dei

[CP] _____ dicens Ecce agnus de-

[F2] _____ dicens Ecce agnus dei

[R] _____ tem di cens / Ec ce a gnus de i

[P] / tem di cens ecce agnusdei

[E] _____ - - - - - stra - sti sal - u - tem di - cens _____

[F1] _____ salutem _____ dicens

[CP] _____ salutem / dicens

[F2] salutem _____ dicens _____ dicens

[R] _____ stra sti sa lu / tem di cens

[P] sti sa lu / tem . dicens

[E] _____ sal - u - tem di - - - - - cens Ec -

[F1] _____ / ecce agnus dei

[F2] _____ dicens _____ demonstrasti salutem dicens _____ Ecce agnus de-

[R] _____ sti sa lutem di / cens. Ecce a

[P] _____ tem _____ demonstrastisalutem di / cens ecce

[V] _____ cens _____ ecce agnus de

72

[E] a - gnus De - i ec - ce a - gnus De -
 [F1] de / i qui tollit
 [CP] dei ecce qui tollit /
 [F2] / ecce qui tollit Crimina
 [R] a gnus de i /
 [P] agnus dei ecce qui tollit peccata

[E] a - gnus de - i ecce
 [F1] / i
 [CP]
 [F2]
 [R]
 [P]

[E] Ec - ce a - gnus De -
 [F1] / ecce agnus dei
 [CP] Ecce agnus dei
 [F2] Ecce agnus dei
 [R] Ec ce agnus de i
 [P] ecce agnus dei

[E] ce a - - gnus De - - - i
 [F1]
 [F2] // i
 [R] gnus de i
 [P] agnus dei
 [V] i/

[E] - i ec ce qui to - - lit cri - mi - na

[F1] crimina mundi crimina / mun

[CP] crimina mundi crimina

[F2] crimina mundi crimina // mundi

[R] ec ce qui tol lit cri mi na

[P] ecce qui tollit / Crimina

[E] ec - ce qui to - lit

[F1] qui tollit

[CP] ecce qui tollit

[F2] qui tollit

[R] ec ce qui tol lit

[P] ecce qui tollit

[E] - i Ec - ce qui tol

[F1] ecce qui tollit crimina

[CP] ecce qui tollit cri-

[F2] E-/ ce qui tollit crimina mundi

[R] ec ce qui tol lit cri-

[P] ecce qui tollit crimina mun

[E] Ec - ce qui to - - - llit cri - mi -

[F1] ecce qui tollit crimina

[F2] Ecce qui tollit crimina mundi

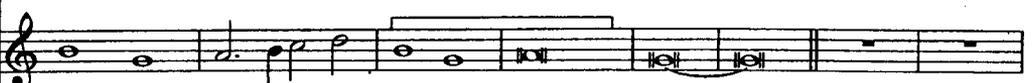
[R] ec ce qui / tol lit cri mi

[P] ecce qui tollit cri mi

[V] qui to lit crimi na

85

Secunda pars

[E]		mu - - - - - ndi	con -
[F1]		di	Concede nobis
[CP]		/ mundi	Concede
[F2]		crimina mundi	Concedi nobis
[R]		/ mun di //	Concede nobis
[P]		mundi mun di //	Concede
[E]		cri - mi - na mu - - - - - di	con - ce - de
[F1]		crimina mundi	Concede no
[CP]		crimina mundi	Concede nobis
[F2]		crimina mundi //	Concede nobis
[R]		cri mi na mun di	Concede nobis
[P]		crimina qui tollit crimi na //	concede nobis
[E]		it cri - mi - na mu - - - - - di	
[F1]		mundi	
[CP]		// mina mundi	
[F2]		/	
[R]		/ mi na mun di //	
[P]		di //	
[E]		-na mun - - - - - di	
[F1]		/ mundi	
[F2]		/	
[R]		na mun di //	
[P]		na mun di //	
[V]		mun di /	

[E]	ce - de no - bis	con - ce - de no - bis	
[F1]		concede nobis	
[CP]	nobis	Concede nobis //	
[F2]		Concede nobis	
[R]		con ce de nobis /	
[P]	nobis	concede nobis	
[E]	no - bis	con - ce - de no - bis	tu -
[F1]	/ bis	concede nobis	tuas digne
[CP]		Concede nobis	tuas
[F2]		concede nobis	tuas digne
[R]		conce de no bis	tu as di gne
[P]			tuas digne
[E]	con - ce - de no -	con - ce - de	
[F1]	Concede nobis	con/ cede nobis	
[CP]	concede nobis	concede nobis	
[F2]	Concede nobis	concede nobis	
[R]	Con ce de nobis	con ce de no bis	
[P]	Concede nobis	concede	
[E]	con - ce - de no - bis	con - ce - de no -	
[F1]	concede nobis	concede nobis	
[F2]	Concede nobis	concede nobis	
[R]	Con ce de nobis	con ce de no bis tu as	
[P]	Con ce ce de nobis		
[V]	Ore sta nobis concede nobis		

[E] ne - re lau - des_ vi - as-que tu - as et vo - cem
 [F1] laudes viasque tuas et voce
 [CP] lau / des vias que tuas et vocem
 [F2] cinere laudes viasque tuas et voce
 [R] / re lau des vias que tu as et vo ce'
 [P] lau des / viasque tuas vocem

[E] vi - as-que tu - as et vo - cem in_____ de ser -
 [F1] viasque/ tuas & vocem in deserto
 [CP] vias que/ tuas et vocem in deserto
 [F2] viasque tu-/ as et vocem in deserto clamantem
 [R] vi as que tu as et / vo cem in de ser to
 [P] viasque tuas vocem In / de serti

[E] con - ci - ne - re__lau - des vi - as-que tu - as et vo - cem in de - ser -
 [F1] laudes viasque tuas et voce in de /serto clamantem
 [CP] laudes vias que/ tuas in vocem in deserto
 [F2] // viasque tuas et vocem in deserto clamantem in deserto clamantem
 [R] ne re laudes vi as que tu as et vocem / in de sertto clamantem
 [P] vocem In de
 b

[E] lau - - des vi - as-que tu - as et vo - cem in de -
 [F1] laudes viasque tuas & voce' in deserto clamantem
 [F2] / viasque tuas et vocem in deserto Clamatem
 [R] lau des vias que/ tu as et vo cem in de ser to cla
 [P] vias que tu / as voce In de sertto claman
 [V] des viasque tuas et vocem in de /

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[E] in de-ser-to cla-man-tem_

[F1] in deser/ to claman // tem

[CP] in deserto claman / tem

[F2] in deserto Clamantem //

[R] in de ser to claman / tem

[P] voce in de serto cla mantem

[E] -to_ cla - man - - tem_ no - stra mo-du-la-ti-

[F1] clamantem // nostra modulatione prosequi

[CP] claman- / tem nostra modulatione prosequi

[F2] nostra modulatione

[R] cla man- / tem nostra modu la ti o ne prose

[P] clamantem nostra modulatione

[E] to cla - man-tem cla man - tem_ no - stra

[F1] claman // tem nostra modulatione prosequi

[CP] clamantem clamantem // nostra modulatione

[F2] nostra modulatione pro-

[R] claman tem no stra modula ti-

[P] ser / to cla man tem nostra

[E] ser - to cla - man - - - - - tem_ no - stra

[F1] // nostra modulatione prosequi

[F2] nostra //

[R] man tem / no stra modu la ti

[P] tes no stra

[V] serto claman tem

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[E] no - stra mo-du-la-ti - o - ne pro-se - qui per eum cu - iu -

[F1] nostra modulatione prosequi p'eum cuius

[CP] nostra modulatione prosequi per e- / um cuius

[F2] nostra modulatione prosequi per eum cuius tu superis

[R] no stra modu la ti o ne prose // qui per e um cuius

[P] nostra mo dulati one prosequi cuius

[E] o - ne pro-se - qui pro - se - qui per e -

[F1] per eum cuius

[CP] per// per eum

[F2] / prosequi per eum cuius tu superis

[R] qui pro se/ qui per e um cuius tu su

[P] prosequi cuiustusuperis

[E] mo-du-la-ti - o - ne pro - se - qui

[F1]

[CP] prosequi

[F2] / sequie

[R] / o ne pro se// qui

[P] modulatione pro sequi

[E] mo-du-la-ti - o - ne pro se - qui per eum cu - ius su -

[F1] per eum / cuius

[F2] modulatione prosequi per eum cuius

[R] o ne pro se qui// per e um cuius su

[P] modulatione pro sequicuius su

[V] nostra modulatione[...source damaged] / per eum

129

[E] - s su - - per - is in - fer - is que

[F1] tu superis / inferisque

[CP] tu superis infe- // ris

[F2] infe / risque

[R] tu su per/ ris in fer is que

[P] tu/ su peris inferis

[E] um cu - ius tu su - per - is

[F1] / superis

[CP] cu ius tu superis

[F2]

[R] peris

[P] /

[E] cu - ius tu su - per - is in - fer - is - que fu -

[F1] cuius tu superis / inferisque fuisti

[CP] cu / ius tu superis inferis que fuisti

[F2] cuius tu superbis inferisque fuisti

[R] cu ius tu su pe ris in fe ris que fu i-

[P] cuius tusuperis Inferisque fuisti

[E] - per - is

[F1]

[F2]

[R] pe ris

[P] / peris

[V]

135

[E]		fu - i - sti	fu - i - sti	prae-
[F1]			fui	prae
[CP]		que	fui	prae
[F2]			fui	prae
[R]		fu i sti	fu i sti/	prae
[P]		que	fui sti	prae

[E]		in - fer - is que	fu - i - sti	pre - cur
[F1]		in/ferisque	fui	prae
[CP]		in/ferisque	fui	prae
[F2]		in/ferisque	fui	prae
[R]		in fe - / isque	fu i sti/	prae
[P]		In ferisque	fui sti	prae

[E]		i - sti		
[F1]				
[CP]				
[F2]				
[R]		/	sti	
[P]				

[E]		in - fer - is - que fu - i - sit	prae - cur
[F1]		in/ferisque	prae
[F2]		in/ferisque	prae
[R]		in fe ris que fu i - /	prae
[P]		In ferisque fui sti	prae
[V]		in/ferisque	prae

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[E] - - - cur - - - - - sor - - -

[F1] / sor

[CP] / sor

[F2]

[R] cur sor

[P] / sor

[E] - - - sor - - - - - po - su - it os me - um

[F1] / posuit os meum dominus quasi gladium

[CP] / posu / it os meum dominus

[F2] posuit os meum dominus

[R] sor/ po su it os meum do mi nus

[P] cur sor cuius tu superis

[E] pre - cur - - - - - sor - - -

[F1] praecursor

[CP] pre / cursor

[F2] precursor

[R] precur sor//

[P] / pre cur sor

[E] - - - - - sor po - su - it os

[F1] / posuit os meum dominus quasi

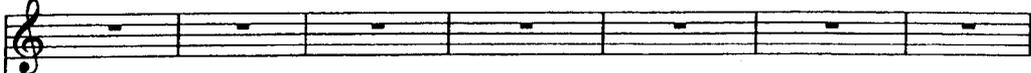
[F2] posuit os meum dominus

[R] sor po su it os meum

[P] cuius tu su

[V] / sor posuit os meum dominus

148

[E] 

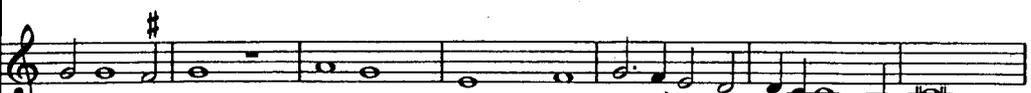
[F1]

[CP]

[F2]

[R] //

[P]

[E] 

[F1] do - mi - nus qua - si gla - di - um a - cu - tum

[CP] quasi gladium acutum /

[F2] quasi gladium acutum

[R] quasi gladium a cu - tum

[P] Inferis / que fu i sti

[E] 

[F1] me - um do - mi - nus qua - si gla - di - um a - cu - tum sub

[F2] gladium acutum sub umbra manus su

[F2] quasi quasi gladium acutum subum-

[R] / do mi nus qua si gladium a cutum sub umbra manus

[P] peris In / feris que fuisti in

[V] quasi gladium acu sub umbra manus suae protexit me

155 / cu

[E] sub um - bra man - us tu - a pro - te - xit -

[F1] sub umbra manus sue / protexit

[CP] sub umbra manus sue protexit

[F2] sub/umbra manus tu ae protexit me

[R] sub umbra manus . tu ae prote xit/

[P] Inferisquefui sti pre cur

[E] um - bra man - us tu - - - a pro - te - xit

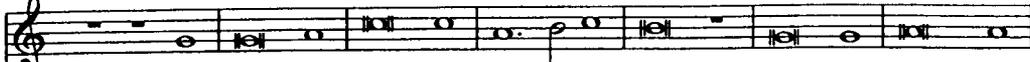
[F1] / e protexit

[F2] / bra manus tuae protexit me

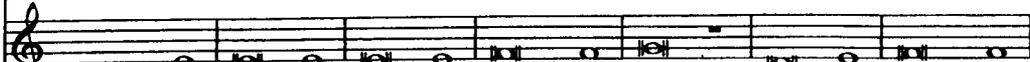
[R] / tu ae pro te xit//

[P] ferisque fui sti pre cur

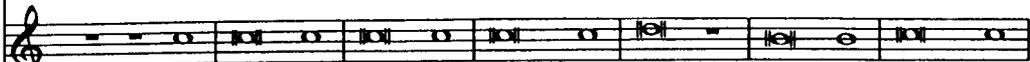
[V] /



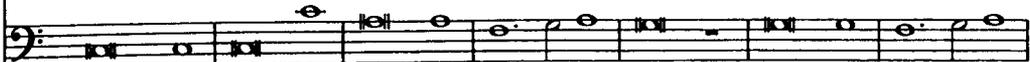
[E] E - li - za - beth Za - cha - ri - e ma - gnum vi - rum
 [F1] Helisabeth Zacharie magnum virum
 [CP] helisabet zacharie magnum / virum genuit
 [F2] Elisa / beth Zacharie magnum virum genuit
 [R] E li zabeth zacha ri e magnum vi rum ge-
 [P] heli sabeth zacharie magnumvirum



[E] me E - li - za - beth Za - cha - ri - e ma - gnum vi - rum
 [F1] me helisabeth Zacharie magnum virum genuit
 [CP] me He// lisabeth zacharie magnum virum genuit
 [F2] Elisabeth Zacharie magnum virum genuit
 [R] me Elizabeth zachari e magnum vi rum ge
 [P] sor helysabethzacharie magnum/ virum



[E] E - li - za - beth. Za - cha - ri - e ma - gnum vi - rum
 [F1] helisabeth za / charie magnum virum genuit
 [CP] helisabet zachari- / e magnum virum genuit
 [F2] E/ lizabeth zacharie magnum virum
 [R] E li za beth zacha ri e magnum vi rum ge-
 [P] Heli sabethzacharie magnumvirum



[E] me E - li - za - beth Za - cha - ri - e ma - gnum vi - rum
 [F1] me helisabeth Zacharie magnum / virum
 [F2] Elizabeth zacharie mangum /virum genuit
 [R] me E li zabeth zacha ri e magnum vi rum/
 [P] sor hely sabethzacha / rie genuit Johannem
 [V] Elizabeth zacharie magnum virum genu

167

[E] ge - nu - it Jo - a - nem ba - ptis - tam prae - cur -

[F1] virum genuit io / annem baptista precursore domini

[CP] johannem baptistam precur-

[F2] Johannembaptistam precursor domini

[R] / nu it Joannem baptistam precursorem

[P] genuit Johannem baptistam /

[E] ge - nu - it Jo - a - nem ba - ptis - tam prae - cur -

[F1] io / anne' baptistam precursorem

[CP] ioan / nem baptistam praecursorem

[F2] / Johannem baptistam precursorem domini

[R] nu- / it Jo an nem baptistam praecurso

[P] genuit Johannembaptistam precur sorem

[E] ge - nu - it Jo - a - nem ba - ptis - tam prae - cur -

[F1] ioannem baptista

[CP] iohannem baptistam // precursorem

[F2] genuit iohannem baptistam precursorem domini

[R] / nu it Joan nem bapti stam praecurso

[P] ge nu it Johi / nembaptistam precur

[E] ge - nu - it Jo - a - nem ba - ptis - tam prae - cur -

[F1] genuit ioannem baptistam precursorem domini

[F2] Johannem baptistam precursorem domini

[R] ge nu it Joannem ba ptistam praecur sor em

[P] bapti stam precursorem

[V] it johannem bap / tis tam praecur

174

Tertia pars

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with a vocal line and corresponding lyrics. The lyrics are in Latin and describe the 'Tertia pars' (Third Part) of a liturgical text. The parts are labeled [E], [F1], [CP], [F2], [R], and [P].

System 1:

- [E] sor - em do - mi - ni In - ter na -
- [F1] // Inter natos
- [CP] so - rem do - mi - ni Inter natos
- [F2] // Inter // natos mulieri
- [R] do mi ni // In ter na
- [P] // Inter natos

System 2:

- [E] sor - em do - mi - ni In - ter na - tos
- [F1] domini // Inter natos
- [CP] domini Inter na - / tos
- [F2] // Inter natos mulierum
- [R] rem do mi ni // In ter na tos
- [P] domi ni // In ter natos

System 3:

- [E] sor - em do - mi - ni In - ter na -
- [F1] domini // inter natos
- [CP] domini Inter natos
- [F2] // Internatos mulierum
- [R] rem do mi ni // In ter na
- [P] so - rem do - mi - ni // Inter natos mulierum

System 4 (Bass line):

- [E] sor - em - do - mi - ni In - ter na - - - - - tos
- [F1] // Inter natos
- [F2] // Inter natos /
- [R] do mi ni // In ter na tos
- [P] // domini // Inter na tos mulierum
- [V] so - rem do - mi - ni // Interna tos

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[E] - tos mu-li-e-rum

[F1] mulie

[CP] mulie-/

[F2] mulierum

[R] tos mu li e- /

[P] mulierum

[E] mu - li - e -

[F1] mulierum

[CP] mulierum

[F2] mulierum

[R] mu li e- /

[P] mulie rum

[E] - tos mu - li - e - rum

[F1] mulierum

[CP] mu-/ lierum

[F2] mulierum

[R] tos mu li e rum/

[P] non surrexit non non surrexit maior non surrexit maior non

[E] 2 mu - - li - e - rum

[F1] muli / erum

[F2] mulierum

[R] mu / li e rum

[P]

[V] / mulie

187

[E] non sur - re - xit - - -

[F1] /rum

[CP] rum

[F2]

[R] rum non sur re xit

[P] non surrexit maior

[E] - - - - rum non sur - re - xit mai -

[F1] non sur/ rexit maior

[CP] non surre- /xit maior

[F2] // non surrexit maior

[R] rum non sur re xit ma ior non sur-

[P] nonsurrexit maior

[E] su - re - xit mai - or non - sur - rex - it mai - -

[F1] / joanne baptista

[CP] io hanne bap- / sta

[F2] Johanne baptista /

[R] non sur re xit ma /

[P] surrexit non surrexit ma ior

[E] C non sur - rex - it mai -

[F1] non surrexit

[F2] non surrexit maior

[R] / non sur re xit ma

[P] non surrex / xit maior

[V] rum // non surrexit

193

[E] non sur - re - xit mai - or mai - - - - -

[F1] non surrexit maior maior

[CP] non surrexit / maior maior

[F2] non surrexit maior / maior

[R] non sur- / re- sta ba pti

[P] Johanne baptista / Johanne

[E] -or non sur - re - - - xit non sur-re

[F1] ioanne baptista

[CP] ioanne bapti //

[F2] Johanne baptista

[R] / re xit// non sur re

[P] Johin/ ne baptista bapti sta

[E] -or non sur - re - - - xit non - sur - re -

[F1] joanne baptista non surrexit

[CP] iohanne baptista non surrexit maior

[F2] Johanne baptista non surrexit maior

[R] ior non sur re- // sta non surre

[P] Jo/hanne baptista Johanne

[E] -or Ba - ptis - - - / - sta

[F1] maior

[F2] / non surrexit maior

[R] ior // pti sta

[P] Johanne baptista

[V] maior

199

[E] or non sur - re - xit mai -

[F1] io / anne baptista

[CP] io /anne bap ti

[F2] johannebatista

[R] sta / non sur re xit ma

[P] bap ti sta Johanne

[E] - xit mai - ior Jo - a -

[F1] bap / tista ioanne

[CP] sta bap ti sta ioanne

[F2] Jo - /anne baptista Johannebaptista

[R] xit ma / ior Jo an

[P] Johanne bap ti sta

[E] - xit ma - - ior Jo - a - ne bap -

[F1] /

[CP] /

[F2] maior

[R] xit ma ior Jo an ne baptista

[P] baptista

[E] non sur - rex - it mai - or

[F1] ioanne baptista

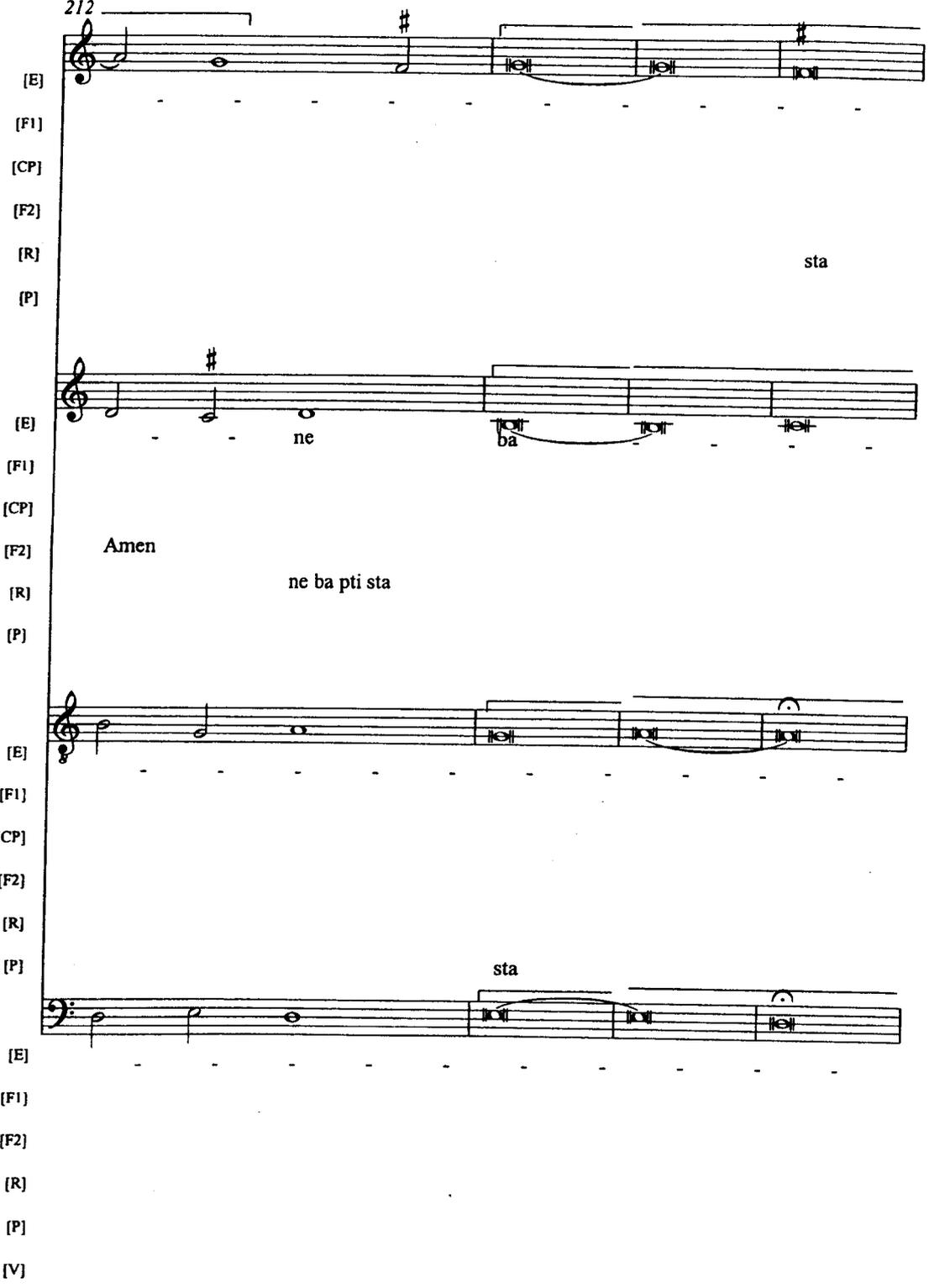
[F2] johanne baptista

[R] non sur re- xit ma ior

[P]

[V] johanne / baptista

212



The image shows a musical score for guitar, consisting of three systems of music. Each system includes a treble clef staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a bass clef staff. The lyrics are: "Amen ne ba pti sta". The score includes various guitar-specific notations such as [E], [F1], [CP], [F2], [R], and [P] on the left side of each system, and [E], [F1], [F2], [R], [P], and [V] on the right side. The lyrics are placed between the staves. The first system has the word "sta" on the right. The second system has "Amen" on the left and "ne ba pti sta" in the middle. The third system has "sta" on the right. The score includes various guitar-specific notations such as [E], [F1], [CP], [F2], [R], and [P] on the left side of each system, and [E], [F1], [F2], [R], [P], and [V] on the right side.

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[E] - sta

[F1]

[CP]

[F2]

[R]

[P]

[E] - sta

[F1]

[CP]

[F2]

[R]

[P]

[E] - sta

[F1]

[CP]

[F2]

[R]

[P]

[E] - sta

[F1]

[F2]

[R]

[P]

[V]

217

The image shows a musical score for guitar, consisting of four systems of staves. Each system has a treble clef staff at the top and a bass clef staff at the bottom. The systems are labeled with guitar-specific terms: [E], [F1], [CP], [F2], [R], [P], and [V].

- System 1:** Treble clef staff has a treble clef and a sharp sign. A horizontal line is drawn below the staff. Labels: [E], [F1], [CP], [F2], [R], [P].
- System 2:** Treble clef staff has a treble clef and a sharp sign. A slur covers a note on the staff. A horizontal line is drawn below the staff. Labels: [E], [F1], [CP], [F2], [R], [P]. The lyrics "sta" are written below the staff.
- System 3:** Treble clef staff has a treble clef and a sharp sign. A horizontal line is drawn below the staff. Labels: [E], [F1], [CP], [F2], [R], [P].
- System 4:** Bass clef staff has a bass clef and a sharp sign. A horizontal line is drawn below the staff. Labels: [E], [F1], [F2], [R], [P], [V].

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