

Intertextuality, Exegesis, and Composition in Polytextual Motets around 1500

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ABSTRACT

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Over 450 motets survive from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which were composed with multiple simultaneously sounding texts. The size of this repertory has been underestimated and its importance under-acknowledged. Narratives of the genre overemphasize early fifteenth-century (and earlier) polytextuality due to its association with arcane rhythmic structuring techniques while stressing a new musical-textual ideal later in the century. This thesis is the first attempt to address the repertory of polytextual motets from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries as a whole. It resituates polytextuality as a central aspect of the genre even after the supposed rise of musical humanism. It suggests a new partitioning of the repertory based on different relationships of texts and cantus firmi. It proposes that the function of cantus firmi shifts during this period toward acting in dialogue with the text(s) of the other voices, even though this dialogic aspect fades away by the mid-sixteenth century. It engages in case studies on small groups of motets, in which the notation, composition, and texts of motets are analyzed, especially concerning cantus firmi as elements of musical structure and as bearers of liturgical, biblical, devotional, and other associations. While scholars have undertaken numerous analyses of individual motets, less common are case studies which ask both why certain texts and cantus firmi were combined and how they were integrated into the musical structure. The appendix includes a catalogue of the repertoire of polytextual motets and chansons with Latin cantus firmi over this period, with indexes by cantus firmus and composer. Also included are transcriptions of seven polytextual compositions without published editions. My research demonstrates the importance of polytextuality within the genre, the sophistication of the compositions using it, and its ability to provide commentary on a number of theological, devotional, political, and aesthetic issues.

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PART ONE

Introduction: Motets and Polytextuality

The use of multiple simultaneously sounding texts within a single piece of music was an important aspect of the motet from its thirteenth-century origins. By the late fifteenth century, most motets were composed with a single newly written or pre-existing Latin text, but many were still found with at least one voice given a different text. In most cases, this voice is a cantus firmus, bringing the melody of a liturgical chant or vernacular song into the texture of a newly composed polyphonic work. Whether or not a cantus firmus was sung with its original text or even given a textual incipit in the manuscript, the melody alone referenced its original text and any other liturgical or non-liturgical associations attached to it. Narratives of Western music have misleadingly tended to emphasize early fifteenth-century polytextuality due to its association with rhythmic structuring and other repetition techniques, while de-emphasizing later instances of polytextuality because they seem opposed to the new musical-textual ideal. These later instances, most of which have only one text in addition to that of the cantus firmus, may seem less complex than the combined Triplum, Motetus, and Tenor texts of many early fifteenth-century motets. However, composers frequently applied the same interest in textual and intertextual criticism to later motets with cantus firmi. The polytextuality in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century motets relied much more on pre-existing liturgical and vernacular texts, but these cantus firmi were no longer limited to the role of structural and/or symbolic foundation. Without the two texted upper voices common in motets of the Du Fay era, the cantus firmus assumes both greater musical flexibility and a

renewed textual significance. The motet around 1500 therefore creates new opportunities for intertextual emphasis and further potential for liturgical exegesis.

Much has been written about how the motet is or ought to be defined, either generally or within specific temporal or geographical constraints. While scholars are quick to assume the great significance of polytextuality in individual motets, much less has been written about the phenomenon of polytextuality within the genre as a whole and, importantly, through the genre's complex historical development. That which has been written most frequently concerns not polytextuality but the musical technique which so often implicitly results in it, namely, cantus firmus. It goes beyond the scope of this project to examine the phenomenon in detail at all points in the genre's development, but it is hoped that a brief look into its history will facilitate a more thorough investigation of the particular transition which takes place in the middle of the fifteenth century.

1.1. The Motet: Methods of Definition

1.1.1. Brief History

Attempts at defining the motet in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries have traditionally followed one of two quite different lines of approach: those involving technical or style-based analysis, and those using textual or functional categorization. The first approach attempts to define the genre through time as a changing or developing phenomenon. It is found most frequently in general music histories and tends to focus on technical aspects of composition. Indeed, over large periods of time, the music looks and sounds extremely different, and these changes of compositional technique and style demand explanation. For the earliest modern music historians, analysis of changes in compositional technique was of prime importance, while text and function were of little concern. Raphael Georg Kiesewetter based his analyses on theoretical writings and finds the compositional approaches described therein to be

philosophically inadequate. He claimed, for example, that in the early fifteenth century ‘it was customary [...] to regard music more as a subject of erudition and science, than as an art’.¹ Composers of the generation of Ockeghem ‘endeavour to make themselves prominent and distinguished by the invention of new contrivances’.² Similarly, the technically-obsessed music of Josquin and his contemporaries was derogatorily described as ‘Witze und Künsteleien’.³ Kiesewetter’s nephew, August Wilhelm Ambros, criticized this attitude, finding instead that the technical aspects were of fundamental importance: ‘in truth these “artifices” are very closely associated with music and its development and are definitely not, as has become customarily accepted, merely “tricks and contrivances”’.⁴ Ambros’s discussion on ‘Die Künste der Niederländer’ focused almost exclusively on canons and mensuration, with scant attention being given to text, not to mention polytextuality.

Music historians from the mid-twentieth century continued to focus on technical considerations, creating narratives of musical development based on aesthetic preference. Paul Henry Lang identified the historiographical problems that result from a Renaissance periodization,⁵ and he attempted to avoid the issue by not being strict about a transformation: ““Middle Ages” and “Renaissance” should not be opposed to each other, for many medieval elements continued to live throughout the Renaissance and even beyond it’.⁶ He nevertheless ultimately supported the periodization, arguing that Renaissance rebirth and Humanist reconstruction (he considers them one and the same phenomenon) began to have significant

¹ *Geschichte der europäisch-abendländischen oder unsrer heutigen Musik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1846). Translated by Robert Müller as *History of the Modern Music of Western Europe* (London: T. C. Newby, 1848), 105.

² Kiesewetter, *History*, 124.

³ Kiesewetter, *Geschichte*, 57, and *History*, 140 (‘tricks and contrivances’).

⁴ My translation of: ‘In Wahrheit aber sind diese “Künste” mit der Musik und deren Entwicklung sehr innig verbunden und durchaus nicht, wie gewöhnlich angenommen wird, blosse “Witze und Künsteleien”.’ *Geschichte der Musik*. Vol. 3, ‘Im Zeitalter der Renaissance, bis zu Palestrina’ (Breslau: F. E. C. Leuckart, 1868), 62.

⁵ ‘The further the Renaissance and its culture have been explored, the further back have its beginnings been relegated.’ *Music in Western Civilization* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1941), 169. This comment seems to foreshadow the arguments of Christopher Page in *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

⁶ Lang, *Music in Western Civilization*, 170.

influence on music from the second quarter of the fifteenth century, when Franco-Flemish musicians ‘took over a highly developed Gothic musical culture and enriched and rejuvenated it with their fresh unspoiled energy.’⁷ For Lang, the motet was a substantially Gothic tradition, one which was nevertheless ‘not ignored’ in the fifteenth century, when ‘Italian and English influences softened the stern and strictly architectural qualities’.⁸ Gustave Reese de-emphasized the importance of the mid- to late fifteenth-century motet until it caught up to the Renaissance ideals of text expression with Josquin. He considered motets during the time of Ockeghem to be a largely conservative genre compared to the newly flourishing chanson.⁹ The motet experienced a resurgence with Josquin, and this resurgence was specifically related to the treatment of text: ‘Josquin needed the large variety of text, available to the motet composer, to express the many-sidedness of his genius [...]’.¹⁰ Reese nevertheless considered text treatment as a technical issue separate from the function or meaning of the texts in their musical context.

The second approach is found after the first pioneering works of music history established a broad basis for motet definition. Here, composer- or time-specific studies changed the parameters of definition to suit the chosen repertoire. In these cases, technical aspects were given less consideration, as the musical style of a single composer or time can appear largely homogeneous. Instead, categorizations were more frequently based on functional or textual differentiation. Closer attention to genre differentiation first comes in the works of Friedrich Ludwig in the early twentieth century. Ludwig’s most fully developed theories on genre are present in his contribution to Guido Adler’s *Handbuch der*

⁷ Ibid., 178.

⁸ Ibid., 182-3.

⁹ ‘If, in the main, Dufay and some of his contemporaries were more strikingly modern in sacred than in secular music, the composers of the next generation, with the notable exception of Ockeghem, were the reverse. Thanks to the later master, the Mass continued to flourish, but the motet, though represented by some fine examples, assumed a subordinate position.’ Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (London: Dent, 1954), 97.

¹⁰ Ibid., 246.

Musikgeschichte on fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century music.¹¹ As one chapter in a wide-ranging music history, it is more an analysis of music within a self-contained period than a history of music through the period. His interest in genre is made apparent from the title, which lists the types of works to be discussed. Text is the main differentiating characteristic for the genres he outlined. For motets, on the other hand, genre was limited by a rather specific compositional technique: ‘isorhythm’.¹²

1.1.2. ‘Isorhythm’ and Other Issues in Categorization

As Margaret Bent has recently demonstrated, not only is the term ‘isorhythm’ insufficient to describe the range of techniques ascribed to it, but also a categorization of motets as either ‘isorhythmic’ or ‘non-isorhythmic’ creates a false impression about the early fifteenth-century motet repertoire.¹³ Bent examines the history of the term, emphasizing its rapid transformation from a technique describing equal rhythmic repetitions¹⁴ to a genre-defining characteristic for 14th and 15th-century motets.¹⁵ After demonstrating the variety of compositional techniques frequently subsumed under the heading ‘isorhythmic’, and pointing to the later development of related compositional techniques, Bent argues that this categorization has overemphasized rhythm and conformity. In addition to limiting an

¹¹ ‘Die französischen Balladen, Virelais und Rondeaux des 14. Jahrhunderts; die isorhythmische Motette des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts; die italienische Madrigale, Balladen und Cacce; die mehrstimmige Messe des 14. Jahrhunderts. Etwa 1300-1430’, in *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, ed. Guido Adler (Frankfurt am Main, 1924), 228ff. Revised as ‘Die isorhythmische Motette des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts; die französischen Chaces, Balladen, Virelais und Rondeaux des 14. Jahrhunderts; die italienische Madrigale, Balladen und Cacce; die mehrstimmige Messe des 14. Jahrhunderts. Etwa 1300-1430’, in 2nd Edition (1930), 267ff.

¹² For a broader critique of Ludwig’s work in light of his musical/philosophical priorities, see the first chapter of Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

¹³ ‘What is Isorhythm?’ In *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner*, ed. David Butler Cannata, Gabriela Ilnitchi Currie, Rena Charnin Mueller, and John Louis Nadas (American Institute of Musicology: Middleton, WI, 2008), 121-143.

¹⁴ See Friedrich Ludwig, ‘Studien über die Geschichte der mehrstimmigen Musik im Mittelalter. II. Die 50 Beispiele Coussemakers aus der Handschrift von Montpellier’, *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 5/2 (February 1904): 177-224, especially 223-224.

¹⁵ See Ludwig’s chapter in *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, ed. Guido Adler, and also Heinrich Besseler, ‘Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters II: Die Motette von Franko von Köln bis Philipp von Vitry’, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 8/2 (January 1927): 137-258, especially 194-5. Bent, ‘What is Isorhythm?’, 123-9.

understanding of 14th-century motets, this has ‘historiographically distorted the 15th-century evolution of the same underlying processes in the cyclic mass and structured motets by—wrongly—stressing their rejection of earlier processes, which now come to be redefined positively in terms of new humanistic expression.’¹⁶

This problem is compounded by the sorts of analysis and analytical terms that ‘isorhythm’ tends to imply. For ‘isorhythmic’ motets, one expects graphical analysis of colores and taleae, their proportions, and how they overlap. Such ‘isorhythmic analyses’ were deemed indispensable for the study of these motets, to the extent that Heinrich Bessler included them in Du Fay’s *Opera omnia* along with source information, text, and textual and musical commentary. Those compositions without ‘isorhythm’ were given no structural analysis of any sort.¹⁷ In later motets and masses, one might talk about mensuration canons, for example, but because the color is more or less fixed to the talea, graphical analysis is less common.¹⁸ When an ‘isorhythmic’ motet has a mensuration canon, on the other hand, it might go unnoticed amidst the talea proportions. Bent proposes that we think more in terms of the notation which results in the melodic and rhythmic repetitions, and thus the ‘process’ as well as the ‘results’.¹⁹ Her term ‘homographic’ refers to different musical results deriving from the same notation.²⁰

Later examples of motet categorization are problematic for the opposite reason: they frequently relied exclusively on text as the determining factor. The relevant consideration

¹⁶ Bent, ‘What is Isorhythm?’, 139.

¹⁷ *Guillelmi Dufay: Opera omnia*, ed. Bessler, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* i. 6 vols. Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1951-66; see especially Volume 1.

¹⁸ Throughout this thesis, I use ‘verbal canon’ and ‘mensuration canon’ to refer to verbal or notational rules which affect the performance of a single musical voice. These are what Virginia Newes might call ‘non-fugal canons’; see especially ‘Mensural Virtuosity in Non-Fugal Canons c. 1350-1450’, in *Canons and Canonic Techniques, 14th-16th Centuries: Theory, Practice, and Reception History*, ed. Katelijne Schiltz and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Peeters: Leuven, 2007), 19-46. When I use ‘canon’ to refer to strict imitation in two or more voices, this is explained in my discussion. Throughout the fifteenth century, the former definition of the term was most prevalent; it was only at the end of the century that it also started referring to ‘fugal’ examples. See Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, ‘Canon/Kanon’, in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht et al. (Wiesbaden, 1972-2007, added 1999), 12-17.

¹⁹ Bent, ‘What is Isorhythm?’, 138.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, especially 122.

usually included the type of text (whether liturgical or not) and the number of texts (single-texted or polytextual). Bent critiques the example of Du Fay's four-part *Ave regina celorum*, which has been disqualified as a motet merely because it has a liturgical text.²¹ In the complete works of Du Fay, Besseler placed this work under 'Minor Liturgical Compositions', not in the category of motets. For Besseler, a motet could be non-isorhythmic or have a liturgical text, but not both.²² With earlier motets, polytextuality itself has often been considered necessary for motet qualification. In Frank Llewellyn Harrison's *Music in Medieval Britain*, a work is only a motet if it has at least two texts or a cantus firmus.²³ In both cases, the decisions are not completely arbitrary: if most of the repertory is polytextual, non-liturgical, and uses complex melodic and rhythmic repetitions, then deviating from these qualities places a piece somewhat outside the main tradition. Still, the line between motets and other (supposedly less important) genres seems overly harsh and implausible, and the fact that the line is drawn implies that the difference between these categories is more significant than the individual characteristics of each unique composition.

As can be seen, both the musical technique-based and textual/functional approaches towards definition have been useful for their purposes, yet while they both inform the question of genre, they are not easily reconcilable. The reason for this is the method of definition itself: in both cases, what is or is not a motet is decided by strict defining characteristics. A motet can be defined by technical or textual considerations, but given the great variety within the genre even over relatively short periods of time, using both together to form a specific and inflexible definition of the genre quickly becomes problematic. There are problems on both sides. The occasional over-reliance on technical considerations, notably isorhythm, has led (ironically) to an overemphasis on the philosophical ideas of humanism

²¹ Bent, 'The late-medieval motet', in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. Tess Knighton and David Fallows (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 117-8.

²² *Guillelmi Dufay: Opera omnia*, op. cit. As Bent points out, motets occupy the first volume, whereas these liturgical pieces are near the end of the collection in volume 5. Besseler was one of the early proponents of the genre 'isorhythmic motet', see above note 15.

²³ London: Routledge and Paul, 1958, with later editions in 1963 and 1980.

within musicological discourse concerning the later fifteenth century. That, combined with the frequent over-reliance on text types in genre differentiation, has resulted in a potentially skewed narrative concerning polytextuality in the motet.

1.1.3. Humanism

The overemphasis on humanism has its roots in a separate issue, one that is important in dealing with a genre which changes so dramatically through time: namely, the question of a model for historical change. Watershed periodizations are useful tools for creating historical narrative, but by their very nature are forced to gloss over subtleties of musical transformation. Assuming that all change is gradual also fits historical evidence to a preconceived model, instead of creating a model based on the available evidence. With respect to the motet, debate tends to centre upon the supposed transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, which has been used to explain any number of specific musical transformations. A related problem is that the priorities of the modern musicological enterprise have been evolving constantly. While our goals today may appear to be different if not opposed to those of fifty or a hundred years ago, we are inevitably influenced by their work.²⁴ Even if it is impossible to extract oneself from this hermeneutic cycle, it is necessary to question our received history based on the evidence now available.

The centrality of ‘isorhythm’ to the historical narrative for the fifteenth-century motet has reinforced the idea of a watershed change to music composition in the mid-fifteenth century. When the ‘isorhythmic motet’ falls out of use in the 1430s, something must fill its

²⁴ Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, for example, demonstrated how early to mid-twentieth-century German musicology was influenced by the ideals of German racial superiority and Nazism, and in turn how this continues to affect musicology today. ‘The Modern Invention of the Early German Lied: Music Historiography in the Third Reich’, paper read as part of the Seminar in Medieval and Renaissance Music, convened by Margaret Bent, 19 November 2009, at All Souls College, Oxford. This has been published as ‘The Modern Invention of the “Tenorlied”: A Historiography of the Early German Lied Setting’, *Early Music History* 32 (2013): 119-77. See also Pamela M. Potter, *Most German of the arts: musicology and society from the Weimar Republic to the end of Hitler's Reich* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998).

place: as Bent mentions, this is frequently explained by the rise of musical humanism.²⁵ Renaissance Humanism has been defined variously as a rhetorical, literary, philosophical, political, or all-encompassing phenomenon, though most agree that it is rooted in a revival of antiquity.²⁶ In some form, it certainly had a substantial effect on rhetoric about music from the middle of the sixteenth century, and such rhetoric is related to changes in compositional priorities. However, the attribution of significant musical change to humanism one hundred years earlier is much less certain, particularly as this musical transformation is defined by the same writers primarily on technical grounds of composition (i.e., the supposed decline of more formalized pre-compositional constraints).²⁷ James Haar, in the *New Grove* article on 'Humanism', argues, 'if humanistic currents are to be seen in other fields as early as the 14th century, one is entitled to look for them in music as well.'²⁸ He suggests that the isorhythmic motet itself can be seen as a 'proto-humanist essay', for 'relationships of a Pythagorean nature abound in it.' Haar is interested in showing some level of continuity between the 'essentially Pythagorean content' of Boethius, studied throughout the Middle Ages, and the musical humanism of the Renaissance, though he admits certain differences, including the new emphasis on musical ethos, rhetoric, and poetics.²⁹ Nevertheless, the compositional styles which are said to derive from these two phenomena are dramatically opposed, at least as found in the traditional narrative of musical humanism. Finding humanist resonances in

²⁵ Bent ('What is Isorhythm?') quotes passages from Guillaume de Van and David Fallows subscribing to this narrative (pp. 121 and 134). See *Guglielmi Dufay opera omnia*, ed. Guillaume de Van, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* I (Rome, 1947-49), 2: *Motetti [isorithmici dicti]* (1948), i-ii and David Fallows, *Dufay* (London: Dent, 1982; Revised edition, London: Dent, 1988), 78. Concerning the 'decline' of the 'isorhythmic motet', Thomas Brothers has demonstrated how a number of compositional techniques used later in the fifteenth century can be seen as connected to the 'isorhythmic tradition'; see 'Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition in Mass and Motet, ca. 1450-1475', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44/1 (Spring, 1991): 1-56

²⁶ One of the more convincing non-musical accounts I have read is Stanley Meltzoff's *Botticelli, Signorelli and Savonarola: Theologica Poetica and Painting from Boccaccio to Poliziano* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1987). Meltzoff discusses the late 15th-century debate concerning what he calls 'poetic theology', specifically whether God might reveal Himself outside scripture, especially in ancient poetry and philosophy. In other words, the humanist argument becomes a justification for the study of these ancient texts.

²⁷ On the other hand, humanist texts were being set to music before this transformation was supposed to have occurred, and composers such as Du Fay may have written some of these texts: see Leofranc Holford-Strevens, 'Du Fay the Poet? Problems in the Texts of his Motets', *Early Music History* 16 (1997): 97-165.

²⁸ In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40601> (accessed February 10, 2010).

²⁹ *Ibid.*

music is fine, but attributing a sudden musical transformation in the fifteenth century to the humanist movement is problematic.

Some of the limitations in invoking humanism as a catalyst for 15th-century compositional change become apparent in Claude Palisca's *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought*. Palisca limited the definition of humanism to the revival of antiquity, and thus his discussion is focused on how ancient writings directly influenced music theory. As he understood it, humanism is primarily an Italian phenomenon, one which first began to exert influence in music theory in the final quarter of the 15th century. Palisca stated that 'Renaissance music is not a set of compositional techniques but a complex of social conditions, intellectual states of mind, attitudes, aspirations, habits of performers, [...]' the combination of which eventually was 'translated into musical style'.³⁰ When he claimed that humanism is the inspiration for the musical Renaissance, he was therefore not asserting a direct influence on musical style or compositional techniques. Instead, he pointed out certain misconceptions: 'It is common to link humanism with the increasing attention given to the faithful rendering of the natural spoken rhythm of the text and its affective content in musical settings. But actually it is quite difficult to find early documentary evidence for this link.'³¹ The earliest evidence that he found was in the writing of Jacopo Sadoletto and Bernadino Cirillo Franco from 1533 and 1549, respectively, both of whom use Plato to suggest that the music should be framed to the words.³² Warwick Edwards has recently argued convincingly based on close readings of theoretical and humanist writings that 'text sensitivity' was a concept foreign to musical thought until the 1540s, when it was at best an expectation that humanists imposed upon composers.³³

³⁰ Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 5-6.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

³² *Ibid.*, 14-15.

³³ 'Text Treatment in Motets around 1500: The Humanist Fallacy', in *The Motet around 1500: On the relationship of imitation and text treatment?*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 113-38.

If on the one hand, the ‘isorhythmic motet’ is unsatisfactory as a musical genre and its decline is therefore an historical imagining, and on the other, humanism does not demonstrably influence technical aspects of music until later in the sixteenth century, then what does happen to motets in the fifteenth? In addition to certain changes in musical style, the traditional genre narrative incorporates two extra-musical developments: the switch from newly written texts to primarily pre-existing ones and the increasing use of only one text. Before getting too far in considering these fifteenth-century developments, however, it is worthwhile to take a quick look at the various phenomena which could fall into the category of ‘polytextuality’.

1.2. Polytextuality

1.2.1. Two Types

The use of multiple texts was an essential part of the motet from its early thirteenth-century origins.³⁴ It generally falls into one of two distinct categories, based on whether or not the second text carries a pre-existing musical melody. Ernest H. Sanders tells us that ‘the motet came into being with the application of a poetic text to the duplum of the clausula’.³⁵ This technique survived into the sixteenth century and beyond as composition with a cantus firmus (or multiple cantus firmi). Later on in the history of the genre (the second *New Grove* edition clarifies this is as the ‘second half of the 13th century’), ‘[t]he triplum received definition as

³⁴ According to Rolf Dammann, polytextuality is *the* essential quality (‘Wesenseigentumlichkeit’) with examples from as early as 1200. ‘Geschichte der Begriffsbestimmung Motette’. *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 16/4 (1959), 340.

³⁵ Sanders et al., ‘Motet’, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 1st edition (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980), Volume 12, p. 617, and 2nd edition (London: Grove, 2001), Volume 17, p. 199. The same phrase remains in the second edition, as reworked by Peter M. Lefferts. Since Sanders’s article, Mark Everist has argued in favor of the traditional view of the motet deriving from clausula, while showing that some examples of texted discantus from the early thirteenth century resulted from different musical procedures; see *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry and Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), esp. 15-42. Other recent work has shown that the directionality between clausulae and motets may not be quite so straightforward (for example, Catherine Bradley, ‘Clausula or Motet: Which Came First?’, paper given at the *Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference*, Royal Holloway, 5-8 July 2010). As the present purposes only concern the motet in later centuries and not influence that early motets may subsequently have had on clausulae, Sanders’ original statement will suffice.

soon as it was animated by a text of its own with independent rhyme scheme and versification', resulting in the 'double motet'.³⁶ This second technique, which involves the use of two parallel texts in the upper voices, remains prevalent through the fourteenth-century *Ars nova* motets and the earlier fifteenth-century motets of Du Fay and Dunstaple.

Making the distinction between these two types of polytextuality in motets is useful but potentially misleading, especially when dealing with examples beginning from the later fifteenth century. By this time, most 'polytextuality' within motets is of the first type: these motets are polytextual only because there is a cantus firmus. Nevertheless, the wide range of techniques used in this group of motets prohibits one from labelling them all 'tenor motets'. For one, the second text does not always use a pre-existing melody, whether from liturgical chant or vernacular song: sometimes it is just composed to appear like one. (See, for example, the anonymous *Odas clangat/Jesse produxit* discussed in section 2.2.3, or Regis's *Lauda Syon/Ego sum panis vivus* discussed in section 2.3.2.) When a cantus firmus is used, it can take any number of forms, including any (or combinations) of the following: adhering closely to the original melody using long notes; loosely paraphrasing the melody; singing the melody in canon between two voices; or repeating the melody with or without diminution and/or transposition, for example as an ostinato.³⁷ Cantus firmi are certainly not always found in the tenor, nor are they always found alone: a motet may have a long-note cantus firmus tenor while the other voices paraphrase the melody associated with their text, or there may be multiple different cantus firmi in the same or different voices. Another element is that of language: Latin motets frequently use melodies from vernacular song, and similarly, French songs can be found with cantus firmi from Latin chant. This is sometimes relevant to the musical style, and in any case it complicates categorization.

³⁶ See both versions cited above; first edition at vol.12, p. 619.

³⁷ This brief list, of course, only scratches the surface. Edgar H. Sparks's *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet, 1420-1520* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963) remains a useful overview of cantus firmus techniques around this period.

1.2.2. Intertextuality and Cantus Firmus Usage

Regardless of the technical means of employing polytextuality, this repertory always involves the combination of two or more ‘distinct entities’³⁸ in single works of art. These entities are subject to a number of potential musical and textual relationships, having been intentionally juxtaposed by the composer frequently on account of specific similarities or differences. John Milsom has critiqued the term ‘intertextuality’ as used by musicologists, arguing that most have used it to refer to ‘directional, intentional, and meaningful transfer between musical works’ instead of ‘non-directional, unintentional and (to the listener) essentially meaningless interconnection’.³⁹ This usage departs from its original meaning in literary theory, wherein intertextuality was used to refer to the interdependence of any text on many others which precede it, minimizing the conscious intention and originality of the individual author.⁴⁰ My use of the term is more in line with the musicologists, for the connections I seek are most frequently directed and meaningful. As used here, intertextuality refers to relationships between verbal texts and between musical texts, most frequently within a single musical work, placed together intentionally and often meaningfully. In many instances, these relationships were both unintentional and meaningless before their combination. This type of intertextuality thus reasserts the importance of authorship.

Most scholars agree that simultaneous upper-voice texts were chosen on account of semantic or aural parallels (whether emphasizing similarity or difference). Nevertheless, there has never been complete agreement as to the compositional motivations for choosing specific cantus firmi. Whereas earlier scholars have tended to focus on their technical aspects, more

³⁸ Sanders, ‘Motet’ (1980), op. cit., 619.

³⁹ “‘Imitatio’, ‘Intertextuality’, and Early Music’, in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture*, ed. Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 141-51, quote at 144. The influential musicological studies on intertextuality which Milsom cites include J. Michael Allsen, ‘Intertextuality and Compositional Process in Two Cantilena Motets by Hugo de Lantins’, *Journal of Musicology* 11 (1993): 174-202 and David Crook, *Orlando di Lasso’s Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich* (Princeton, 1994).

⁴⁰ Milsom gives several recent attempts to explain what the term was originally intended to mean; see *ibid.*, 145.

recently greater attention has rightly been given to the textual and contextual interplay between the motet and cantus firmus texts.

In the first half of the twentieth century, a focus among musicologists on the techniques involved in composing ‘tenor motets’ led to a disregard for the potential significance of the choice of melody. For such writers, the melody and structure of the cantus firmus (more than the text associated with it) need to be appropriate to the composition of the motet. Wolfgang Stephan, in one of the more influential early writings on Ockeghem-era motets, seems to believe that the ‘coupling of several texts’ was only important when it was in the upper voices; chant quotation is no more than an ‘instrumental sound-foundation’ upon which the upper voices are arranged.⁴¹ More recent arguments against looking too closely at the text of the tenor have been put forward by Christopher Page, who states: ‘Perhaps we should counter the idealist belief of modern scholars that if a text is present in a medieval composition then it was meant to be understood in a fashion that somehow approximates to what a musicologist, armed with dictionaries, concordances, the *Glossa ordinaria*, and more besides can accomplish.’⁴² This may be a useful warning for those who attempt interpretations of meaning in motets, but it does not provide a sufficient explanation for why the pre-existing melodies would have been chosen in the first place.⁴³

From the mid-twentieth century onwards, scholars have tended to argue in favor of a thematic or symbolic connection between the cantus firmus and the upper-voice text(s) of most motets, at least from *Ars nova* onwards. Edgar H. Sparks, in his 1963 book on fifteenth-century cantus firmus techniques, was just as uninterested as Stephan in what motivated the

⁴¹ *Die Burgundisch-Niederländische Motette zur Zeit Ockeghems* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1937; repr. 1973), 12: ‘instrumentalen Klanguntergrund zweier sich ständig kreuzender Unterstimmen’. Also: ‘Das zeigt sich besonders deutlich, wo Dufay die herkömmliche Koppelung mehrer Texte aufgegeben hat; in *Nuper rosarum* kann der Kontratenor 1, wie es die zum Teil ausgesprochen baßmässige Führung sowie die vorkommenden Doppelgriffe [...] auch zu erheischen scheinen, gleich den zu einem tragfähigen Klangsockel zusammengeschlossenen Tenores rein instrumental ausgeführt werden.’

⁴² *Discarding Images*, op. cit., 85-6.

⁴³ Suzannah Clark, responding to Christopher Page’s arguments on hearing the motet, has argued music can increase the comprehension of the words in performance, through the use of musical devices which highlight the text and musical references which focus the listener’s attention; see “‘S’en dirai chançonete’: hearing text and music in a medieval motet”, *Plain-song and Medieval Music* 16/1 (2007), especially 34-35.

choice of cantus firmi, but he nevertheless got around to making a few comments in his discussion on cyclic masses. He concluded: ‘*Cantus firmi*, whether intended for use in the church, for state occasions, or for whatever purpose, were chosen primarily because of their text, not because of their inherent musical qualities. The way was, however, now being opened for a new attitude [...]’.⁴⁴ Sparks listed just a few obvious examples of textual correspondence, without going into detail about their significance. He believed the use of vernacular cantus firmi might point towards a new interest in the musical qualities of different cantus firmi. By the time Sanders wrote his *New Grove* article, however, the importance of the text in choosing cantus firmi was fully accepted: in comparing *Ars Nova* motets to earlier ones, he stated, ‘the selection of the tenor was no longer determined by arbitrary considerations of contrapuntal convenience but was governed by the need for its text to correspond like a motto to the poetic conceit of the upper voices.’⁴⁵ The 2nd Edition (in which Sanders’s portion of the article was reworked by Peter Lefferts) retained the second half of this sentence, but it no longer stated that tenors in earlier motets were chosen exclusively for contrapuntal reasons.⁴⁶

In an article on fourteenth-century motets, Bent went further than this, promoting deeper analysis into the interplay between voices and their texts. She argued that ‘intelligent contemporary appreciation of motets must have depended on some reflection beyond performance’, and that the tenor is central to such appreciation.⁴⁷ Quoting the fourteenth-century theorist Egidius in saying that ‘the words [of the tenor] should concord with the matter of which you wish to make the motet’, Bent suggested that composers often see the choice of tenor as an opportunity for ‘intertextual play’.⁴⁸ Regardless of whether the tenor was texted, a piece of chant makes reference to its liturgical text as well as the original

⁴⁴ Sparks, op. cit., 97.

⁴⁵ Sanders, ‘Motet’ (1980), op. cit., vol. 12, p. 625.

⁴⁶ Sanders, ‘Motet’ (2001), op. cit., vol. 17, p. 199.

⁴⁷ ‘Polyphony of Texts and Music in the Fourteenth-Century Motet’, in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 82.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 82.

biblical texts, and this ‘full verbal context [...] must often have prompted its choice’.⁴⁹ Bent pointed out that these texts can be closely related in meaning, or they can be ‘incongruous or even blasphemous’.⁵⁰ Many other scholars have demonstrated the presence of textual relationships of various sorts in motets from the fourteenth century, especially those of Vitry and Machaut, and even earlier.⁵¹ In music from the later fifteenth century onwards, scholars today tend to assume the intertextual relevance of the choice of cantus firmus, though both compositional motivation and historical interpretation have been much debated.⁵²

⁴⁹ Ibid., 83.

⁵⁰ ‘The late-medieval motet’, 114-115.

⁵¹ In the earliest examples, upper voice texts tend to act as tropes to that of the cantus firmus. Gerald R. Hoekstra has shown this to be true not only in Latin-texted motets but also in motets with French texts in the upper voices; see ‘The French Motet as Trope: Multiple Levels of Meaning in *Quant florist la violete / El mois de mai / Et gaudebit*’, *Speculum* 73 (1998), 32-57. David Rothenberg discusses another thirteenth-century example where three voices (one of which is the tenor) ‘appear quite different [...] but nevertheless reveal themselves to be carefully aligned’ (223; see 223-27). He then goes on to show how a number of diverse motets can be explained in the context of the seasonal associations of their shared tenor; see ‘The Marian Symbolism of Spring, ca. 1200-ca. 1500: Two Case Studies’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 59/2 (2006), esp. 329-54. Bent’s article cited above (‘Polyphony of Texts and Music’) discusses intertextuality with the tenor text in an early fourteenth-century motet (esp. 88-89). A number of scholars have focused on the subtlety in Machaut’s motet texts, especially insofar as the tenor has intertextual significance. Kevin Brownlee discusses different ways in which the tenor interacts with the upper-voice texts in Machaut’s motets, with a focus on the opposition between ‘the world of human seeming and the world of divine being’ (14) in motet 15; see ‘Machaut’s Motet 15 and the *Roman de la Rose*: The Literary Context of *Amours qui a le pour/Faus samblant m’a deceü/Vidi Dominum*’, *Early Music History* 10 (1991), esp. 13-14. Bent’s reading of the intertextual connections in the same motet is somewhat different, but the points of resonance are the same; see ‘Deception, Exegesis and Sounding Number in Machaut’s Motet 15’, *Early Music History* 10 (1991), esp. 25-27. Elsewhere, in a discussion of Machaut’s motet 10, Brownlee refers to the relationship between the upper-voice texts and the tenor as the third of three ‘complementary kinds of intertextuality’ in motets; see ‘Fire, desire, duration, death: Machaut’s motet 10’, in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned*, ed. Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), esp. 79-80. Alice V. Clark compares two Machaut motets which use the same tenor, arguing that their compositional strategies are related on account of the tenor; see ‘Machaut reading Machaut: Self-borrowing and reinterpretation in motets 8 and 21’, in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned*, ed. Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005). For a more comprehensive study of fourteenth-century motet tenors and their importance, see Alice V. Clark’s dissertation, ‘*Concordare cum materia*: the Tenor in the Fourteenth-Century Motet’ (Princeton University, 1996). My own analyses of two polytextual motets by Philippe de Vitry (*Vos quid admiramini/Gratisissima virginis* and *Impudenter circumivi/Virtutibus laudabilis*) found similar textual relationships at work (‘Meaning and Compositional Structure in Two Motets of Philippe de Vitry’, MSt dissertation, Oxford University, 2009).

⁵² A classic case of this concerns Busnoys’ motet *Anima mea/Stirps Jesse*, which is discussed in greater detail in sections 2.3.1 and 3.2.2.

1.2.3. Motivations for the Use and Choice of Cantus Firmi

When a cantus firmus is used in a motet, there are several possible musical motivations at work. For one, a pre-existing melody is being used as a compositional device, potentially subject to musical transformation and helping to create a musical structure, and it could have been chosen at least partly for its suitability in this regard. For example, in an anonymous motet in *I-VEc* 755, the sequence cantus firmus *Preter rerum ordinem* divides into three couplets, creating a very regular musical and textual structure with the newly written text *Incomprehensibilia firme*; see the discussion below in section 2.3.1. When multiple cantus firmi are used in conjunction with one another, the composer would need to make sure they worked together contrapuntally from a very early stage of composition. For example, Isaac took advantage of the similarities between the *Da pacem, Domine* and *Sacerdos et pontifex* melodies in using them both as cantus firmi for his motet *Optime divino date*.⁵³ This is equally true when a cantus firmus is found alongside a chant paraphrase in the other voices: any additional cantus firmus tends to be chosen with careful consideration of its potential to combine musically with the other melody. In Josquin's *O virgo prudentissima*, the antiphon cantus firmus *Beata mater* uses the same opening formula as the antiphon which inspires the motet's text, *Virgo prudentissima*. In a more general sense, certain pre-existing melodies are more contrapuntally adept than others at being used as cantus firmi. While the presence of segments of the *L'homme armé* melody in the anonymous motet *Ave rosa speciosa* in the Chigi codex is undeniable, one almost gets the sense that the composer could have inserted it into the bass line for its effectiveness in creating cadences alone. (The motet is discussed further in section 3.2.4.) Nevertheless, the techniques for adapting cantus firmi in music are numerous, and any two melodies could be made to work together provided the composer was flexible with mode, duration, and the point of overlap. There are extreme examples of this when a composer combined several cantus firmi as a sort of compositional challenge;

⁵³ The motet survives in *RISM* 1520⁴ and 1538³; an edition is available in *Chorwerk* 70.

Gombert used seven different Marian melodies in his single-section, four-voice *Diversi diversa orant*.

While these musical and structural considerations may play a role in the choice of cantus firmus, the primary consideration in most cases is the verbal content and meaning of its original text. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, specific sorts of relationships between motet and cantus firmus texts are found frequently. In a number of examples, the tenor cantus firmus is taken from a portion of the text in the other voices: when the cantus firmus is repeated in the *secunda pars*, for example, all voices may sing the same text at the same time.⁵⁴ An early example is Obrecht's *Beata es Maria Virgo/Ave Maria*, where the text of the *secunda pars* is identical to that of the cantus firmus. A more subtle example is Josquin's *O Virgo prudentissima/Beata mater*, where the poetic text of the *secunda pars* is interrupted by all voices singing the cantus firmus text together. Similar examples occur when most voices sing a troped text and the cantus firmus is its untroped version, as in Isaac's *Virgo prudentissima*. Texts may be related liturgically, though the motivation for this may simply be the thematic relation which results from the liturgical connection.⁵⁵ Perhaps most common is when a liturgical chant for a particular saint (most commonly the Virgin Mary) is used to complement a newly written text for the same saint, or when the motet text and cantus firmus share certain words or phrases. Brumel's motet for the Nativity of the Virgin Mary combines two different liturgical texts for the feast, the sequence *Nativitas unde gaudia* and the Magnificat antiphon *Nativitas tua, Dei genitrix*; despite the liturgical connection, it is probably no coincidence that they both share the same opening word.

⁵⁴ This occurs most frequently in sixteenth-century motets.

⁵⁵ Again, Busnoys' *Anima mea/Stirps Jesse* is a useful example. M. Jennifer Bloxam has shown that the two texts used in the motet (an antiphon and a responsory) occur immediately one after the other in first Vespers for the feast of the Assumption in the use of Paris, but the liturgical connection may be merely coincidental; see 'On the Origins, Contexts, and Implications of Busnoys's Plainsong Cantus Firmi: Some Preliminary Remarks', in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. Paula Higgins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 77. See full discussion in section 3.2.2.

Motet cantus firmi are chosen not only from the repertoire of liturgical plainchant but also from vernacular song, just as Latin chants are occasionally used as cantus firmi for combinative chansons. In the bilingual repertory, the relationship between the meaning of text and cantus firmus is equally important. The vernacular text is not infrequently a translation or gloss of the Latin chant text: there are two chanson settings of *Royne du ciel* with the cantus firmus *Regina celi*, and the text of Josquin's *Ce povre mendiant* expands upon the very brief Latin motto, *Pauper sum ego*.⁵⁶ An example of the inverse phenomenon in a motet is Compère's *Omnium bonorum plena*, where the Latin text expands upon and adapts the song *De tous biens plaine* in an explicitly Marian context.⁵⁷ Other vernacular cantus firmi in Latin motets are frequently chosen on account of their affective similarity to the Latin text. The chanson *Comme femme desconfortée* is sacralized to represent the sorrows of the Virgin Mary when placed in the context of Josquin's *Stabat mater*.⁵⁸ Occasionally the connection between texts is less immediately apparent: the tenor of Isaac's *Angeli archangeli/Comme femme* is unusual in the All Saints Day context suggested by the Latin text, but it might make more sense if the motet were actually composed for the Feast of the Assumption, as proposed by David Rothenberg.⁵⁹

If a cantus firmus does not refer directly to the text used by the other voices, it will probably have a modicum of symbolic or thematic connection or at least appropriateness. From an interpretative standpoint, however, the exact way in which motet texts seem to relate differs from one motet to another. Among the possibilities, the cantus firmus could act as the foundation for the meaning of the newly composed text of the other voices.⁶⁰ When both texts are pre-existent, they may be used in conjunction with each other in order to clarify how one

⁵⁶ The two settings of *Royne du ciel* are by Loyset Compère and Johannes Prioris. Another example would be Compère's *Le corps/Corpusque meum*.

⁵⁷ See the discussion below in section 3.3.1.

⁵⁸ For a full discussion of the bilingual repertory, both Latin motets with vernacular cantus firmi and vernacular songs with Latin cantus firmi, see section 2.4.

⁵⁹ See the discussion below in section 2.4.3.

⁶⁰ I argued this to be the case for a pair of motets by Philippe de Vitry in my Master's dissertation, op. cit., though this is also the case in some later motets with new texts.

of them is supposed to be interpreted. For example, while the textual presence of the Song of Songs generally implies a Marian interpretation, it can be confirmed by the inclusion of a common Marian antiphon as cantus firmus, as in the anonymous *Tota pulcra es/Salve* in *GB-Lbl* Royal 8.G.VII.⁶¹ The motet and cantus firmus texts could be merely complementary, but the composer presumably had some motivation to place the texts alongside each other, probably relating to how the motet was meant to be interpreted. If subtle symbolic connections and linguistic parallels are common between the texts of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century motets, polytextual examples from the second quarter of the sixteenth century onwards are most frequently related thematically but symbolic significance is rarer and more conventional.

In the same way that composers almost always gave careful consideration to the textual combinations in motets, they also frequently paid close attention to how these texts were combined in the musical setting. One means of coordinating texts was through careful control of the simultaneously sounding words or phrases of the different texts. Different cantus firmi might be used at different points within the same motet in order to signify or emphasize different aspects of the motet text. Josquin's *Victime paschali laudes* may use the songs *D'ung aultre amer* and *De tous biens plaine* at different points in the motet to represent the voices of Christ and Mary, respectively.⁶² When a single cantus firmus is used, it may enter to coincide with a particular portion of the motet text, emphasizing similarities and connections or highlighting aspects of disconnection. In Festa's *Ave nobilissima creatura/Ave Maria*, for example, the cantus firmus enters when 'Ave Maria' is being quoted in the other voices. The vertical coordination of texts need not be limited to the entrances of the cantus firmi: in the anonymous *O pulcherrima mulierum/Gyrum celi circuivi*, the wording of the liturgical cantus firmus is changed to result in the same phrase being sung by all voices, and

⁶¹ See the discussion below in section 3.2.1.

⁶² See the discussion below in section 3.4.1.

this happens together at a single point of imitation.⁶³ As in this anonymous motet, textual parallels were often highlighted through additional musical means, such as imitation, textural change, and structural divisions.

1.2.4. Terminology

Given the variation, terminology can be quite a substantial obstacle to correctly understanding the phenomena related to polytextuality. I have already addressed some problems with using the term ‘motet’, but as it had been used to refer (in the fifteenth century) to the wide variety of Latin polyphonic music other than mass settings and specifically liturgically oriented pieces such as Magnificats, I will continue to use it in that broad sense. ‘Polytextuality’ is an ambiguous term, firstly in that it might refer to either ‘two or more’ texts or ‘more than two’ texts. While the original Greek form of the prefix may refer specifically to the latter, common English usage varies, and the musical term ‘polyphony’ is generally considered inclusive of the former. Secondly, while ‘multi-texted’ implies that all the texts were written under the melodies in the manuscript or print (‘texted’), the term ‘polytextuality’ could also refer to untexted cantus firmi which nevertheless call to mind a particular text. Furthermore, it is possible for ‘polytextuality’ to imply that the texts are equivalent in length or similar in importance, as in those motets with two upper-voice texts of close to equal length. The text of a cantus firmus, on the other hand, is most frequently shorter, and its melodic and rhythmic treatment is often distinct within the musical texture. Despite these limitations, I will continue to use the term, as it highlights the textual aspect of the phenomenon while leaving space for the variety inherent in the motet repertory. In my use of the term, the texts can either be set musically (‘texted’) or simply alluded to through the use of a cantus firmus. I consider the term to be inclusive of instances of ‘bitextuality’, and I do not assume that the texts were meant to be read as parallel to each other.

⁶³ See the discussion below in section 3.2.2.

Despite my use of the terms ‘motet’ and ‘polytextuality’, I combine them reluctantly. All of the pieces I am investigating are both ‘motets’ and ‘polytextual’, but calling them ‘polytextual motets’ risks inadvertently making a genre or subgenre distinction where such a distinction is unjustifiable. It is not unlike the confusion caused by Ludwig and Bessler with the term ‘isorhythm’: it works well enough to describe a specific compositional technique, but as a genre-defining characteristic (i.e., ‘the isorhythmic motet’), it distorts the picture of the repertoire. I do not mean to divide up the motet repertoire into ‘polytextual’ and ‘not’, because there is a large spectrum of what it might constitute. Polytextuality is not primarily a musical consideration, even though polytextuality frequently coincides with the inclusion of a cantus firmus. Motets that reference multiple texts are most frequently found in musical sources without differentiation from those which do not. If such motets appear together in a manuscript, the scribe was probably grouping together motets with cantus firmi, whether or not they were polytextual. To summarize, ‘polytextuality’ describes a wide range of compositional techniques which occur when the composer decides to make reference to multiple texts, and the musical variety of the repertoire precludes a simple subgenre distinction.

As suggested above, all of the texts in motets do not necessarily hold equal positions. Medieval musical priorities with respect to the relative importance of texts can be hinted at by the titles used for motets in manuscript indexes. As Bent has shown, in fourteenth-century manuscripts, motets are listed by the text of the motetus; in the fifteenth century this shifts to the highest part. This reflects a general trend in musical priorities. However, even in extreme cases such as the late thirteenth-century Montpellier Codex (Bibliothèque Inter-Universitaire, Section Médecine H 196), where both upper-voice texts are listed in the index, the cantus firmus is not mentioned.⁶⁴ While the distinction between types of texts might appear clear in

⁶⁴ See Bent, ‘Indexes in late medieval polyphonic music manuscripts: a brief tour’, in *The Medieval Book: Glosses from friends and colleagues of Christopher de Hamel*, ed. James H. Marrow, Richard A. Linenthal, and William Noel (’t Goy-Houten: Hes & De Graaf Publishers, 2010), esp. 198.

the majority of cases, the variety of compositional techniques still prohibits us from immediately ascribing to a cantus firmus a lower level of significance merely because it is pre-existing. Alice Clark has promoted an alternative view in suggesting that the tenor is ‘the primary voice’ in medieval motets, even if the ‘tendency to focus on the higher parts’ begins to develop in the fourteenth century.⁶⁵ Regardless of the exact relationship between the voices and texts, cantus firmi have great potential for significance in determining the interpretative direction of the motet.

As intertextual relations vary by type, the terminology used in modern musicological literature to refer to different kinds of texts can be misleading. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century motets are frequently referred to by the first few words of what seems to be the ‘main text’: that is, the text which appears in most of the voices, or just in the upper voices, or which appears to be least like a cantus firmus.⁶⁶ ‘Main text’ is certainly a convenient term and one which is easily understood, but it implies that the other text is secondary not only in how prominently it is heard but also in interpretative significance. To refer to the different elements as ‘text’ and ‘cantus firmus’ is an elegant solution, but it minimizes the verbal importance of the latter. Like these other solutions, the term ‘motet text’ defines the text less by its own identity than by its opposition to something else, namely, the cantus firmus. I retain this term as a useful and easily understandable concept, even while asserting that cantus firmi are not simply quotations but can be melodically and textually flexible to fit the context into which they were composed.

While the name implies a solidity which is frequently absent in examples in the repertory, ‘cantus firmus’ is itself an historical term, and this carries both advantages and

⁶⁵ ‘*Concordare cum materia*: the Tenor in the Fourteenth-Century Motet’, op. cit., 1-2.

⁶⁶ Especially from the second half of the fifteenth century, the cantus firmus is occasionally found in the highest voice, and in the cases where it is canonic in two voices, there may be equal number of voices singing the text of the cantus firmus. Consider, for example, the anonymous *Salve/Tota pulcra es* in GB-Lbl Royal 8.G.VII. In the *prima pars*, a canonic cantus firmus on the first four notes of the *Salve regina* chant is found in the two highest voices, with the two lower voices singing several verses from the Song of Songs. In the *secunda pars*, the parts are reversed, with the canonic tenor in the lower voices.

disadvantages. It describes something which was seen to be compositionally significant from as early as the thirteenth century. On the other hand, the modern definition is only one of three or four distinct historical meanings, that which is most concerned with compositional processes as opposed to the identity of the pre-existing melody.⁶⁷ I continue to use the term because it refers to an important, easily recognizable, and quite common feature in all medieval music genres: a ‘pre-existing melody used as the basis of a new polyphonic work.’⁶⁸ As mentioned previously, it can be written in the manuscript without any text (or with the text of the other voices), with an identifying incipit, or fully texted with the original text. Cantus firmus is frequently opposed to the technique of paraphrase, the former referring to examples where a melody is sung more or less note-for-note in the tenor voice, the latter where the original melodic contour is freely reinterpreted in a number of voices.⁶⁹ While the distinction is useful, it is nearly impossible to draw a dividing line: many tenor cantus firmi are quite free in their quotation of the pre-existing melody, whereas seeming paraphrases in multiple voices can be quite exact. If there is a purpose in differentiating between the two, it is usually only in the context of an individual motet, where the determination can be made based on its unique characteristics.

While ‘cantus firmus’ techniques are clearly related to the phenomenon of polytextuality, the former does not imply the latter. The same is true for tenor motets, defined generally by the presence of a cantus firmus in the tenor voice. Both of these terms are primarily musical, whereas ‘polytextuality’ refers to an exclusively textual feature.⁷⁰ The

⁶⁷ Historical definitions include: simply plainchant, plainchant upon which a new composition is based, any melody upon which a new composition is based, or a subject upon which counterpoint was to be written or improvised. See M. Jennifer Bloxam, ‘Cantus firmus’, in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04795> (accessed May 3, 2011).

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Bloxam (ibid.), however, would label these all as examples of cantus firmus; consider her definition quoted above. By this definition, the ‘main text’ could be (and frequently is) itself a cantus firmus.

⁷⁰ In fact, it was probably the purely musical aspect of the terms ‘cantus firmus’ and ‘tenor motet’, and especially their significance to compositional processes, that caused them to gain so much currency in early twentieth-century musicology. Writers such as Stephan seem to admit the importance of chant only insofar as it contributes to the creation of a musical foundation (see especially pages 10-13 in ‘Die burgundisch-niederländische Motette’, op. cit.).

division of the terminology as such risks suggesting that these musical and textual features are more separate than is actually the case, and it makes it difficult to refer to instances where they coincide without inadvertently privileging one feature over the other. It is terminologically difficult to distinguish between a motet which sets the text of its cantus firmus and a motet which uses a cantus firmus associated with a different text for symbolic or thematic reasons. Some attempts to simplify the phrasing refer to ‘alien’ or ‘foreign cantus firmi’. Both of these unwittingly either imply a stark opposition between the texts and/or melodies or give the impression that the cantus firmus originates from a different geographical region.⁷¹ A less elegant though more exact turn of phrase might simply be ‘alternative-text cantus firmus’, which while being explicit about the relationship between the texts does not imply that the cantus firmus need be ‘texted’ in the musical sources.

The repertoire of polytextual motets from the middle of the fifteenth century into the sixteenth century is remarkably varied, yet certain unifying conclusions can be proposed. Polytextuality resulting from parallel upper-voice texts falls out of practice, but the use of alternative-text cantus firmi, so entrenched in the history of the genre, continues. As if the disuse of the former technique created a vacuum, composers began expanding upon the compositional possibilities inherent in the latter. Along with the loosening of the structural implications of cantus firmi, composers used them to convey an entirely new range of symbolism and textual interpretation. Polytextuality is now even more strongly linked to the use of pre-existing melodies, most frequently chant, and this is significant: it brings into play the extensive exegetical histories of liturgical texts. How polytextual motets are meant to be interpreted will probably remain controversial into the foreseeable future, but this is itself caused by the range of issues which this type of composition is so adept at raising.

⁷¹ Sparks prefers the term ‘foreign c.f.’, though he uses it almost exclusively with respect to cyclic masses. See op. cit., 96-98.

1.2.5. Masses versus Motets

The use of multiple texts sung simultaneously is not a technique unique to motets. On the one hand, there are numerous polyphonic chansons which reuse the melody and text of a pre-existing chanson alongside the newly set text. From the middle of the fifteenth century onward, chant melodies were also used in polyphonic songs with their Latin texts. (For a discussion of these related phenomena, see sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2.) On the other hand, cyclic masses, just like motets, frequently used cantus firmi from Latin chant or vernacular song. The cantus firmus in cyclic masses is not always given the text of its melodic source, more frequently being retexted to the appropriate text from the Ordinary. As with motets, however, whether the cantus firmus is fully texted with its source text, given simply the textual incipit alongside the text of the mass, or given no indication in the manuscript as to the identity of its source, the melody itself carries all the implications of its original text and context, liturgical or otherwise. These implications are present in all masses based on pre-existent musical material, regardless of whether the source material is monophonic or polyphonic or how the source material is structured. Even more so than the bitextual chanson repertoire, the use of polytextuality in cyclic masses is closely linked to that in motets. (For a discussion of the particular link between chanson masses and motets with vernacular cantus firmi, see section 2.4.3.)

Nevertheless, there are significant differences in the purpose, composition, and effect of polytextuality in masses as opposed to motets. These differences are all related to the nature of a cyclic mass versus that of a motet. For one, a cyclic mass always uses the same basic text: that of the mass Ordinary. There are some exceptions to this, for example when a composer chooses to leave out part of the text of the Credo, or when tropes are interspersed

within the liturgical text.⁷² Another potential exception is when the mass text is telescoped, and not all of the voices sing the entirety of the text.⁷³ Requiem masses tend to set both the Ordinary (slightly modified in the Agnus Dei) and some of the Proper texts. But all of these are exceptions: for the most part, the Ordinary texts are static and unchanging. Secondly, these same texts, or some subset of them, are used for all masses throughout the year to perform specific liturgical functions, and are thus by themselves explicitly without occasion (or for all occasions). In contrast, motet texts can be quite flexible, but for most there are liturgical, devotional, or other occasions for which they would be particularly suitable. Finally, settings of the Ordinary, whether full or partial cycles or just single movements, and regardless of the use of any pre-existing musical material, tend to follow certain compositional patterns. Sectional breaks commonly take place at particular places within movements; some textual sections (for example ‘Pleni sunt... gloria tua’ and ‘Benedictus... in nomine Domini’) are most frequently found with reduced texture. Any structure provided by a cantus firmus or paraphrase of pre-existing musical material is manipulated to fit into these overlying structural norms. In motets, on the other hand, textual variety is such that any norms are virtually non-existent, and any musical structure can be adapted to the length and structure of the pertinent texts.

There are a few consequences of this concerning the use of pre-existing material in cyclic masses. Because the text is Ordinary (unchanging and occasionless), cantus firmi or other pre-existing material are chosen not for any inherent relation to the text itself but in part to add an additional layer of meaning to the mass text. The specific setting of the mass can thus be given occasional significance through the use of pre-existing material. This is most

⁷² One example of text being omitted is in the Credo of Busnoys’s *Missa L’homme armé*. It was also common in later English settings of the Credo (by Tallis and Sheppard, for instance) to leave out much of the end of the text. Tropes were particularly common in *Misse de beata virgine*, with the Marian ‘Spiritus et alme’ tropes inserted into the Gloria; see, for example, Christian Thomas Leitmeir, “‘Ad Mariam Gloriam’: Uses and Abuses of Troping in Sixteenth-Century ‘Misse de beata virgine’”, *Die Tonkunst* 4/1 (2009): 8-26.

⁷³ Examples of this are the Gloria and Credo of the five-voice *Sine nomine* mass by Ockeghem in the Chigi Codex.

obvious for masses based on Ordinary chants, such as *Misse de beata virgine*: the chants upon which the polyphonic masses are based have liturgical connotations which are carried into the new composition. But this is equally true of masses based on other liturgical cantus firmi: a mass based on the antiphon *Ecce ancilla Domini* is devotionally connected to the Annunciation, even if its liturgical performance would not have been limited to that specific occasion. As discussed in section 2.4.3, cantus firmi based on vernacular song can also add a layer of devotional significance to the text of the Ordinary, usually drawing upon the connection between the language of Marian devotion and courtly love poetry. Finally, the context provided by the use of a cantus firmus is not limited to the liturgical and/or devotional: in Josquin's *Missa Hercules dux Ferrarie*, written for the duke of Ferrara Ercole I d'Este and with a *soggetto cavato* cantus firmus on his name, the cantus firmus has personal and political significance. This is to say, the pre-existing musical material used in mass settings is relevant for the context of performance but most frequently not for the interpretation of the mass text.

With motets, on the other hand, pre-existing material can be used for a variety of textual and contextual reasons. Liturgical texts can be flexible, in part because they need not be fixed to the specific calendrical context. A composer can choose to set the entirety or just a portion of a liturgical text and/or melody, and occasionally new textual variants are found which seem to have the specific purpose of coordinating better with the other text (see, for example, my discussion of the motet *O pulcherrima mulierum/Gyrum celi* in section 3.2.2). The interpretation is also flexible: a liturgical text might be used primarily for the calendrical, biblical, and/or devotional context that it implies, or it could be significant simply for the meaning of the words excerpted. It frequently happens, for instance, that two or more liturgical texts for the same feast are placed alongside each other in a single motet. In Regis's *Lauda Syon/Ego sum panis vivus* (discussed further in section 2.3.2), the multiple Corpus Christi texts highlight their connection to the specific feast. Liturgical texts can also be used

primarily not for the liturgical context they invoke but for their devotional meaning. This is particularly true of Marian motets, where the texts tend to be more generally appropriate than for the specific feast suggested by the cantus firmus. After all, many Marian liturgical texts were flexible enough to be used for multiple different liturgical occasions. (Consider, for example, the motet *Humilium decus* discussed in section 3.3.2, with an antiphon cantus firmus most frequently associated with the Assumption, *Sancta Maria, succurre miseris*.) In other cases, however, the words themselves are of particular importance, in addition to any liturgical or devotional significance of the text. In early fifteenth-century motets, texts were frequently chosen or written expressly so that their combinations are alliterative or assonant: consider, for example, Du Fay's *O sancte Sebastiane/O martir Sebastiane/O quam mira refulsit*, or Dunstaple's *Dies dignus decorari/Demon dolens dum domatur*. This continues to a lesser extent in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. For example, three motets, including one by Isaac and one by Willaert, combine the texts 'Ave ancilla trinitatis' with 'Ave Maria' as cantus firmus.⁷⁴

It is less common for cantus firmi to interact with the text of the mass so as to highlight specific liturgical, devotional, or textual meanings, but there are some potential examples. Bloxam argued that Agricola's use of the chanson *Je ne vis oncques la pareille* in two Credo settings has Marian implications, and that the composer carefully coordinated the cantus firmus to coincide with the elements of the creed text which implicitly involve the Virgin.⁷⁵ In his recent book *The Flower of Paradise*, David Rothenberg has suggested two mass movements with vernacular cantus firmi from Hayne van Ghizeghem's *De tous biens plaine* as examples of such interaction: Josquin's *Credo De tous biens plaine* and the Agnus Dei of Peñalosa's *Missa Ave Maria peregrina*.⁷⁶ In the first, one of three statements of the

⁷⁴ See catalogue in Appendix A.2, numbers 35, 39, and 40. Other later examples of alliterative motet text combinations can be found in motets 22, 45, 48, 136, 267, 269, 273, 292, and 474.

⁷⁵ "'I have never seen your equal': Agricola, the Virgin, and the Creed", *Early Music* 34/3 (2006), 391-407.

⁷⁶ *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 172-8.

cantus firmus coincides with ‘ex Maria virgine’, the only place in the text of the mass Ordinary which mentions Mary. Rothenberg argues that the cantus firmus is highlighted by the unusually sparse texture at this point and that Josquin was trying to align Mary as mentioned in the text of the Credo with the mistress mentioned in the chanson text.⁷⁷ In Peñalosa’s *Agnus Dei*, the cantus firmus based on chant (*Salve regina*) is joined with the same vernacular song, again suggesting an identification of the mistress of the song with the Virgin Mary.⁷⁸ It is perhaps telling that all of these examples analyze single movements, either because it exists on its own (as with the Agricola or Josquin Credos) or because Rothenberg chose to isolate it from its full context. In the context of a full cyclic mass, the placement of a single iteration of a cantus firmus alongside the words ‘ex Maria virgine’ might seem less significant, especially as this particular text has more to do with the Incarnation than with the person of Mary. The choice of Hayne’s chanson as a second cantus firmus to go alongside verses from the *Salve regina* makes sense, but the textual interaction here is between the two cantus firmi, not the text of the mass. It is no surprise that Rothenberg’s book, on the interaction between Marian devotion and vernacular song in polyphony from the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, focuses especially on motets.⁷⁹ (Section 3.4.1.2 in particular discusses some of the analyses found in this book.)

Finally, because pre-existing material in mass settings is less likely to interact with the Ordinary text, it tends to be used in a greater variety of specifically musical and structural roles. The musical form of cyclic masses tended to follow certain structural norms, and the musical source material could be manipulated so as to conform to the functional aspect of the genre. In Josquin’s Credo, the composer may have intentionally highlighted the cantus firmus around the words ‘ex Maria virgine’. But one would expect a new iteration of the cantus

⁷⁷ Ibid., 172-5.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 175-8.

⁷⁹ One other mass which receives its own section is Hieronymus Vinders’s *Missa Stabat mater*, based on Josquin’s motet, which itself uses the chanson *Comme femme desconfortée* as a cantus firmus; see *ibid.*, 233-9. Here, the discussion focuses on the various musical material which Vinders chooses to integrate into the mass: first, bits of the motet without its vernacular cantus firmus, later integrating the chanson in a few notable places.

firmus at the beginning of a new compositional section if the previous cursus was complete, regardless of any contextual significance. The way the pre-existing material was treated in cyclic masses respected the text of the mass, but it did not (in most cases) highlight any particular relationship between the text of the mass and the text and context of the cantus firmus.

1.3. Narratives of Polytextuality in Fifteenth-Century Motets

The history of polytextuality in motets is closely connected to that of the genre as a whole, and any historiographical issues that concern the genre will likewise have substantial implications for narratives concerning polytextuality. In the traditional narrative of the motet, fifteenth-century developments such as the decline of the so-called ‘isorhythmic motet’ along with the supposed rise of musical humanism coincide with a decline in the use of polytextuality. The coincidence of these three developments is no accident. All of these generalizations flow from what is seen to be the archetypal motet at the beginning and end of the century: the polytextual ‘isorhythmic motet’ on the one hand, and the single-texted motet of homogeneous musical texture on the other. But if the developments with respect to ‘isorhythm’ and humanism are misleading at best, then it is necessary to revisit the hypothesis concerning polytextuality. Even as scholars have recently begun to treat the transformation of the genre with a great deal more subtlety, especially concerning ‘isorhythm’ and humanism, polytextuality has nevertheless continued to be treated as a phenomenon in decline.

Julie E. Cumming’s book *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay* is the most comprehensive treatment of the transformation of the genre in the fifteenth century. Cumming attempts to resolve the problem of genre definition while at the same time explaining the ‘radical

transformation of the genre' during this period.⁸⁰ Cumming's solution is neither a definition of the genre nor a straightforward theory of motet evolution but rather a method towards an understanding of the phenomenon. She claims we can best understand the development of the overall genre through the century by tracing the evolutionary origins and influences of a number of more easily definable subgenres. This approach presents a reasonable alternative to the problem of definition and provides a useful and convincing account of the genre. Nevertheless, the map of motet development which results is incredibly complex, and the subgenres are sometimes forced upon the repertoire.⁸¹ The idiosyncrasies of individual pieces come across as being less significant and useful than the identification of a motet's subgenre. Finally, it perpetuates the narrative concerning polytextuality in the fifteenth century as being a phenomenon in decline.

Cumming sets out to write a history of the genre as a whole. She examines how the term 'motet' was used in fifteenth-century theoretical writings and sources, and suggests that 'the boundary between the motet and the genres of prescribed liturgical service music is permeable'.⁸² As a result, the repertory she chooses to analyze is broad and inclusive. Before listing her subgenres, she provides us with a great number of motet features which she considers possibly relevant to her categorizations. These concern the music (texture, number of voices, voice ranges, melodic behavior, relative speed of voices, construction and counterpoint, use of pre-existent musical material, etc.), the text (whether new or pre-existent, prose or poetry, length, subject matter, etc.), and both music and text (number of texts, number of notes per syllable, etc.).⁸³ When she begins to categorize the motets, certain considerations come to the fore: vocal texture primarily, along with compositional techniques and 'ramifying roots' (for example, geographical origins or association with the 'isorhythmic'

⁸⁰ Julie E. Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1.

⁸¹ As Cumming herself admits, a number of her categories were created to deal with motets which are not easily categorized. See, for example, 'Other double-discantus motets' and 'Borderline motets', *ibid.*, 142-4.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Chapter 3 (41-62), especially 53.

⁸³ All of these characteristics, and many more, are discussed in Chapter 2, pp 28-40.

tradition).⁸⁴ Cumming's book is very helpful for understanding the development of vocal texture in motets of the period, yet it is less useful for explaining the development of other features such as polytextuality.

Cumming bases her argument on the assumption that the genre undergoes a 'radical transformation', one she describes as 'from a motet in which several new texts are sung simultaneously over a slow-moving tenor, to a motet in which a single pre-existent liturgical text is sung by all voices in a homogenous contrapuntal texture.'⁸⁵ From this statement, one could assume that the transformation of the textual elements is just as significant as that of the compositional elements. Yet the narrative based on technical aspects of music has taken precedence, even in Cumming's more subtle model. Her generalization suggests two textual developments, movements from polytextuality to single-texted works and towards using pre-existent texts. If these trends are considered to be the rule, the exceptions are nevertheless surprisingly numerous. The great number of polytextual motets from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, written by the same composers who regularly wrote single-texted motets, is a particular anomaly. If the transformation is accepted, this is an historical incongruity which needs to be explained.

Cumming writes extensively on the question of genre definition, which consequently forms the basis for the repertoire she chooses to discuss. Cumming observes that scholars use the term either to describe all of 'the many kinds of Latin-texted polyphonic music other than the Mass' or to classify the subset of those which do not have a clear liturgical function.⁸⁶ She tries to find a compromise between these extremes, making reference to fifteenth-century

⁸⁴ See especially Chapter 4, pp. 65-98, to see how Cumming begins to sub-divide the motet repertory.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 1. In another account of the genre, Helmut Hücke argues that there was a liturgization of the motet in the second half of the sixteenth century; 'Was ist eine Motette?', in *Die Motette: Beiträge zu ihrer Gattungsgeschichte*, ed. Herbert Scheider in cooperation with Heinz-Jürgen Winkler (Mainz: Schott, 1991). Based on my knowledge of the repertoire, the increasing regular use of liturgical texts as motet texts dates from the fifteenth-century development as described by Cumming, though Hücke may be right insofar as the function of motets is concerned.

⁸⁶ *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 2. She also cites Besseler's Du Fay edition (*Guillelmi Dufay: Opera omnia*, op. cit.) as an example of the latter.

treatises, archival references, and music manuscripts. She concludes that ‘functional flexibility’, especially with respect to the liturgy, is an important aspect of the genre’s identity. Yet she does not confront how the changes in definition of the genre (whether in the fifteenth century or in modern reception) might distort the question of musical transformation. The transformation which Cumming describes is correct if one allows for her definition of the genre, but it is only valid for the portion of the repertory she includes.

When considering the developmental, ‘evolutionary’ perspective as does Cumming, limiting oneself to ‘the motet’ may make sense: the late fifteenth-century motet derives more directly from Du Fay’s large-scale occasional motets than from his other liturgical works, for example. Nevertheless, the functional and stylistic transformation that occurs in the motet may be more a factor of what pieces fall into the category of motets. When the definition changes, so too does the makeup of the repertoire. Excluding settings of the Mass Ordinary, the majority of early fifteenth-century Latin-texted polyphony was not polytextual and did not use ‘new texts’ or a ‘slow-moving tenor’.⁸⁷ These characteristics were only more prevalent among so-called ‘isorhythmic motets’. In the later fifteenth century, the genre ‘motet’ encompasses almost all Latin-texted polyphony besides settings of the Mass Ordinary. Because the majority of pieces in this newly defined genre have a single pre-existing text with a homogeneous musical texture, these ‘older’ features are relegated to the category of exceptions. The question of the transformation of the genre, therefore, is inherently linked to the change of definition of the term motet. That is to say, the accepted change to the definition of the genre is responsible for much of its supposed transformation.

The change in the definition of the motet can be demonstrated with a comparative look at complete works’ editions of composers from the early and late fifteenth century. The

⁸⁷ In the complete works of Du Fay, excluding settings of the Mass Ordinary, there are four Magnificats, two Benedicamus dominos, sixteen antiphons, 26 hymns, and fifteen Mass Proper settings, all with single, pre-existent texts, in comparison to the only thirteen ‘isorhythmic motets’ and ten ‘cantilena motets’, many in the latter category of which also have single, pre-existing texts. The slow-moving tenor is confined largely to the ‘isorhythmic motets’. See the Works section of Alexandro Planchart’s *Grove Music Online* article on Du Fay (<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08268>>, accessed 28 May 2011).

two most visible examples are Besseler's Du Fay edition and the *New Josquin Edition*, and Bent has pointed to inconsistencies between editorial policies with respect to these two composers.⁸⁸ As mentioned above, Besseler's categorizations are not wholly unjustifiable, and Alejandro Planchart keeps the distinctions with only slight adjustments in his *New Grove* article on Du Fay.⁸⁹ Planchart divides Du Fay's work according to compositional style into 'songs in the *formes fixes*, plainchant settings where the chant is paraphrased in the cantus or another of the upper voices, freely-composed settings (cantilenas) of liturgical, non-liturgical or ceremonial texts and cantus-firmus compositions including motets and settings of the Ordinary of the Mass.'⁹⁰ Concerning motets, Planchart states, rather uncompromisingly, 'Under this heading are considered only those works that Du Fay would have termed a motet, that is, what is now termed an isorhythmic motet.'⁹¹ (Cumming, based on her definitional discourse, would presumably disagree, and indeed she also includes in her motet list all of his Marian antiphons, regardless of musical style.⁹²) In the exceptional instance problematized by Bent, the four-voice *Ave regina celorum*, Planchart reverses course and refers to it as a 'fully fledged example of the new kind of motet', surely because its antiphon text and hybrid style defy the traditional groupings of Du Fay's work. Planchart's technical divisions are designed to line up more or less approximately with Besseler's functional distinctions: the 'plainchant settings' encompass most of the 'minor liturgical works', and the 'cantus-firmus compositions' include the 'motets'. Despite the ambiguity in a number of individual cases, not to mention the problems in using 'isorhythm' as a genre-defining characteristic, the basic

⁸⁸ Bent, 'The late-medieval motet', op. cit., 117-18, and *Guillelmi Dufay: Opera omnia*, op. cit. In the *New Josquin Edition* (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, from 1987), Josquin's music is divided into masses (volumes 3-13), motets (volumes 14-26), and 'secular works' (volumes 27-30).

⁸⁹ Most significantly, a sequence and a few vernacular pieces were added to the category of 'cantilena motets'.

⁹⁰ Planchart, 'Du Fay', op. cit.

⁹¹ Ibid. Nevertheless, in the Works section, Planchart does not use the categorization 'Cantilenas' but rather 'cantilena motets'. Similarly, while Planchart refers to the earliest *Ave regina* setting as a cantilena in the article, it is categorized as an antiphon in the Works section.

⁹² See the index of works, 384-99.

distinctions are nevertheless generally quite useful in understanding Du Fay's compositional output.

As epitomized in the *NJE*, the approach of Complete Works editors for later fifteenth-century composers generally exhibits the other extreme of motet definition; once again this is not without justification. The main genres are always mass, motet, and chanson or 'secular work'. Occasionally, settings of the Magnificat are placed into a separate category, as in Barton Hudson's Brumel edition.⁹³ Hudson's *Grove* article on Brumel nevertheless places them with the motets under the noncommittal label 'Other Sacred'.⁹⁴ The Compère edition, perhaps merely out of convenience, separates the Motet volume from that of Magnificat settings and tenor motets.⁹⁵ The *New Obrecht Edition* places the hymns and the Magnificat setting in one of the two 'Motets' volumes, even while Rob C. Wegman's *Grove* article separates them (but not the antiphons) into the small category of 'Ritual Works'.⁹⁶ (The *New Josquin Edition* and *Grove* 'Josquin' article follow the same inconsistent editorial policies, despite the editorial overlap.⁹⁷) The frequent inconsistencies in nearly all of these cases arise from the reluctance on the part of editors to state explicitly what is or is not a motet. Perhaps this is not entirely unreasonable, given that (if one accepts Cumming's discussion) in the fifteenth century there would have been similar ambiguity.

⁹³ See *Antoine Brumel, Opera Omnia*, ed. Barton Hudson, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 5, especially volume 5: Motetta (American Institute of Musicology, 1972).

⁹⁴ 'Brumel, Antoine', *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*

(<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04151>>, accessed 28 March 2011).

⁹⁵ See *Loyset Compère: Opera Omnia*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 15 (American Institute of Musicology, 1958), especially volumes 3 and 4. In the forward to the fourth volume, Finscher downplays any genre distinction that he might be making: 'The present volume contains the composer's motets, apart from the tenor motets and Magnificat settings [...]' (page I).

⁹⁶ See *Jacob Obrecht: New Edition of the Collected Works*, general ed. Chris Maas, especially Volumes 15 and 16: Motets I and II, ed. Chris Maas (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1995 and 1996) and Wegman, 'Obrecht, Jacob', *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20231>>, accessed 28 March 2011).

⁹⁷ See *The Collected Works of Josquin des Prez*, Volume 20: *Motets on Texts from the New Testament 2*, ed. Martin Just (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2006), and Patrick Macey et al., 'Josquin des Prez', *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14497>>, accessed 28 March 2011).

If these varying approaches are valid and useful for their quite different repertoires, then the main reason for the change of definition of ‘motet’ seems to be a lessening of the differentiation between the various types of Latin-texted polyphonic music, or at least a decrease of musical differentiation coinciding with textual or functional divisions. In other words, while compositional variety in the later fifteenth-century may be at least as high as it was previously, a piece does not necessarily have a specific musical style because of its functional identity. ‘Motet’ is used to refer to all of the Latin-texted non-mass repertory because, with the exception of Magnificat settings and some hymns, there is no longer a musically justifiable reason to differentiate based on text, whether antiphons, sequences, responsories, non-liturgical biblical texts, or new religious or occasional texts.

Cumming argues against the use of motet as ‘a catch-all term’, apparently because that is not how they would have used the term in the fifteenth century (as Planchart also argues).⁹⁸ It is certainly worth bearing this point in mind whenever dealing with the more liturgically explicit pieces. However, merely accepting whatever definition would have been common at the time becomes problematic when examining a repertory’s development through a time period during which the definition evolves. In this case, the vital point is that the motet as understood variously over the fifteenth century (or at least how we believe it to have been understood) changes with respect to function and text, yet in the overall body of Latin-texted polyphonic music, the developments are not nearly so dramatic. In limiting our point of view exclusively to motets in the historically-informed sense of the term, we risk seeing a transformation that follows more closely the evolving definition of the genre rather than the development of a certain repertory.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 2, and see also 41-62. Among other things, Cumming considers the case of the index in *I-MOe* a.x.1.11, which has a section labelled ‘Hic incipiunt motteti’: here begin the motets. There are antiphon settings in both this ‘motet section’ and in an earlier section of exclusively antiphon settings. Cumming suggests that the antiphon settings in the motet section are more liturgically flexible.

⁹⁹ Cumming is nevertheless quite careful in considering the influence that other genres, including Masses and chansons, have on the motet.

As mentioned, examples of polytextuality from the late fifteenth century are frequently seen as the continuation of a much earlier compositional technique, one which is by now antiquated or at least in decline. As the vehicle of the new expressive style (it is said), the single-texted motet has finally come of age. But the supposed decline of polytextuality reflects the narrative of the genre, not the repertoire itself. If the genre is limited to the ‘isorhythmic’ instances in the early fifteenth century, then indeed the explosion of single-texted examples later in the century might justify comparison to a Humanist revolution, and the isolated instances of polytextuality which remain would be the product either of nostalgia or stubborn conservatism. In fact, however, polytextuality never had a monopoly on the diverse segment of repertoire which lies between masses and chansons: it had only constituted the majority of those works considered to be motets. Even while composers stopped writing motets with two equal-range upper voices, the decline of motets which otherwise incorporate multiple texts is largely imagined: not only do they flourish well into the sixteenth century, but the number of surviving instances is greatest starting from around the turn of the century.

1.4. Some Recent Work in Polytextuality

The most extensive work on polytextual motets from this time period is Maria Rika Maniates’ dissertation, ‘Combinative Techniques in Franco-Flemish Polyphony: A Study in Mannerism from 1450-1530.’¹⁰⁰ Maniates’ term ‘combinative techniques’ refers both to the combination of different texts and to the combination of different melodic styles resulting from the use of cantus firmus. As these so frequently coincide, she considers them a single phenomenon which reveals a ‘mannerist’ aesthetic philosophy, one which revels in finding ‘secret and obscure relationships united in deliberately artificial and ingenious form.’¹⁰¹ Texts

¹⁰⁰ PhD Dissertation, University of Columbia, 1965.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

(and melodies) would have been juxtaposed because of their opposition, and composers would have endeavored to reveal their serious or ironic connection. Maniates challenges the convention of treating ‘combinative technique’ as ‘a vestige of medieval spirit.’¹⁰² She admits that ‘close attention to text expression would seem to militate against such an approach to polyphonic composition’,¹⁰³ yet proposes an alternative narrative:

In medieval polyphony, relationships between pre-existent and newly composed material are a secondary result of a normal musical procedure based on stratified contrapuntal structure. In Franco-Flemish combinative composition, disparity of musical style is the desired result of an intentional union of different texts.¹⁰⁴

In other words, Maniates accepts the traditional narrative of medieval music giving way to the Renaissance in the mid-fifteenth century, while arguing that these combinative motets do not need to be explained away as belonging to a different time and aesthetic.

There are two substantial weaknesses in the argument she poses. The first involves her use of the term ‘mannerism’: in order to emphasize the progressive nature of polytextuality in this period, she asserts that the ‘mannerist’ aesthetic is consistent with the Renaissance and Humanism. Her conception of mannerism comes from the work of Gustav René Hocke, who opposed it to the natural, classical aesthetic.¹⁰⁵ As Maniates herself admits, Hocke was interested largely in seventeenth-century literature, but she nevertheless uses the term as it represents ‘a constantly recurring phenomenon’ in European culture.¹⁰⁶ She does not reconcile the fact that the polytextual works she identifies as mannerist are quite different from those pieces considered more typical of the Renaissance and Humanism.¹⁰⁷ Ultimately,

¹⁰² Ibid., ii.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 1.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., iii.

¹⁰⁵ *Manierismus in der Literatur: Sprach-Alchimie und esoterische Kombinationskunst* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1959).

¹⁰⁶ Maniates, ‘Combinative Techniques’, op. cit., 5. John Shearman gave a very different account of mannerism referring specifically to sixteenth-century art, though with parallels in sixteenth-century music and literature. For him, mannerist art requires ‘poise, refinement and sophistication, [...] are polished, rarefied and idealized away from the natural [...]. Mannerism should, by tradition, speak a silver-tongued language of articulate, if unnatural, beauty, not one of incoherence, menace and despair; it is, in a phrase, the stylist style.’ *Mannerism* (London: Penguin Books, 1967), esp. 15-34, quote at 19.

¹⁰⁷ Shearman’s account of mannerism in sixteenth-century music is somewhat more nuanced, if still problematic. In brief, fourteenth- and fifteenth-century ‘constructivism’ cannot be described as mannerist

given the problems with the Humanist narrative discussed above, her argument today appears unnecessary: ‘combinative’ music does not need to be proven ‘progressive’ or ‘humanistic’ to be deemed worthwhile. Secondly, her argument assumes that this repertory is fundamentally different from medieval polytextual works without engaging in comparative analysis. To suggest that textual relationships are secondary to musical ones in these earlier works is especially difficult in light of more recent studies on medieval motets.¹⁰⁸

Some of the most interesting work relating to cantus firmi in the late fifteenth century repertoire is that of M. Jennifer Bloxam. In her dissertation and a series of related articles, she has applied research in local traditions of plainsong to consider the context in which these chants were used as cantus firmi.¹⁰⁹ As she explains:

by ascertaining the connection of a particular cantus firmus with a specific liturgy, we often obtain unexpected new insights into music historical questions, such as a deeper understanding of the initial performance context of a piece [...], a more precise dating of a work [...], and a sharper focus on matters of musical style and chronology.¹¹⁰

With some exceptions, her research has focused on mass settings with interesting or unexpected cantus firmi. In addition to making some fascinating discoveries concerning individual works, she has also commented on the repertory as a whole. She argues that late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century masses and motets with multiple cantus firmi are ‘medieval in both their conception and their technique’ despite dating from the period normally called the Renaissance, not least because these works are ‘invariably

because it is not a ‘stylistic phenomenon’; mannerism can first be seen in the new, luxuriant, and graceful style of Josquin and his contemporaries; but the parallels are strongest in the early madrigal with its careful text treatment and word-painting (*Mannerism*, op. cit., 96-104).

¹⁰⁸ Cf. note 51.

¹⁰⁹ See especially her dissertation, ‘A Survey of Late Medieval Service Books from the Low Countries: Implications for Sacred Polyphony, 1460-1520’ (Yale University, 1987), and ‘Sacred polyphony and local traditions of liturgy and plainsong: reflections on the music by Jacob Obrecht’, in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 140-177, “‘La Contenance Italienne’: The Motets on *Beata es Maria* by Compère, Obrecht, and Brumel’, *Early Music History* 11 (1992): 39-89, ‘Plainsong and Polyphony for the Blessed Virgin: Notes on Two Masses by Jacob Obrecht’, *Journal of Musicology* 12 (1994): 51-75, and ‘On the Origins, Contexts, and Implications of Busnoys’s Plainsong Cantus Firmi’, op. cit., 71-88.

¹¹⁰ Bloxam, ‘On the Origins’, 72.

polytextual'.¹¹¹ In order to understand this repertory, she subscribes to an 'evolutionary view' of the period.¹¹² Because of the connection between composing with cantus firmus and the multiple concurrent texts in which it results, Bloxam often addresses questions concerning the relationship between the texts. Nevertheless, largely because the mass texts remain constant, she focuses on how cantus firmi relate to compositional origins. For motets, the origins of cantus firmi can be important, but frequently more interesting are the issues raised by the deliberate juxtaposition of multiple texts.

More recently, David Rothenberg has written about polytextual works in his dissertation and related articles and monograph.¹¹³ Unlike Maniates, he allows himself a much broader time span (thirteenth through sixteenth centuries) and limits himself instead by subject matter to works relating to Marian devotion, and in particular those related to vernacular song. The limitation to Marian works is not illuminating from a musical perspective, though it is convenient in tracing devotional currents through time. The period he chooses coincides with a growth in regular lay Marian devotion, the expansion of Marian votive liturgy, and the rise of the courtly love lyric. It was during this time that 'courtly song and sacred Marian elements routinely sounded harmoniously with one another in pieces of Marian polyphony.'¹¹⁴ Despite reaching briefly into the sixteenth century, he argues that 'medieval' remains an appropriate term: 'Although much of the music examined here was composed after 1400, in what musicologists often call the "Renaissance," I refer to it as "late medieval" because the cultural and religious forces that shaped it were largely those medieval ideas and practices rejected by the Reformation.'¹¹⁵ For Rothenberg, despite 'changes in

¹¹¹ Bloxam, 'A Survey of Late Medieval Service Books', 222.

¹¹² Ibid., 222.

¹¹³ 'Marian Feasts, Seasons, and Songs in Medieval Polyphony: Studies in Musical Symbolism' (PhD Dissertation, Yale University, 2004); 'Angels, Archangels, and a Woman in Distress: The Meaning of Isaac's *Angeli archangeli*', *The Journal of Musicology* 21 (2004): 514-78; 'The Marian Symbolism of Spring', op. cit., 319-398; and *The Flower of Paradise*, op. cit. His book has been reviewed by Elizabeth Eva Leach and Catherine Bradley in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65/2 (2012): 597-603 and 'Marian Music', *Early Music* 40/3 (2012): 498-500, respectively.

¹¹⁴ Rothenberg, 'Marian Feasts', op. cit., 2.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 4-5.

musical style and compositional techniques', the 'penchant for using symbolism to convey theological meaning' remains constant.¹¹⁶ Rothenberg thus ignores the question of a musical transformation by organizing his analyses thematically and assumes that polytextuality serves a similar function throughout this (broadly defined) Middle Ages.

As discussed above, most musicologists today will admit that textual pairings were deliberately chosen for reasons not exclusively musical, but there is less agreement as to what these reasons are, and even what sorts of reasons they are likely to be. Particularly common in recent musicological literature are papers identifying unique occasions for motets based on the interplay between their texts.¹¹⁷ In a recent article, Rothenberg rightly objects to excessive speculation concerning the occasions for which motets may have been composed, where in many of these cases it is most likely that they were composed to be performed many times.¹¹⁸ Instead, 'one should investigate the liturgical/devotional associations of a motet and infer from them a range of possible performance contexts, rather than proposing a single, overly specific context.'¹¹⁹ He mentions the case of Josquin's *Absolve quesumus/Requiem eternam*, for which three separate occasions have been proposed, 'all based on the same limited evidence and all highly speculative at best.'¹²⁰ Another interesting case is that of Busnoys's *Anima mea/Stirps Jesse*, ascribed alternatively to the marriage of Margaret of York and

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 7.

¹¹⁷ This is certainly not limited to polytextual motets, but nor are they by any means neglected, no doubt in part due to the speculative potential when polytextuality is involved.

¹¹⁸ 'Angels, Archangels, and a Woman in Distress', op. cit., especially 516-9. This is apparently also true of earlier occasional motets: those of Ciconia were being recopied after the occasions for which they were written (personal communication with Margaret Bent, 2 November 2010).

¹¹⁹ Rothenberg, 'Angels, Archangels, and a Woman in Distress', op. cit., 518.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 518, and note 10 on the same page. See Helmuth Osthoff, *Josquin Desprez*, 2 vols. (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1962-65), 2:59, Jeremy Noble, 'Josquin Desprez', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 1st ed. (London: MacMillan, 1980), 9:717, and Willem Elders, 'Josquin's *Absolve, quaesumus, Domine*: A Tribute to Obrecht?', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 37 (1987): 14-25. Tess Knighton gave a similar warning against relying on the idea of 'one-off performance' when discussing possible occasions for a requiem mass; cf. 'Music for the Dead: The Anonymous Requiem Mass in SaraP 17', paper delivered at the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Royal Holloway, 5-8 July 2010.

Charles the Bold or to the rumors around Margaret of Scotland's death.¹²¹ In his dissertation, Rothenberg once again argues that the primary significance of the motet is in its Marian symbolism, as both of the texts are associated with the Assumption.¹²² Certainly, in some cases the occasional significance of a motet is clear, particularly when it uses a new, non-liturgical text,¹²³ but by the later fifteenth-century, when many motets use liturgical texts, the devotional content would probably have been the primary reading of motet texts.

1.5. Overview

The remaining chapters fall into two parts. Part two considers some aspects of the historical progression and development of polytextual motets. It begins with a discussion of the shift from the early fifteenth-century motet with multiple upper-voice texts to the later fifteenth-century tenor motet, focusing especially on the surviving mid-century manuscripts including the Trent Codices (chapter 2.2). This is followed by a chapter on motets from the few decades around 1500, looking at the style and influence of a few important composers for this repertory: Busnoys, Regis, and Obrecht (chapter 2.3). The third chapter in this part analyses the history of bilingual works from the mid-fifteenth century, dividing the repertory into motets with vernacular cantus firmi and chansons with Latin cantus firmi (chapter 2.4). Finally, there is a discussion of polytextual trends going forth into the mid- and late sixteenth century, including ostinato-tenor motets and the common use of the Litany of the Saints and the antiphon *Da pacem, Domine* as cantus firmi (chapter 2.5).

¹²¹ For the former, see Mary Natvig, 'The Latin-texted Works of Antoine Busnois' (PhD diss., University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music, 1991), 279-301, and for the latter, Paula Higgins, 'Love and Death in the Fifteenth-Century Motet: A Reading of Busnoys's *Anima mea liquefacta est* / *Stirps Jesse*,' in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 142-68. Sean Gallagher's recent article supports Natvig's theory: see 'Busnoys, Burgundy, and the *Song of Songs*,' in *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn*, ed. M. Jennifer Bloxam, Gioia Filocamo, and Leofranc Holford-Strevens (Brepols: Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, 2009), 414-7.

¹²² 'Marian Feasts, Seasons, and Songs', op. cit., 273-9.

¹²³ See, for example, Jeffrey Dean, 'The Occasion of Compère's "Sola Caret Monstris": A Case Study in Historical Interpretation', *Musica Disciplina* 40 (1986): 99-133. Even this motet remains problematic, as it is a supposedly anti-papal motet copied into a choirbook of the papal chapel.

The third part considers issues relating to interpretation and polytextuality through the closer analysis of a number of motets. After a brief discussion of the analysis of polytextual motets (chapter 3.1), it continues with a chapter on Marian motets, most of whose texts drew inspiration from the Song of Songs (chapter 3.2). The next chapter (3.3) discusses two motets which derive a substantial amount of musical material from vernacular songs and considers their effect within the new Marian contexts. The final chapter (3.4) considers the interaction between Marian and Christological devotion in motets, suggesting that the line between the two might not be as clear as has been supposed.

While the chapters in these parts approach the repertoire from a variety of historical and analytical perspectives, some themes are consistent throughout. First, the use of multiple texts is an important aspect of the genre throughout the fifteenth century and well into the sixteenth, both in terms of the quantity of polytextual compositions and its significance within these compositions individually. Second, composers frequently put a great deal of thought into polytextual compositions, especially concerning which texts/cantus firmi to use and how to integrate them within the musical structure. Finally, the sophistication of the choice and integration of these texts into new compositions suggests that the composers are aware of and grappling with a number of relevant theological, devotional, political, and aesthetic issues.

PART TWO

Development of Polytextuality in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Motets

2.1. Introduction and Approach

The repertoire of polytextual motets develops substantially through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Some of the more obvious long-term trends have already been proposed, but yet to be examined are questions of composition, questions which can only be answered through analysis of individual motets. In addition to asking what sorts of texts and textual combinations were used, these questions primarily concern the motivations behind the choices of texts and their practical adaptation into a musical context. In other words, how and why did composers use polytextuality in composing motets, and how does this usage develop over time? Proposing answers to these questions in individual cases can take us further in discussing the changing place of polytextuality in the genre. Furthermore, by examining the trends in polytextual composition as a whole, we are in turn better positioned to understand individual motets within the changing compositional traditions.

Ascertaining these trends is less simple than might be anticipated due to the breadth of repertoire, both in terms of quantity of pieces and the variety of compositional techniques used. Scholars who have examined such substantial musical repertoires tend to divide the repertoire based on some combination of chronology, geography, genre (or function), and

composer. The current topic has already been narrowed down based on chronology and genre (and a specific portion of that genre). Further distinctions of any sort are far from obvious, and they each come with significant advantages and disadvantages.

Organizing the repertoire chronologically and/or dividing it into chronological groups is both necessary for drawing conclusions about development through time yet difficult to accomplish with confidence or accuracy. If the dating of manuscripts is a complex and inexact science, these problems are compounded when attempting to date individual pieces (especially in such volume – my catalogue contains over 500 compositions). Some pieces may be more or less accurately datable based on cues in the text,¹ but for the majority, the only consistently reliable method is using the estimated date of its copying into the earliest surviving manuscript or print as a *terminus ante quem*.² Not only will there be a high margin of error concerning the inclusion of motets in certain chronological periods, but the results will vary depending on the rather arbitrary choice of beginning and end dates for these periods. (Dates chosen to emphasize one particular shift in style or technique might result in the statistical de-emphasis of other such shifts.) Dividing the repertoire into chronological periods assumes at the outset which musical/textual details are important and thus to be investigated, instead of devising analytical approaches which emphasize what appears to be relevant for each individual piece or group of pieces. Finally, it does not confront the issue of pieces composed intentionally in an earlier musical style or using earlier compositional

¹ However, many of these dates are open if, as I have suggested previously, composers more frequently intended motets for general devotional usage rather than for specific, non-repeating (and therefore datable) secular or religious occasions.

² The other most commonly used methods of dating motets involve style, composer attribution, or a combination of the two. Judging date based on style is made difficult by the necessity of distinguishing between the archaic and archaizing. See for example the discussion on Busnoys's *Anima mea/Stirps Jesse* in Sean Gallagher, 'Busnoys, Burgundy, and the Song of Songs', op. cit., 415, who in turn points to Richard Sherr's consideration of a Josquin motet, 'Illibata Dei Virgo Nutrix and Josquin's Roman Style', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (1988): 434-64. As to composer attributions, questions of musical style, and the implications thereof on the dating of motets, one need not look further than the unresolved debates surrounding the notably exclusive policy of the *New Josquin Edition*. See Rob Wegman, 'The Other Josquin', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 58 (2008): 33-68, which received a response from Eric Jas in 'What Other Josquin?', paper given at the Seminar in Medieval and Renaissance Music, convened by Margaret Bent (All Souls College, Oxford, 22 October 2009).

techniques. Such examples, while few in number, are an important part of their contemporary compositional history even while their composer placed them within the context of an earlier one.

Geography is no less problematic than chronology: drawing the lines between compositional regions is confounded by complex maps of musical influence. Music and musicians travel across most of these boundaries, and a composer could be influenced both by his regional roots and by any number of other regional traditions. As Reinhard Strohm says of the fifteenth century, ‘diversity and even “nationality” became trademarks in the European exchange.’³ In Western music histories, scholars traditionally have identified a central repertory. Gustave Reese’s *Music in the Renaissance* focuses on the development of musical language, and according to his geographical model, the ‘central language’ (that of France, the Low Countries, and Italy) is spread elsewhere by means of ‘diffusion’.⁴ Strohm’s *Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* refines this model of ‘centre’ and ‘peripheries’ to include ‘lateral (equal-ranking) traditions’, and he makes a point of emphasizing that peripheral or lateral repertories participate in a common musical history.⁵ ‘Lateral’ may be a less derogatory term than ‘peripheral’, but the division into ‘central’ and ‘lateral’ traditions itself contradicts Strohm’s claim that they are ‘equal-ranking’. The geographical issue is complicated, as Strohm points out, by the need for a model which encompasses both geography and chronology simultaneously. He uses three such models over the course of his book: that of a central tradition radiating its influence outwards, that of ‘channels of artistic expansion’, and that of the ‘diversity and participation’ of geographic areas.⁶ Whether or not these spatial-temporal models are the best ones for dealing with musical development in the

³ *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 9.

⁴ This geographical model forms the basis for the book’s structure, which is divided into two parts, ‘The development of the central musical language of the Renaissance [...]’ and ‘The diffusion and development of the musical language of the Renaissance in the Hispanic Peninsula, Germany, Eastern Europe, and England’. London: Dent, 1954, especially vii-viii.

⁵ Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 6-9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

fifteenth century, even recent books frequently prefer to avoid the issue entirely, dealing with geography and chronology separately. The result can come close to implying the same model of ‘centre’ and ‘periphery’ even when such a model is explicitly rejected.⁷ The one ‘path-breaking’ offering with respect to geography in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music* (set against its overall ‘conservative’ approach) is Christopher Page’s ‘The geography of medieval music’.⁸ Page’s five ‘circuits of communication and long-term political history’, while covering a much more substantial period of time, ultimately bear significant resemblance to some of the models proposed by Strohm.

There are only two main chronological divisions which I would like to highlight as having particular relevance here. The one compositional development which I have emphasized is the shift away from using multiple upper-voice texts, and this shift takes place in the middle of the fifteenth century. Secondly, polytextual motets of any sort cease to be composed by around the end of the sixteenth century. There are, of course, developments in the repertoire between c1450 and c1600. If, after the decline in the use of multiple upper voice texts, composers might use the cantus firmus to convey intertextual meaning as a parallel text, during and after the second quarter of the sixteenth century its textual role is increasingly diminished. However, there is no clear chronological boundary: these follow long-term, more or less gradual trends. Like chronological divisions, geographical ones tend to be most useful at the ‘peripheries’. The English tradition of motets with ‘alien’ cantus firmi, as epitomized in the Eton Choirbook, is quite distinctive from the mainstream continental repertory. Likewise, there are a number of local traditions found in Eastern European manuscripts which appear to be quite divergent from the more Western

⁷ See Mark Everist, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), where Part I is organized chronologically and Part II geographically. In the Introduction, Everist recognizes that the geographical distinctions are ‘conservative’ and acknowledges the potential ‘implication that the French music that forms the basis of the chapters in Part I somehow represents the centre to which the music discussed in Part II is a periphery’ (3). While he calls this view ‘pernicious’, he admits that he is ‘to a degree a prisoner of its disciplinary and scholarly past’ (3-4). He nevertheless offers the chapter by Christopher Page (‘The geography of medieval music’, 320-334) as a ‘path-breaking’ way forward (3).

⁸ This is how Everist portrays it in the Introduction (3-4). Page’s article is found at pages 320-334.

compositional trends. In the ‘central’ continental areas, especially France, the Netherlands, and Italy, distinctions are less clear: most ‘Italian’ motet composers were not actually born in Italy, and most ‘Franco-Flemish’ motet composers spent significant portions of their career in Italy or elsewhere.⁹ Manuscripts might be seen to have repertoire from a certain place, but this may or may not be closely related to its scribal provenance. Creating further geographical distinctions for the motet repertoire, for example separating Italy from France and the Netherlands, is problematic, as so many of the motets, composers, and manuscripts are ambivalent with respect to geographical origins.

The chronological and geographical basis for understanding compositional trends can be grounded in three specific considerations: manuscripts, composers, and particular compositional characteristics. Manuscripts provide a useful viewpoint into the musical culture of a particular time and place, even if the music copied in a relatively short period of time may have broader origins. Composers may have composed over a significant period of time and their compositional influences may come from various geographical regions, but these can generally be placed to some extent. Finally, specific compositional characteristics can be traced through time, shedding light on changing compositional trends by following one which remains constant. These three considerations are often related: composers may frequently use certain types of compositional features, or scribes may choose to group together a number of motets which share certain features or were written by the same composer. These features could be musical—such as using similar cantus firmus techniques—or textual—such as using texts on the same topic or saint.

All of these considerations will appear in the following chapters, each used to shed light on particular aspects of the changing tradition of polytextual composition. Chapter 2.2 focuses on manuscripts from the mid-fifteenth century, and especially the development of

⁹ Editorial policy in *New Grove* composers’ articles seems to require such labels, but as the articles so frequently go on to demonstrate, these can be limited in usefulness.

motets from Trent 87 and 92 to Trent 88 and 89. Most of the mid-century motet repertory can be found in these manuscripts alone, whereas attribution in these manuscripts is relatively rare. By the end of the century, most of the polytextual repertory is found attributed to a small number of composers, whereas the transmission of these motets is much more diverse.

Chapter 2.3 examines the constant and changing techniques in the tenor motets of three of these composers, Busnoys, Regis, and Obrecht. The final two chapters in this part turn to specific types of polytextual compositions. Chapter 2.4 looks at bilingual works from the mid-fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries. These compositions fall into two main categories: motets with vernacular cantus firmi and chansons with Latin cantus firmi. As might be expected, the use of vernacular cantus firmi in motets or Latin cantus firmi in chansons has particular compositional implications. Finally, chapter 2.5 examines the origins and historical progression of three particular techniques common in sixteenth-century polytextual compositions: the use of an ostinato tenor, tenors based on the Litany of the Saints, and tenors from the antiphon *Da pacem, Domine*.

2.2. Latin Polytextual Motets in the Mid-Fifteenth Century

As discussed in the Introduction, the mid-fifteenth century is commonly considered a period of substantial change for the motet genre. The supposed demise of ‘isorhythm’ and supposed sudden onset of humanism contribute to this impression. While the change may not be so direct or immediate as these narratives imply, there are nevertheless a number of substantial musical and textual changes in motets between the first and second halves of the fifteenth century. The picture of the genre in the middle of the century, however, remains murky, for long-term trends are not always apparent in the immediacy of the present. New compositions incorporated numerous musical and textual changes, but these are not always the innovations one might expect in light of the genre’s appearance by the end of the century. Despite this experimentation, it is possible to draw some conclusions about the development of the genre, how musical changes may relate to textual changes, and the changing function of polytextuality.

Two main areas of musical development will be discussed in this context. The first concerns cantus firmus composition: the musical aspects of the chosen cantus firmus and its compositional manipulation. As discussed in section 1.1.2, the traditional musical narrative tended to emphasize the sudden decline of the ‘isorhythmic motet’ in the middle of the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, the means by which rhythmic and/or melodic patterns (talea and color) are repeated (with or without diminution) are different in the latter half of the century. Most obviously, talea and color tend to encompass the same number of notes, such that rhythmic repetition or transformation is directly linked to melodic repetition. Rather than

looking for potential ‘vestiges’ of an idealized ‘isorhythmic’ form, it is more useful to consider how later compositional techniques built on earlier techniques.¹⁰ For example, motets throughout the fifteenth century use mensural transformation as a means of reusing musical material. However, there are changes to the types of musical material used. Vernacular cantus firmi are used in the second half of the fifteenth century, but not in the first (see section 2.4.3). When material is taken from plainchant, earlier fifteenth-century motets frequently use a small portion of a longer chant, whereas later fifteenth-century motets more frequently use the entire chant melody.¹¹ The techniques by which the pre-existing musical material is manipulated tend to be designed around the nature of the chosen material. Thus, a cantus firmus from vernacular song almost always takes aspects of its original rhythm as well as melody; more frequently it subjects the image of a chanson tenor to homographic transformation (see section 2.4.3.1). Later fifteenth-century motets with plainchant cantus firmi tend to have fewer cursus (usually one to three), if only because the source material is longer.¹² Longer chants also tend to result in a more rhythmically active line less suitable to talea repetition or transformation. The later fifteenth century also includes more frequent examples of implicit homographic transformation, found only in realized form, such as in Compère’s *Omnium bonorum plena* (see section 3.3.1.2).

The second area of musical development to be discussed is that of texture and function. Texture can refer both to the relative ranges of the melodic voices and their melodic and rhythmic character. The trends within each category are clear. It becomes much rarer for motets to have two upper voices of more or less equal pitch range. In Julie Cumming’s

¹⁰ Cf. Thomas Brothers, ‘Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition’, 1-56.

¹¹ For example, Du Fay’s *Ecclesie militantis* in Trent 87 has two cantus firmi, each of which comprises the first several notes of an antiphon; this is discussed below in section 2.2.2. *Perpulchra Syon filia* in Trent 89, on the other hand, has a single cantus firmus with three cursus of the full antiphon, *Pulchra es et decora*; this is discussed below in section 2.2.3. An even longer example is *O pulcherrima mulierum* in Cappella Sistina 15 has a single cursus of the responsory *Gyrum celi* with its verse as its tenor; this motet is discussed below in section 3.2.2.

¹² There are some notable exceptions to this, such as some motets by Obrecht; see section 2.3.3. Chants such as sequences have built-in melodic repetition, and therefore motets such as *Incomprehensibilia firme* have more melodic than textual cursus; see section 2.3.1.

language, this is the shift from ‘double discantus’ to ‘single discantus’; the former are classified as ‘motet-style’, the latter as ‘cantilena-style’.¹³ The four-voice texture which becomes the norm in the second half of the century has a single voice in both the upper and lower register and two voices in the middle register. Julie Cumming calls this the ‘*Caput* texture’, named after the English mass setting attributed to Du Fay in Trent 88 and 89.¹⁴ The voice in the low register tends to be a low contratenor and of similar melodic and rhythmic disposition to the voices above it. The only voice which might continue to stand out in the texture as being rhythmically static is the tenor, and only then when it bears a pre-existing chant or song melody. The ‘*Caput* texture’ itself has precedents in early fifteenth-century motets, even if they are rare.

Function, on the other hand, refers to the contrapuntal relationship between the voices, and the functional ‘tenor’ is the voice against which every other voice sings counterpoint. The early fifteenth-century motet tends to have one or two upper voices singing discant over the contrapuntal foundation of the tenor or a combination of the tenor and equally slow-moving contratenor (sometimes written separately as the ‘*solus tenor*’).¹⁵ The tenor frequently retains its contrapuntal significance in the late fifteenth century, though it is generally no longer the lowest voice. Into the sixteenth century, however, and especially when there is no cantus firmus, the tenor begins to lose any inherent contrapuntal importance, and is texturally indistinguishable from the other voices; ‘tenor’ begins to signify voice range instead of function.

These musical changes are accompanied by two changes to types of text and textual combinations. The first is the decline in the use of two parallel, newly written texts, most

¹³ Cf. *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit. The terms are used throughout; see, for example, pp. 298-301.

¹⁴ The latter ascription was erased. See *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., esp. 223-226. I discuss this in greater detail later in this chapter.

¹⁵ On the ‘*solus tenor*’, see especially Bent, ‘Some Factors in the Control of Consonance and Sonority: Successive Composition and the *Solus Tenor*’, *Report of the Twelfth Congress, Berkeley, 1977*, ed. Daniel Heartz and Bonnie Wade (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1981), 625-34, reprinted as chapter 8 of Bent, *Counterpoint, Composition, and Musica Ficta* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 241-54. See also Bent’s introduction to the latter volume, especially 38-46.

frequently underlying the triplum and motetus voices. As with the musical features discussed above, this practice of using two such texts was not ubiquitous in the first half of the century: rather, it was a feature found in many Italian and French non-liturgical motets which went out of style. More subtle is the change in the sorts of cantus firmus texts found in motets. Despite the general disappearance of a separate motetus text, composers did not lose their predilection for the combination of multiple texts, but now the cantus firmus was the only means by which to introduce additional texts. As implied above, it is more common in the latter half of the century to use the entire cantus firmus, and thus set or reference the entire liturgical text. Cantus firmi are increasingly taken from more commonly used and therefore recognizable chants, and for the first time they begin to be taken from vernacular song as well, to be used both in masses and motets. Finally, they were occasionally chosen as if to replace the motetus text in its parallel relationship to the text found in the one or more of the other voices.

The development concerning the texts of cantus firmi is inherently related to, if not entirely responsible for, the change in the musical treatment of cantus firmus voices. It is more speculative whether the decline in the use of two or more newly composed texts was related to any musical developments in the motet. For early fifteenth-century motets, certain musical features such as a tenor cantus firmus lend themselves to a structured treatment involving some repetition of colores and taleae. Perhaps they were structured *because* of the cantus firmus: if repetition of a short melody (isomelism) was necessary, the composer might as well also structure it rhythmically, potentially using proportional or mensural transformation. On the other hand, certain features tend to result in free, non-structured treatment. Motets with liturgical texts in the early fifteenth century are less commonly rhythmically structured, though there are some noteworthy exceptions such as Dunstaple's *Veni sancte spiritus/Veni creator spiritus*. They frequently carry the melody of their liturgical text, though the voice which bears the chant tends to proceed through the text at the same rate as the other voices, thus resulting in a single cursus of the chant. Since the chant is most

frequently found in the top voice, it tends to be both rhythmically and melodically embellished, rather than carrying a repeating or diminishing rhythmic pattern. Despite these tendencies, the only fundamental difference between ‘structured motets’ and those which seem to avoid unifying techniques of melodic or rhythmic repetition is just that: the presence or lack of such a structural design.¹⁶ The variety of structuring techniques which the term ‘isorhythm’ has been used to describe does not have any inherent connection to the use of multiple parallel newly composed texts, even if most motets with such texts have been called ‘isorhythmic’.¹⁷ Nor is ‘isorhythmic’ structuring inherently related to the double discantus texture which it so frequently accompanies. Rather, this is found in the majority of the four-voice repertoire and a smaller percentage of three-voice motets, in both cases ‘isorhythmic’ or not.¹⁸ If anything, the change of structuring techniques might bear a connection to the changes in types of cantus firmi: when they are longer, less structuring is required to extend the line. Perhaps more significantly, when a vernacular melody was used as a cantus firmus, the newly composed motet would contain at least some rhythmic ideas or motives from the original polyphonic song, and this was not compatible with ‘isorhythmic’ repetitions (rhythmic repetitions within the single color of the vernacular melody).

The decline of multiple newly composed texts may also be linked to the decline of the double discantus motet texture. As will be seen in the examples below, this is impossible to prove: newly composed texts are not infrequently found in the new, rhythmically active ‘contratenor’ voices in addition to the ‘discantus’ voices. There is nevertheless a reasonably clear association between the discantus voices and new texts in fourteenth- and very early

¹⁶ Bent proposes this term as perhaps ‘the only term that meets all cases’, even while acknowledging that it might also refer to most ‘non-isorhythmic’ motets. ‘What is isorhythm?’, op. cit., 138.

¹⁷ Of Du Fay’s thirteen motets which Besseler categorized as ‘isorhythmic’, four have a single newly composed text, with or without a tenor cantus firmus. There are also examples (though rarer) of motets with multiple newly written texts but without any structure based on melodic or rhythmic repetition: Du Fay’s *O proles Hispaniae/O sidus Hispaniae* is a clear example.

¹⁸ Du Fay’s *Inclita stella maris* and *Mirandas parit* both have two discantus lines of similar pitch range; the ‘isorhythmic’ *Supremum est mortalibus bonum*, *Salve flos/Vos nunc/Viri mendaces*, *Nuper rosarum flores*, *Magnanimae gentis/Nexus amicitiae/Haec est vera*, *Fulgens iubar/Puerpera, pura parens/Virgo post partum*, and *Moribus et genere/Virgo, virga virens/Virgo est electus* do not.

fifteenth-century motets. When composers started experimenting with musical texture (both voice disposition and the rhythmic activity of the relative voices) towards the middle of the fifteenth century, there seemed to be some confusion as to what implications this had for motet texts. As will be demonstrated below, the Trent Codices provide a remarkable level of variety in musical texture and textual practice. Even so, it becomes the convention that the voices carrying *cantus firmi* (generally tenors) are both the only rhythmically differentiated voices and the only voices which might carry a separate text.

2.2.1. Progression of Motets in the Trent Codices

The shifts in the mid-century motet are exemplified by the changes in the motet repertory in the Trent Codices. Cumming's analysis of the repertory in these manuscripts provides a starting point, but it has two notable weaknesses (addressed below). After excluding from the discussion genres of liturgical service music, *cantiones*, *Leisen*, and most textless pieces and *contrafacta*, Cumming divides the mid-century motet repertory into three main groups.¹⁹ The first group includes the motets in Trent 87 and 92, which she considers comparable with those in *I-MOe* $\alpha.x.1.11$ as well as the later repertory from *I-Bc* Q15. The most commonly found of her subgenres in these manuscripts are 'isorhythmic' (French and English), 'double-discantus' (not 'isorhythmic' but nevertheless with two upper voices of more-or-less equal range), 'cut-circle' (with 'cantilena-style' texture and a rhythmic style associated with the mensuration), three-voice tenor, and cantilena motets (continental and English). Cumming then groups together Trent 90 and 93 as a middle group, containing 'music from Central European traditions (*cantiones* and *Leisen*) and a newer Western European repertory.'²⁰ The motets found therein are almost exclusively English cantilenas. The final group is made up of Trent Codices 88, 89, and 91: in addition to a number of English and continental cantilenas,

¹⁹ For this paragraph and the chart which follows, see *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 181-4, including Table 8.6 on p. 182.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 183.

there are significant numbers of motets in Cumming's '4-voice' categories: song motets, tenor motets, chant paraphrases, and freely composed motets.

Table 2.1. Motets in the Trent Codices, as explained by Cumming

Group	Manuscripts	Common subgenres
1	Trent 87 (<i>I-TRbc</i> MS 1374) Trent 92 (<i>I-TRbc</i> MS 1379)	'French isorhythmic' 'double-discantus' 'cut-circle' '3-voice tenor' 'cantilena'
2	Trent 90 (<i>I-TRbc</i> MS 1377) Trent 93 (<i>I-TRcap</i> MS 93)	'English isorhythmic' '3-voice tenor' 'English cantilena'
3	Trent 88 (<i>I-TRbc</i> MS 1375) Trent 89 (<i>I-TRbc</i> MS 1376) Trent 91 (<i>I-TRbc</i> MS 1378)	'English/continental cantilena' '3/4-voice song motet' '4-voice tenor motet' '4-voice chant paraphrase' '4-voice freely composed'

The impression that Cumming gives is that there is a quick progression (at least in these manuscripts) from 'isorhythmic' motets (last seen in the first group of Trent 87 and 92 and Modena) to English or English-style cantilenas (in Trent 93 and 90), and finally to 'the new four-voice texture with a single discantus voice and two contratenors' (in Trent 88, 89, and 91).²¹ However, there are two problems with the progression as thus characterized. The first concerns the circumstances under which the manuscripts were copied as well as more general historical considerations, and Cumming discusses both of these candidly. As she points out, the later Trent manuscripts (93 and 90 onwards) contain a significant amount of Central European music at least partly because they were copied in Trent, with its political ties to the north.²² More generally, Cumming suggests that the decline of English music in continental manuscripts is related to the end of the Hundred Years' War in 1453 and consequent decline in English presence on the continent.²³ In any case, these external factors

²¹ *Ibid.*, 184.

²² *Ibid.*, 169, 183.

²³ *Ibid.*, 184.

make it hard to see the Trent Codices as providing a clear picture of the development of continental motets through the middle of the century.

The second problem is rooted in the clear distinction which Cumming chooses to make between ‘isorhythmic motets’ and the later ‘tenor motets’. This is especially significant when considering the polytextual repertory. Cumming’s overall categories for motets with cantus firmi from c. 1430 onwards include ‘isorhythmic motets’ (with top voices in the same range or in different ranges), three-voice tenor motets, and, finally, four-voice tenor motets, taking their texture from the anonymous English *Missa Caput*. These are discussed in that order, though the last category is relegated to Cumming’s final chapter, that on four-voice motets from after c. 1450.²⁴ Cumming does say that the new tenor motet ‘descends from the late continental four-voice isorhythmic motet and the four-voice tenor Mass’.²⁵ She nevertheless points to the ‘English isorhythmic motet’ (with a single differentiated upper voice) and the three-voice tenor motet as other important precedents for the new four-voice tenor motet, on account of the ‘new’ four-voice texture of the former and the presence in the latter of a cantus firmus without other ‘isorhythmic’ structuring devices.²⁶ The impression given is that of a new subgenre—the four-voice tenor motet—which appears suddenly in a fixed form, taking its most important characteristics from other (sub)genres while breaking significantly from its most direct ancestor (the ‘continental isorhythmic motet’). This impression results in part from the nature of subgenre division, and it is certainly true that there is a lot of cross-genre influence. But the neat line is drawn through quite a blurry area, as a closer look at the four-voice repertoire will show. It is also not a surprise that this line tends to coincide with the period during which Trent 90 and 93 were copied, as these two manuscripts contain neither ‘isorhythmic motets’ nor tenor motets.²⁷ But the fact that these

²⁴ See *ibid.*, Ch. 10, ‘Motets with a tenor cantus firmus c. 1430-1450’, 206-227, and Ch. 12, ‘The four-voice motet c. 1450-1475’, esp. 257-266.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 295.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 292.

²⁷ Cumming discusses some of the issues of dating the codices, *ibid.*, 168-70.

two manuscripts do not include any of this repertoire should be all the more reason to downplay their significance as regards the development of four-voice motets with cantus firmi.

There is only a break between ‘isorhythmic motets’ and ‘four-voice tenor motets’ if one considers the ‘isorhythmic motet’ a unifying phenomenon, one which defines the repertoire. But it does not: on the contrary, it has become an umbrella term to describe a wide variety of rhythmic and melodic compositional techniques. The variety within this so-called subgenre is no less great than the difference between the later ‘isorhythmic’ motets and many of the earlier ‘non-isorhythmic’ four-voice tenor motets. What appears to be a quick and clear progression from earlier polytextual motets (‘isorhythmic’ with two newly written upper voice texts and cantus firmus) to later polytextual motets (single text with cantus firmus using the new ‘Caput’ texture) is neither quick nor clear. In almost every respect there are exceptions. The earlier motets do not always have structured tenors; they do not always use a ‘double-discantus’ texture; there are not always two (or more) upper-voice texts, nor is there always a cantus firmus. The polytextual motets in the later Trent manuscripts, however, occasionally contain isorhythmic elements; they use a variety of musical textures, including ‘double-discantus’, ‘Caput’, and fully differentiated voice ranges; some have two (or more) parallel non-cantus firmus texts; and not all have a cantus firmus (or at least an identified cantus firmus).

The motet repertory in the early and late Trent manuscripts follows the continuing development of the genre: the compositional trends concerning polytextuality began beforehand and continued thereafter. The means by which composers employed polytextuality within motets changed fairly dramatically between the beginning and end of the fifteenth century, and the manuscripts show that composers and scribes were aware of these continuing developments. With respect to the musical and textual features that might be associated with the developments in polytextuality, the polytextual motets in the Trent

Codices show a remarkable amount of variety, with the composers trying to reconcile new trends within a long-established tradition.

2.2.2. Polytextual Motets in the Earlier Trent Codices

Trent 87 contains five polytextual motets, all of which have at least four voices:²⁸

Table 2.2. Polytextual motets in Trent 87

Du Fay	<i>Vasilissa ergo gaude/Concupivit rex</i>	French iso a4
Brassart	<i>Ave Maria/Ave Maria</i>	continental iso a4
Velut	<i>Summe summy tu patris/Summe summy tu matris</i>	Retro D-D
Du Fay	<i>Ecclesie militantis/Sanctorum arbitrio/Bella canunt gentes/Gabriel/Ecce nomen Domini</i>	5v iso
Du Fay	<i>O proles/O sidus</i>	cut circle/ transitional 4v

Three are qualified as ‘isorhythmic’ by Cumming and others: Du Fay’s five-voice *Ecclesie militantis/Sanctorum arbitrio* and four-voice *Vasilissa ergo gaude* and Brassart’s four-voice *Ave Maria/Ave Maria*. The first of these has five different texts, one for each voice. The two tenors are excerpted from two different liturgical antiphons (*Ecce nomen Domini* and *Gabriel angelus locutus est*, both used on the first Sunday of Advent),²⁹ and the other three voices (two equal-register upper voices and the contratenor in the same range as the tenors) are fully underlaid with new texts in the manuscript. Functionally, the contratenor is not only contrapuntally necessary but the foundation of most cadences with the upper voices. Outside the opening triplum/motetus duet, the upper voices rarely cadence with each other, instead forming contrapuntal pairs with the contratenor or a composite of the tenors.³⁰ Cumming calls

²⁸ Here, as below, when Cumming includes the motet in her list, I include the subgenre(s) into which she places the motets in parentheses. Cumming uses ‘iso’ to mean ‘isorhythmic motet’ and ‘D-D’ to signify ‘double-discantus’.

²⁹ Besseler (*Guillelmi Dufay: Opera omnia*, op. cit., vol. 1) cites *Gabriel* as an Annunciation antiphon, which is where it is found in the 1912 *Antiphonale Romanum*. A search on *CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant* (<<http://cantusdatabase.org>>, accessed 15 March 2012) shows that it is found almost as frequently for Matins or Vespers on the First Sunday of Advent. Regardless, the connection of both tenor cantus firmi to the first Sunday of Advent does not necessarily mean that it would have been performed then: they seem chosen in particular on account of their thematic relation to the text, referring to Pope Eugenius IV, born Gabriele Condulmer.

³⁰ The upper voice might form an imperfect consonance with one of the tenors which is resolved to a perfect consonance with the other tenor.

this motet ‘extremely unusual’ and suggests that Du Fay is ‘taking traditional features of the isorhythmic motet, such as polytextuality and isorhythm, and exaggerating them’.³¹ Despite its having two upper voices in the same range, she considers the rhythmically active contratenor to be part of the newer tradition of motet composition.³² Du Fay’s four-voice *Vasilissa ergo gaude* also has two equal upper voices, though they share the same text. The tenor is taken from a gradual for the Common of Virgins, and the contratenor is untexted though not without rhythmic interest. Brassart’s *Ave Maria* once again has two equal upper voices, both beginning with ‘Ave Maria, gratia plena’ but then each incorporating different Marian tropes. The tenor is given incipits at the beginning (‘Ave Maria gracia plena’) and in the middle at the mensuration change (‘Benedicta tu in mulieribus’), but it does not appear to be based on a chant melody; the contratenor is untexted.³³ Unlike in *Ecclesie militantis*, the contratenor is not contrapuntally necessary—almost all cadences occur between the tenor and another voice—but it is integrated into the rhythmic and harmonic texture such that it appears to have been conceived primarily as a four-voice motet.

The remaining two polytextual motets in Trent 87 are Velut’s *Summe summy tu patris/Summe summy tu matris* and Du Fay’s *O proles Hispanie/O sidus Hispanie*. Velut’s motet has two parallel texts, addressed to God the Father and Mary (the Mother of the Son), respectively. While the contratenor is not texted in Trent 87, in Bologna Q15 all voices are fully texted.³⁴ The opening is unusual: the tenor and contratenor sing the opening trio twice, first with the upper voice on the top left, and then with the upper voice on the top right,

³¹ *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 15.

³² See *ibid.*, 207-215. *Ecclesie militantis* is contradictorily listed in both table 10.1 (‘Four-voice isorhythmic motets [...] with triplum and motetus in the same range’) and table 10.2 (‘Four-voice isorhythmic motets with unequal triplum and motetus’), presumably because it has both two equal upper voices and an active, texted contratenor.

³³ The motet has a concordance in Bologna Q15, where the upper voice on the top right begins ‘O Maria’. The tenor is not given an incipit, but the contratenor is labelled ‘Contratenor O Maria’. The ‘O’ could have been a mistake: the top part of the previous opening has the motet ‘O Maria virgo davitica’, with initials for both ‘O’s; this would explain why Trent’s reading gives the opening exclusively as ‘Ave Maria’. See *Bologna Q15: The Making and Remaking of a Musical Manuscript*, ed. Margaret Bent (Lucca, Italy: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2008), especially vol. II, f. R234v-235 (piece number 229).

³⁴ See *ibid.*, f. R261v-262 (piece number 260).

following the text of whichever upper voice happens to be singing at the time. In the four-voice section thereafter, the tenor follows the text of top right voice (to Mary), and the contratenor follows that of the top left voice, making the motet more conventionally bitextual. Despite the lack of cantus firmus, the tenor is the functional foundation, and the contratenor is contrapuntally unnecessary. Cumming calls this a ‘retrospective double-discantus motet’; in any case, there are indeed two differently texted upper voices.

Of these five motets, Du Fay’s *O proles Hispanie* is one of the more innovative: Cumming calls it both a ‘cut-circle’ and a ‘transitional 4-v’ motet, presumably because it is structurally similar to other ‘cut-circle’ motets (a subset of continental cantilena-style motets) but, unusually for this group of pieces, has a fourth voice.³⁵ She goes on to say that this motet’s ‘free four-voice texture is something new, a first attempt at a four-voice texture with a single discantus voice.’³⁶ The upper voice and the mid-ranged ‘tenor’ set the first text (‘O proles’), whereas the two low contratenors take the second text (‘O sidus’). The cantus and tenor form the basis of the counterpoint: they are almost contrapuntally complete without either of the lower contratenors. Adding the first contratenor to the cantus and tenor gives a trio which likewise has acceptable counterpoint in itself. The music does nevertheless show that it was conceived not as two- or three-voice but as a four-voice composition: when the cantus or tenor drops out of the texture, the first contratenor and occasionally the second contratenor fill in as the second contrapuntally necessary voice.³⁷

Trent 92 has nine polytextual motets, including six classified by Cumming as three-voice tenor motets (of which three are also ‘English isorhythmic motets a3’), two as four-voice ‘English isorhythmic’ motets, and one further ‘isorhythmic’ motet by Du Fay:

³⁵ *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 196 and 232-235.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 235.

³⁷ See for instance the tenor/contratenor 1 duet from bars (breves) 34-44 and the very brief cantus/contratenor 2 cadence at bars 53-55.

Table 2.3. Polytextual motets in Trent 92

	<i>Hac clara die/Hac clara die/Nova efferens</i>	3v tenor/English iso a3
	<i>O sanctissime presul/O Christi</i>	3v tenor
	<i>Regali ex progenie/Sancta Maria virgo</i>	3v tenor
Dunstaple	<i>Preco prehemincie/Precursor premittitur/Inter natos mulierum</i>	English iso a4
Dunstaple	<i>Specialis virgo/Salve parens</i>	3v tenor/English iso a3
Dunstaple	<i>Veni Sancte Spiritus et emitte/Consolator optime/Sancti Spiritus assit</i>	3v tenor/English iso a3
Dunstaple	<i>Veni Sancte Spiritus et emitte/Veni Sancte Spiritus et infunde/Veni Creator Spiritus/Mentes tuorum</i>	English iso a4
Du Fay	<i>Nuper rosarum flores</i>	iso 1d
Merques	<i>Castrum pudicitie/Virgo viget/Benedicamus</i>	3v tenor motet/ continental cantilena

The two Dunstaple four-voice motets have what Cumming considers a particularly English musical texture: the triplum was composed in a slightly higher range than the motetus.³⁸

Thomas Brothers has suggested that this single, melodic voice may be a significant aspect of what Martin le Franc referred to as the *contenance angloise* and in any case was very influential in later works of Du Fay.³⁹ Nevertheless, the vocal dispositions of *Preco prehemincie/Precursor premittitur/Inter natos mulierum* and *Veni sancte spiritus/Veni sancte spiritus/Veni creator spiritus* (C1/C2/C4/C4 and C1/C2/C3/C3) show that the basic division between two upper voices and two lower voices (labelled in Trent 92 as ‘tenor’ and ‘contratenor’) remains. Both of these motets have different texts in the triplum and motetus as well as a liturgical cantus firmus; the latter also gives the contratenor a more complete version of the text of the chant melody. Both of their contratenors are contrapuntally necessary, though the melodies have unusual leaps of melodic sevenths or ninths.

Even if Du Fay may have been influenced by the single-discantus English style, the new continental single-discantus style which emerged is quite different, as evidenced by motets such as *Nuper rosarum flores*. It does not immediately appear to be polytextual: the triplum and motetus both share the same text, and the two tenors are given no text until the

³⁸ *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 292.

³⁹ ‘*Contenance angloise* and accidentals in some motets by Du Fay’, *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 6/1 (1997), 27-8.

second opening, where the lower of the two ('tenor primus') has 'Terribilis est locus iste'. In Modena α .X.1.11, both tenors are given the same incipit for each section. Indeed, both use the beginning of the melody of the chant introit, separated in pitch by a fifth and given different rhythms. In many respects, this piece is not unlike later, four-voice tenor motets. For one, its vocal disposition is identical to that of the anonymous English *Missa Caput* (C1/C3/C3/C4). The contratenor is one of the middle voices (C3), but it not infrequently takes the role of what would eventually be named the (contratenor) bassus.⁴⁰ In addition, later musical parallels can be found with the chant melody sung at multiple pitches simultaneously: the anonymous *Ave rosa speciosa* in the Chigi codex has the tenor chant sung in canon at the fifth between two 'tenor' voices. However, the contrapuntal structure of the motet is unusual, in part to compensate for the conceit which has two tenors sing the same chant melody. The lower tenor occasionally acts as functional tenor, especially at the ends of sections; the higher tenor is only rarely involved in contrapuntal progressions. To simulate four-part functional counterpoint even when the tenors do not facilitate this, the contratenor frequently employs *divisi*, in which both the void and coloured notes are functionally necessary.

In light of *Nuper rosarum flores*, the relative influence of the later *Caput* mass on fifteenth-century composition might be called into question. For one, scholars do not agree on the exact aspects of the *Caput* mass that were so noteworthy and/or influential. Cumming sees the importance of the mass in its musical texture, by which she primarily refers to the relative pitch ranges of the voices (single discantus, two mid-range voices, and one lower voice).⁴¹ Rob Wegman, on the other hand, also emphasizes its rhythmically active (and contrapuntally essential) low contratenor.⁴² However, there is also the question of

⁴⁰ Consider, for example, the concluding Amen, which occurs after the final talea is finished.

⁴¹ *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 223-4.

⁴² 'Although four-voice writing as such had been widespread throughout the first decades of the fifteenth century, the four-part texture with a low contratenor (that is, a contratenor moving beneath the borrowed tenor) was a relatively late invention, probably from the 1440s.' In 'Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus* and the early history of the four-voice mass in the fifteenth century', *Early Music History* 10 (1991), 295-6.

directionality: Reinhard Strohm sees the four-voice mass, and in particular the *Missa Caput*, as implementing the musical texture of earlier four-voice isorhythmic motets.⁴³ Cumming (citing both Wegman and Strohm) considers the musical texture of the *Missa Caput* as setting the standard for much musical texture found in later masses and motets.⁴⁴ These interpretations may not be inherently mutually exclusive, and Cumming's and Wegman's observations concerning texture are both important. Nevertheless, the emphasis that Cumming places on this mass for the later development of musical texture within motets is overstated, given that motets already used all elements of this texture beforehand.⁴⁵

The three-voice tenor motets which remain are mostly English and closely related to each other musically but quite different from the four-voice examples. Textually, however, there is some variety within the three-voice repertoire, similar to the variety within the four-voice repertoire from this time. Cumming recognizes that these pieces occupy an 'ambiguous position between the three-voice English isorhythmic motet and the English cantilena,' but she nevertheless considers them as an important evolutionary precedent to four-voice tenor motets *because* they are not 'isorhythmic'.⁴⁶ As Cumming suggests, some of these motets may be continental works based on the English model: Merques's *Castrum pudicitie/Virgo viret/Benedicamus* is an obvious example.⁴⁷ Like the other motets of this group, there is a single upper voice and two lower voices either of similar or somewhat differentiated range (here, C1/C3/C4). The tenor tends to operate in an equal or lower range than the other low voice, which is sometimes labelled 'contratenor'.⁴⁸ The tenor enters after an extensive duet in the upper voice and contratenor, and the texture continues to alternate between cantus/contra

⁴³ *The Rise of European Music*, op. cit., 234-8.

⁴⁴ *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 223-4.

⁴⁵ Wegman mentions Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar* and *Moribus et genere* as other early examples of this musical texture; 'Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus*', op. cit., 296.

⁴⁶ *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 215 and 292, quote at 215.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 215-223.

⁴⁸ In addition to the motet by Merques, consider also the anonymous *O sanctissime presul/O Christi pietas* and *Hac clara die/Nova efferens*, as well as Du Fay's *Supremum est*, which have the voice dispositions C2/C3/C4, G2/C2/C3, and C1/C3/C4 respectively. See Cumming's Table 10.3, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 216.

duets and full three-voice texture. In its alternating duet/full texture, fast-moving upper voice and contratenor against a slower moving tenor, and relatively confined length, it is similar to *Regali ex progenie/Sancta Maria virgo* (discussed at length by Cumming) and *O sanctissime presul/O Christi pietas*.⁴⁹ More surprisingly, however, it is also not unlike the anonymous *Hac clara die/Nova efferens*, a so-called ‘isorhythmic motet’. The tenor is actually isorhythmic within the first section, and the melody is repeated with simple two-to-one rhythmic diminution in the second.⁵⁰ Cumming questions the label ‘isorhythmic’ *because* the three-voice motets of this sort ‘lack the proportional patterns typical of English isorhythm’ and the rhythmic repetition only applies to the tenor voice.⁵¹ It is true, in any case, that the structuring of these motets is less complicated than that of the larger, four-voice ‘isorhythmic’ motets. Of these six motets, three are only polytextual on account of an alien cantus firmus, but the other three have parallel texts between the upper voice and contratenor. *Hac clara die* is an example of the latter category: the top voice and contratenor each have their own text, even if they share the same few words at the beginning of each section.⁵² The tenor (‘Nova efferens’) is given the complete text of the chant melody which it quotes. If the three-voice repertory is musically homogeneous, it exhibits the same variety of polytextual practice as the four-voice repertory.

The polytextual motets from Trent 87 and 92 show some interesting tendencies regarding how the composer chose to juxtapose multiple texts. There are eight motets for four or more voices. Half of these have two upper voices of equal range, and a further two (those by Dunstaple) have only somewhat differentiated upper voices. Of these six motets, five have different, newly composed texts in these two upper voices. (The sixth is polytextual on the

⁴⁹ Ibid., 215-20.

⁵⁰ Another example is Dunstaple’s *Veni sancte spiritus/Consolator optime/Sancti spiritus assit*, which has a nearly isorhythmic tenor, for there are no melodic repeats. However, the third iteration of the talea does undergo mensural transformation.

⁵¹ *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 217.

⁵² This is not unlike, for example, Dunstaple’s *Veni sancte spiritus/Veni sancte spiritus/Veni creator spiritus/Mentes tuorum*, Brassart’s *Ave Maria/Ave Maria*, and Velut’s *Summe summy tu patris/Summe summy tu matris*.

basis of its cantus firmus.) The final two four-voice motets have a single cantus voice: the voice which previously might have been called ‘motetus’ is now in a lower register and labelled ‘contratenor’. Du Fay’s *Nuper rosarum flores*, with a texture like that of the *Caput* mass, also carries only one newly written text along with the pre-existent tenor. His *O proles/O sidus*, on the other hand, is a bit of an anomaly, insofar as it has a single discantus texture and no cantus firmus, yet still has multiple parallel texts, in this case between the higher and lower voices. Most of these eight motets have some sort of rhythmic and/or melodic structuring (Cumming refers to six out of the eight as ‘isorhythmic’), but there is no apparent correspondence between such structuring and double discantus texture or multiple newly written texts. The remaining six three-voice motets are all found in Trent 92, and they all have a similar texture of one cantus voice and two equal lower voices (tenor and contratenor). As mentioned above, half of these have different cantus and contratenor texts, but there is again no clear correspondence between such polytextuality and rhythmic structuring: there are examples of both a ‘non-isorhythmic’ motet with two texts in addition to the cantus firmus (i.e. Merques’s *Castrum pudicitie*) and an ‘isorhythmic’ motet with a single text besides the cantus firmus (i.e. Du Fay’s *Vasilissa ergo gaude* or *Nuper rosarum flores*).

2.2.3. Polytextual Motets in Trent 88 and 89

The polytextual motet repertoire from the later Trent manuscripts 88 and 89 appears to show some clear points of departure from the earlier repertory. Perhaps most obviously, there is now a significant number of motets with vernacular cantus firmi (which will be discussed at length in section 2.4.3):

Table 2.4. Motets in Trent 88 and 89 with vernacular cantus firmi

	<i>Ave mundi spes/Gottes Namen fahren wir</i>	8v tenor/Leise
	<i>Gaude Maria/Esclave puist</i>	4v tenor
	<i>Salve regina/Le serviteur</i>	4v tenor
Le Rouge?	<i>Stella celi/So ys emprentid</i>	4v tenor
Philipus	<i>Salve regina/Gaude rosa/Hilf und gib rat</i>	4v tenor/contrafact Kyrie

With the exception of the anomalous eight-voice *Ave mundi spes/Gottes Namen fahren wir*, which combines the text and melody of the German Leise with the Latin Marian sequence,⁵³ from a stylistic point these motets are similar to the other ‘new’ four-voice tenor motets.⁵⁴ The respective voice ranges vary somewhat by piece, but they all have a single upper voice as well as an essential low contratenor.⁵⁵ The cantus firmus is in the tenor voice, which is one of the middle or lower voices though never the single lowest voice, and it is generally taken from the tenor of the chanson. In *Gaude Maria/Esclave puist*, the upper voice also paraphrases the upper voice of the chanson. In all of these motets, there is at least a partial repetition of the cantus firmus melody in the tenor. That said, none of the motets has any exact rhythmic repetition: if there are moments where the repeat of the melody is similar to its first iteration, this is generally because both iterations resemble (however loosely) the original rhythm in the chanson from which the melody is taken. This is especially true in *Salve regina/Le serviteur*, where the cantus firmus iterations are quite similar throughout. Unlike the chants which form the basis of most earlier cantus firmi, these chanson melodies already have some sort of rhythmic identity, and imposing a shorter, repeating talea upon the

⁵³ A modern edition can be found in *Erbe deutscher Musik* 80. The piece is also found in *D-Mbs Mus. MS 3154*. Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., mentions this piece in her discussion of ‘Cantiones and Leisen’ as the ‘most complex’ example. Despite using ‘forms and techniques derived from the motet’, she dismisses it with the rest as belonging ‘to a distinct Central European tradition’ (174-5). Even so, she includes it (though none of the other cantiones or Leisen she lists) in her final ‘List of Works’ as both a Leise and an ‘eight-voice tenor motet’ (385). I would be more inclined to accept this latter interpretation, that it is a motet which uses the Leise melody as a cantus firmus in several of its voices. The work begins with a series of duets giving the Latin text; the Leise melody does not enter until the nineteenth perfect breve in the ‘contra tertius’ and a bar later in the tenor.

⁵⁴ Cumming refers to the ‘four-voice tenor motet’ as a ‘new four-voice subgenre’; for the earlier repertory, all four-voice motets which might be classified as tenor motets are subsumed into one of Cumming’s ‘isorhythmic’ categories (*The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 295).

⁵⁵ By clef disposition, *Stella celi/So ys emprentid* has two equal middle voices (‘Caput texture’), *Gaude Maria/Esclave puist* and *Salve regina/Gaude rosa/Hilf und gib rat* have two equal lower voices, and *Salve regina/Le serviteur* has four voices in different ranges (G2/C3/C4/F3).

melody would subvert this identity. Non-rhythmic chant has to be rhythmicized when incorporated into measured music, but these melodies do not require and in fact inhibit such treatment.

One of the motets mentioned above as appearing in Trent 87 (Du Fay's *O proles/O sidus*) is found again in Trent 88, but there are no further concordances among the polytextual repertoire. The remainder of the repertoire includes six tenor motets (one of which Cumming and others have called 'isorhythmic') and one bi-texted motet without an identified cantus firmus:

Table 2.5. Polytextual motets in Trent 88 and 89

	<i>Adoretur beata trinitas/In ultimo lucente Junii/Dies datur/Lilia nunc/Pacem deus reddidit</i>	5v tenor
	<i>Advenisti venisti nostras/Advenisti/Lauda Sion</i>	4v tenor
	<i>O sacrum manna monstrans/Ecce panis angelorum</i>	'iso'
	<i>Odas clangat/Yesse produxit</i>	4v free
	<i>Perpulchra Sion filia/[Pulchra es et decora]</i>	4v tenor
Cornago?	<i>Gaude Maria/Meditatio cordis</i>	4v tenor/contrafact Kyrie?
Frye?	<i>Salve virgo mater pya/[Summe trinitati]</i>	3v tenor/contrafact Kyrie?

O sacrum manna monstrans/Ecce panis angelorum is the 'isorhythmic' example. Cumming refers to it and Du Fay's *O proles/O sidus* as 'lingering remnants of earlier traditions' and suggests, following Jon Michael Allsen, that it was composed in the 1430s or 1440s.⁵⁶ The motet is in two *partes*, corresponding to the first and second halves of the chant (a verse from the Corpus Christi sequence *Lauda Sion*), and the second *pars* is in two sections, as the tenor sings that portion of the chant twice.⁵⁷ Each of these three sections has two identical iterations of the talea in each voice over a single color, making them individually completely isorhythmic (or 'panisorhythmic') in the strict sense.⁵⁸ Two of the voice parts are labelled

⁵⁶ *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 207, 254; see also Jon Michael Allsen, 'Style and Intertextuality in the Isorhythmic Motet 1400-1440' (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1992), where the motet appears as number 17 in his list, pp 352-354.

⁵⁷ Both Allsen and Cumming acknowledge that it *feels* like a bipartite motet despite the three 'sections' (based on the color/talea structure). It is not, however, merely the 'expressive effect' or 'overall effect' (as they say, respectively): it *is*, in fact, bipartite. Each section is given a single opening in the manuscript, and they both end with double bars in all voices. The music between the second and third 'sections' is completely continuous.

⁵⁸ Strict because the rhythms are repeated more or less exactly and the melody is generally not. There are some points at which it appears that the melody is going to repeat itself as well: in the first section, the contratenor

‘contratenor’, though the higher of the two resembles a motetus voice, equal in range to the other upper voice, now relabelled according to the new convention. All voices are contrapuntally necessary: the lower contratenor frequently acts as a functional tenor, especially when the tenor is not singing or it is lower than the tenor. Allsen points to extended ‘talea introductions’ (extended rests at the beginning of the tenor) and a rhythmically active lower contratenor as evidence of English influence and, therefore, a relatively late date, at least among his ‘isorhythmic’ repertoire.⁵⁹ This is one of very few motets considered ‘isorhythmic’ that cannot confidently be dated pre-1440: it is found only in Trent 89, copied around the 1460s.⁶⁰ Certainly the repeating rhythmic patterns—and the repetitions here are primarily rhythmic—are not the only feature that would suggest an earlier dating, but they are probably the principal reason why scholars have pushed the date of composition back twenty to thirty years from the date of copying, far removed from the remainder of the repertoire in the manuscript.

Only one of the polytextual motets in Trent 88 and 89 does not use a tenor cantus firmus: the anonymous *Odas clangat/Yesse produxit*, which Cumming describes as a ‘freely composed motet’ because of this lack of identified pre-existent melodic material.⁶¹ The tenor melody does indeed seem to have been freely composed. Despite its label, ‘Yesse produxit’, I have found no chant melody relating to these words which it resembles in the least, nor is it particularly chant-like in general. Moreover, some fragments of the tenor melody are repeated in order to accommodate imitation in the voices above it: this happens most notably in breves 27 to 31.

begins the second talea with the same melody as in the first, only a step lower. This is then discontinued. For a graphical analysis of the color/talea structure, see Allsen, op. cit., 222-224.

⁵⁹ Allsen, op. cit., 194-6, 353.

⁶⁰ See Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 168-170. Perhaps the latest piece on Allsen’s list of ‘isorhythmic motets’ is #61, *Probitate eminentem* by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz, which is found only in the Glogauer Liederbuch, PL-Kj Berlin Mus. Ms. 40098, from around 1480; see Allsen, op. cit., 411-2.

⁶¹ *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op cit., 278-9.

Figure 2.1. *Odas clangat/Yesse produxit*, breves 27-32

The musical score is presented in four staves: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Contratenor (C), and Tenor (T). The key signature has one sharp (F#). The time signature is common time (C). The score is divided into two systems. The first system covers breves 27-29, and the second system covers breves 30-32. In both systems, the Tenor part is highlighted with a red box, indicating its role in the 'pseudo double cursus'.

Cumming argues that the motet has a ‘pseudo double cursus’, as the tenor appears to start singing the same melody in both the first and second sections. Because the ‘cursus’ thereafter deviate substantially, the tenor was probably composed to appear chant-like, but it is unlikely that it is actually based on chant.⁶² What Cumming does not point out is that this is also true of the contratenor, moving in conjunction with the tenor. These two lower voices tend to have simultaneous entrances, and they jointly exit the texture after one of their cadences. The texture is again ‘double-discantus’, with two equal upper voices (C1) and two equal lower voices (C4), and compositionally the voices are treated largely as pairs: the texture mainly alternates between long, imitative upper voice duets and mostly non-imitative four-voice counterpoint. There are notable exceptions to this at the end of the second and beginning of

⁶² Ibid., 280 and 354 n. 53.

the third sections: after the contratenor drops out to allow for a three-voice cadence in the tenor and two upper voices, there is an extended tenor/contratenor duet, which might be seen as a concession to the new style of rhythmically active lower voices.

Figure 2.2. *Odas clangat/Yesse produxit*, beginning of the *tertia pars*

Both tenor and contratenor are given the same incipit, ‘Yesse produxit’, as if they were considered jointly to be the musical and theological foundation of the motet. The incipits call to mind the responsory ‘Stirps Jesse virgam produxit’ used for various Marian feasts including the Nativity and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. In such a context, the responsory emphasizes the descent of Christ through the Virgin Mary.⁶³ The incipit for the

⁶³ Of course, as Matthew 1:1-16 makes clear, Christ’s relation to Jesse is through Joseph, not Mary. The responsory, used in a Marian liturgical context, reverses this, in part by rewriting the line from Isaiah 11:1: ‘egredietur virga de radice Jesse et flos de radice eius ascendet’ becomes ‘stirps Jesse virgam produxit virgaque florem’. Instead of both the twig and flower coming forth from the root of Jesse, in the responsory the root of Jesse brought forth the twig and the twig brought forth the flower. If the ‘flos’ is Christ, then the ‘virga’ (close to ‘virgo’) is the Virgin Mary. This is affirmed by the responsory verse: ‘Virga dei genitrix virgo est, flos filius

upper voices does not add much clarity, however: ‘Odas clangat’ (let [my tongue, e.g.] resound with odes) could be the beginning of a text for nearly any liturgical or non-liturgical occasion.

The remaining five of the motets listed above all have tenor cantus firmi. *Salve virgo mater pya*/[*Summe trinitati*], potentially by Walter Frye on account of its apparent pairing with the *Missa Summe trinitati* in *B-Br* 5557, is the only three-voice example.⁶⁴ It has been described as a possible contrafact Kyrie, but regardless of its potential contrafact status, as the scribe copied it into Trent 88 it is not fundamentally different from other tenor motets.⁶⁵ Unlike the three-voice tenor motets found in Trent 92, the tenor of *Salve virgo mater pya* is in a higher range than the contratenor: their clefs are C3 and C4, respectively, with the cantus voice at C1. The tenor is almost identical to that found in the mass, found complete in the Gloria and Credo and abridged in the Sanctus and Agnus. Unlike the motets discussed above with cantus firmi taken from chansons—the cantus firmus here is taken from a responsory for Trinity Sunday—there is no implicit rhythm associated with the melody. Nevertheless, the melody follows an almost identical rhythmic pattern in each iteration throughout the mass and motet, just as, for example, the reiteration of the *Le serviteur* melody in the *Salve regina* discussed above. There are deviations in the repetitions of the melody to account for the different texts of the mass and motet: long notes are occasionally split, combined, lengthened, or shortened, but for the most part, the quick notes remain the same so that the motives and gestures are unchanged. In addition, the cantus firmus is altered based on the structure of the text being set: the tenor is silent for the Pleni sunt and Benedictus, and the Sanctus and

eius’ (‘The twig is the Virgin, the Mother of God, the flower her Son’); translation from Rob Wegman, ‘Petrus de Domarto’s *Missa Spiritus Almus*’, op. cit., 240-1.

⁶⁴ The motet is given only one text in Trent 88 to underlie all three voices. I nevertheless call it polytextual as the presence of the cantus firmus makes a clear reference to a second text.

⁶⁵ More about these in the following chapter. Concerning this particular motet, Rebecca L. Gerber affirms the connection between mass and motet while pointing to problems in both theories, namely that the motet was part of a mass-motet cycle (the text in Trent 88 does not always fit the music well) or that it was a contrafact Kyrie (it is a bit short for a Kyrie and is texturally distinct from the other mass movements); see Gerber, ed., *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent: Trent, Museo Provinciale d’Arte, Codex 1375 (Olim 88), Monuments of Renaissance Music XII* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 54.

Osanna sections only fit parts of the beginning and middle of the chant melody, respectively. This may be a different sort of melodic and rhythmic repetition from that which structures earlier, ‘isorhythmic’ motets—the talea (if one might still call it that) is equal in length and closely associated with the color, it is more flexible, and it is only given a single cursus within each movement or motet—but the continuity between these two sorts of structuring techniques is clear. Finally, despite the presence of a largely unadorned cantus firmus, the tenor is just as rhythmically active as the freely composed contratenor and nearly as active as the cantus voice. Like the chanson melodies discussed above, this is possible because the chant melody is a responsory, one of the longer chant genres, sung in full. Cumming emphasizes the development of the four-voice repertory at this time more than the less common three-voice examples, but similar developments are being made in both groups.

Salve virgo mater pya/[*Summe trinitati*] may be the only three-voice motet on this list, but it is not the only motet which was originally conceived for three voices. The anonymous *Perpulchra Sion filia*/[*Pulchra es et decora*], which appears uniquely in Trent 89, was probably composed in three voices, with a fourth voice added later.⁶⁶ Cumming includes it among tenor motets because the tenor voice appears to be a cantus firmus, though she did not know the source of the chant: ‘it has a tuneful long-note tenor melody that is repeated twice in a freely varied fashion.’⁶⁷ In fact it is the Assumption antiphon ‘Pulchra es et decora filia Jerusalem’, chosen not only because the hymn also describes the Assumption, but perhaps more specifically because of the connection of the opening words.⁶⁸ The voice labelled ‘bassus’ is not only contrapuntally unnecessary but also quite awkwardly composed, including melodic sevenths (at breves 50 and 123-124) and a melodic ninth (with minim rest in between, breves 32-33).⁶⁹

⁶⁶ See my edition in the appendix; no published edition exists.

⁶⁷ Op. cit., 265-6.

⁶⁸ It has been identified as such on the website dedicated to the Trent codices which also includes facsimile images: ‘I sette codici musicali trentini del Quattrocento’, accessible at <www.trentinocultura.net> (accessed 3 April 2012).

⁶⁹ A single bar by this counting has the length of a breve, imperfect in C and perfect in O.

Figure 2.3. *Perpulchra Syon filia*, melodic seventh and ninth at breves 50 and 32-33

The image displays two systems of musical notation for the motet *Perpulchra Syon filia*. The first system, labeled '50', shows four staves: Soprano (S), Contratenor (C), Tenor (T), and Bassus (B). The lyrics are 'cher - - - ri - me'. A red box highlights the interval between the Bassus and Tenor parts at the beginning of the phrase. The second system, labeled '31', shows the same four parts for breves 32-33. The lyrics are 'a - la - - - cti - dans'. A red box highlights the interval between the Bassus and Tenor parts at the end of the phrase.

There are some passages where the bassus is consonant with the tenor but dissonant with both the unlabelled top voice and the contratenor (breve 15). Even the final cadence works poorly in the four-voice version, as the bassus is again dissonant with the contratenor.⁷⁰ Cumming comments on the lack of duets to open each section, considering this feature anomalous among the repertoire of tenor motets.⁷¹ There is only a single duet in the four-voice version, from breve 99 to 114. This duet appears to begin when the tenor enters at the cadence in breve 96, though the bassus continues singing in parallel thirds with the tenor and then suddenly stops in 99. If the bassus is not sung, however, the entire motet has a more coherent structure, opening with a cantus/contratenor duet and alternating throughout between two-

⁷⁰ Other dissonant or awkward sections can be found, for example, at breves 36, 75, 77, 119, 131, and 134. The bassus also is the only voice with fusae, found at breve 11.

⁷¹ *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 260 and 351 n. 11.

and three-voice textures.⁷² The three-voice version also has similar voice disposition to the motet discussed previously (C2, C4, C5), though here the tenor tends to be lower than the contratenor.

The remaining three pieces in the Trent 88/89 polytextual repertoire are uncontroversially four- (or five-) voice tenor motets: *Adoretur beata trinitas/In ultimo lucente Junii/Dies datur/Lilia nunc/Pacem deus reddidit*, *Advenisti venisti nostras/Advenisti/Lauda Sion*, and *Gaude Maria/Meditatio cordis*. Despite the nominal connection between these three, they share no greater level of similarity than does the entire group of polytextual motets from Trent 88 and 89. Robert J. Snow has suggested that the last of these is a companion motet to the anonymous *Missa Meditatio cordis* in the Strahov Codex (CZ-Ps MS D.G.IV.47).⁷³ Strohm has further suggested that *Gaude Maria* and some other motets paired with masses might be contrafact Kyries, and Cumming tentatively accepted this.⁷⁴ Rebecca L. Gerber connected the motet instead with the mass that precedes it in Trent 88, Cornago's three-voice *Missa Ayo visto lo mappamundi*.⁷⁵ As Gerber suggests, Snow's linking of the motet with the *Missa Meditatio cordis* is based primarily on formal reasons: the chant is supposedly treated in the same fashion and the general style is similar.⁷⁶ However, the tenors are much less similar than Snow argues, even though they progress through the same pitches

⁷² The motet was copied into Trent 89 as a single, continuous piece, though there is a cadence at the change of mensuration from C to O. It would be more convincing as the end of the first section if the bassus voice did not enter immediately after this cadence (i.e., as a three-voice motet). This point also exactly coincides with the page turn, but the change of mensuration is given at the end of all parts in the first opening along with custodes. There appears to have been some scribal confusion as to whether this was in fact the end of a musical section: the cantus voice appears to have been finished before the scribe realized that the change of mensuration should be taking place before the final note. He thereafter added a full bar line in the middle of the cadence with a very small O sign at the top. If indeed this was originally a three-voice motet in two sections, then the *secunda pars* begins with full texture following the duet at the end of the *prima pars*.

⁷³ 'The Mass-Motet Cycle: A Mid-Fifteenth-Century Experiment', in *Essays in Musicology, in honor of Dragan Plamenac on his 70th birthday*, ed. Gustave Reese and Snow (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1969), 309-310.

⁷⁴ *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 428-9; Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 263-5. This is discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

⁷⁵ Gerber, op. cit., 99-100.

⁷⁶ See also Snow, 'The Manuscript Strahov D.G.IV.47' (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 1968), esp. 91.

in the same order.⁷⁷ Moreover, unlike most of the mass-motet pairs that Snow proposed, there is no clear repetition of musical material between the mass movements and motet.

Gerber's suggestion of a link between *Gaude Maria* and the Cornago mass is more plausible: the stylistic similarities she points to are more specific and convincing, such as the frequent notated F- and C-sharps at cadences (or at non-cadential points of arrival) in both mass and motet.⁷⁸ She goes further to surmise that the attribution at the beginning of the mass in Trent 88 might apply also to the motet.⁷⁹ The pairing of mass and motet in Trent 88 may be intentional, as the mass is labelled, among other things, as 'Missa de nostra donna S Maria', for which a Marian motet might be an appropriate accompaniment. Nevertheless, this is a different kind of pairing than Snow proposes in his 'Mass-motet cycles': it is more a connection of liturgical convenience than compositional unity, whether through the use of the same cantus firmus or other related musical material. (For more on the variety of connections between some mid- to late fifteenth-century masses and motets, see section 2.4.3.1.) The structure of the motet itself is similar to *Odas clangat/Yesse produxit*: both sections begin with extensive duets in the cantus and 'contra primus', and the tenor and 'contra secundus' (effectively a 'contratenor bassus') enter simultaneously at the duets' final points of arrival (with notated F- and C-sharps, respectively). The remainder is mostly four-voice texture with shorter duets and trios interspersed. The vocal disposition is similar to that of the *Caput* mass with equal tenor and (upper) contratenor (here C2, C4, C4, F3), but curiously it is the only such motets in Trent 88 and 89.

⁷⁷ The chart on page 311 of 'The Mass-Motet Cycle', even though it seems to have been chosen to prove the connection between the mass and motet, demonstrates that there is greater similarity in the chant versions within the mass than between the mass movements and motet.

⁷⁸ Similar in this respect is Cornago's only securely attributed motet, *Patres nostri peccaverunt*, though it is quite brief and exclusively uses four-voice texture. *Missa Meditatio cordis*, on the other hand, has no such accidentals.

⁷⁹ Gerber, op. cit., 100.

Advenisti venisti nostras/Advenisti has been discussed at greater length elsewhere.⁸⁰

For present purposes suffice it to say that it was composed (and the text ‘Venisti nostras...’ was written) for the arrival of Bishop Georg Hack in Trent either in 1446 or later in the decade.⁸¹ The cantus firmus is given two labels, ‘Advenisti desiderabilis’ and ‘Lauda syon’, but while the first four pitches match those which begin the Corpus Christi sequence, the chant as a whole is taken from the *canticum triumphale* for Easter processions, ‘Cum rex glorie Christus’.⁸² As Cumming mentions, both references are also textually appropriate for the arrival of a leader, and Robert J. Mitchell points out that the former chant (‘You have returned, O desired one, for whom we were waiting in the shadows’) was used elsewhere to welcome political leaders.⁸³ The motet begins unusually with all voices in black notation singing ‘Advenisti’, the tenor once again given the beginning of the chant.⁸⁴ Also unusual is the complete lack of duets: the sections of reduced texture are always trios with the cantus voice and two contratenors. These voices are given similar rhythmic treatment. Finally, the voices are all somewhat differentiated in range, having the clefs C2, C3, F3, and F4.

Cumming groups the final motet, *Adoretur beata trinitas/In ultimo lucente iunii/Dies datur/Lilia nunc flores/Pacem Deus*, with *Advenisti venisti* as ‘occasional motets’.⁸⁵ The

⁸⁰ See Robert J. Mitchell, ‘The *Advenisti/Lauda Syon* composer and his likely contributions to the later Trent Codices’, *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 13/1 (2004), 63-85; Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., esp. 261; and Gerber, op. cit., 108-9. Editions are available in the Gerber volume and attached as an appendix to the Mitchell article; there is also an older (and fairly inaccurate) edition by Rudolf von Ficker in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 76. Mitchell and Gerber come up with quite different solutions for the tenor canon. Mitchell interprets the various mensurations more strictly than does Gerber, which avoids a small dissonance but requires a good deal of rewriting; Gerber’s solution (following *DTÖ* 76) is workable but also requires the rests to be counted differently than the canon suggests.

⁸¹ See Gary Spilsted, ‘Toward the Genesis of the Trent Codices: New Directions and New Findings’, *Studies in Music from the University of Western Ontario* 1 (1976), 60 and 69 n. 38, and Gerber, op. cit., 109.

⁸² See Gerber, op. cit., 109 and Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 261. Mitchell is apparently aware of the origin of the ‘Advenisti’ text but does not realize that the melody is used as the cantus firmus (despite Cumming having pointed this out five years earlier); Mitchell, op. cit., 65-6. In retrospect, the way in which the tenor is underlaid makes it clear that the scribe is aware of both musical references. ‘Advenisti’ is written closely under first six notes to make room for ‘Lauda Syon’ below it. The notes thereafter follow only the former melody, and ‘desiderabilis’ is written lower on the page at the same level as the remainder of the underlay.

⁸³ Mitchell, op. cit., 66; Mitchell cites Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, op. cit., 305.

⁸⁴ Mitchell’s realization of the opening is by far the most convincing: the *DTÖ* edition completely reworks the rhythms to make it more homophonic, and even Gerber changes some of the note values to suit her (strangely forced) barings.

⁸⁵ *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 261.

occasion here was the recovery of Bordeaux by Charles VII from the English in 1451, commemorated in five different texts, each set to a single voice.⁸⁶ Five texts in a five-voice piece might suggest a connection to earlier motets like Du Fay's *Ecclesie militantis*, as Reinhard Strohm proposes, though in design it appears more closely linked to the mid-century motet repertory. There is a remarkable range of voice parts in this piece: the voice on the top right of the opening ('In ultimo lucente iunii') is given the unusually high clef G1, and while the top left voice ('Adoretur beata trinitas') with C1 clef sings nearly as high, these are not equal discantus parts. The slightly differentiated upper voices are potentially comparable with the four-voice Dunstaple motets discussed previously, which is perhaps one of the reasons why Cumming notes a potential connection to English music. While the tenor and, generally, the 'contra primus' (both C4) are more rhythmically static than the upper voices, the 'contra alius' (C3) is occasionally no less active than the two higher voices. The motet is in two sections (with mensurations O and cut C), alternating between overlapping duets (most frequently involving the upper voices and contratenors) and full, five-voice texture. At the end of the *secunda pars*, there is a mostly homophonic 'Amen' with the mensuration returning to *tempus perfectum*, reminiscent of similar endings in earlier fifteenth-century motets.

The texts of *Adoretur beata trinitas* were all constructed with great care: those of the upper voices and contratenors make clear reference to the occasion. The upper voices and contra alius follow the common rhyme scheme AABAAB/CCDCCD, with nearly all lines containing ten syllables. The end rhyme always consists of at least two syllables, and there is also extensive internal rhyme. Here, for example, are the first two lines of these three voices:

⁸⁶ See DTÖ 76, XVIII, 77-79, and 105; Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, op. cit., 412; Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 261.

*Adoretur beata trinitas,
nunc letetur preclara civitas.*

*In ultimo lucente iunii,
cum maximo splendore lilii.*

*Dies datur iocosa nimium
dilatatur regis imperium.*

The contra primus, as Strohm points out, is given a couplet in hexameters, calling to mind the French royal coat of arms:⁸⁷

*Lilia nunc flores spargunt variosque colores
Rex dux norma regnat Aquintania. Amen.*

Finally, the tenor is taken from the Marian Alleluia verse, ‘Virga Jesse floruit’, presumably chosen as the text of the excerpted portion is appropriate for the occasion.⁸⁸

*

If ‘isorhythmic’ is not a valid description for most of the earlier Trent repertory, it is much harder to draw clear lines between the polytextual repertory in these two groups of the Trent Codices. Perhaps most noteworthy in Trent 88 and 89 is the lack of almost any unifying characteristics. Most of the motets might be characterized as ‘tenor motets’—notable exceptions being the Du Fay *O proles/O sidus* found also in the earlier Trent 87 and the curious *Odas clangat/Yesse produxit* which is nevertheless structured as if it were a tenor motet—but in this respect they are no different from the earlier Trent repertory. Most are composed for four voices, though there are examples for three voices, five voices, and even eight voices. Voice disposition among the four-voice motets is also widely diverse: most surprisingly, the ‘Caput texture’ is found in only two of the nine examples (that number does not include the originally three-voice *Perpulchra Syon filia*), the same number of which use the more antiquated ‘double-discantus’ texture. Other possibilities include having two equal voices in the lowest range or having all four voices somewhat differentiated; there are three

⁸⁷ *Rise of European Music*, op. cit., 412.

⁸⁸ See *ibid.*

and two motets which follow these patterns, respectively. Despite the apparent variety, the relative lack of ‘double-discantus’ texture when compared to the earlier repertory does point to developments in this respect, and the two motets which do use this voice disposition were probably either composed significantly earlier than the copying of the manuscript or were deliberately modelled on earlier motets. Furthermore, all of these motets are structured in some fashion, frequently with a double or triple ‘cursus’ through the tenor melody. The lack of rhythmic repetition within each statement of the melody corresponds to the lengthening of cantus firmi in general and/or greater use of elaboration in composing out cantus firmi.

Textually, the picture is no clearer, but despite the variety, new trends become apparent. For the first time, vernacular songs are used frequently as cantus firmi: motets with such cantus firmi represent nearly half of the polytextual repertoire. Less common is the use of more than one text in addition to the cantus firmus. There are three exceptions to this among the thirteen polytextual motets in Trent 88 and 89: the earlier Du Fay motet *O proles/O sidus*, the anonymous *Odas clangat/Yesse produxit*, which is also of an earlier, ‘double-discantus’ style, and the five-voice *Adoretur/In ultimo/Dies datur/Lilia nunc/Pacem deus*. The third of these was probably composed last, but its date of 1451 still places it earlier than many of the other motets. As if to make up for the relative lack of long, parallel texts as seen in these three examples, the cantus firmi and their texts (or textual references) tend to be longer. Perhaps the song cantus firmi served as a model in this respect—they were never abridged in motets—but longer, complete chants such as ‘Summe trinitati’ or ‘Meditatio cordis’ were now being used more frequently.

2.3. Motets with Plainchant Cantus Firmi c. 1500

The manuscripts Trent 88 and 89 are essential to our understanding of fifteenth-century motets, insofar as they help to bridge the mid-century gap following the Trent 87, 92, and Modena manuscripts. Most of the motets in Trent 88 and 89 are anonymous, and they incorporate multiple texts using a variety of different techniques. At the end of the fifteenth century, however, the picture begins to change in two respects: there is wider source distribution and greater frequency of composer attributions.

Concerning the former, the motet repertoire is found dispersed through a much wider variety of sources. For motets with Latin cantus firmi, there may be one or two polytextual examples in a manuscript of mostly masses (such as the two tenor motets found in *I-VEc* Ms 755, the anonymous *Gaude virgo decus morum/Narayé jamais mieulx* and *Incomprehensibilia firme/Preter rerum ordinem*, or Marbriano de Orto's *Salve regis mater/Hic est sacerdos* in *I-Rvat* Cappella Sistina 35). If the manuscript includes a more significant quantity of motets, the tenor motets (both polytextual and single-texted) might be grouped together, as in the Chigi codex. In Cappella Sistina 15, the motet section follows sections of hymns and Magnificats. While the nine polytextual examples are found throughout the motet section, they are frequently placed in proximity to pieces related by text or composer, and perhaps to a lesser extent next to other tenor motets. *O pulcherrima mulierum/Gyrum celi* is directly in front of Busnoys's *Anima mea liquefacta est/Stirps Jesse*, perhaps because of their related texts (both drawing from the Song of Songs), or because they

were by the same composer (as Sean Gallagher argues)¹, or even in part because they were both polytextual tenor motets. Fifty openings earlier, the anonymous *Humilium decus/Sancta Maria/Cent mille escus* is found immediately prior to Josquin's *Alma redemptoris mater/Ave regina celorum*: there is no clear textual reason for this placement (they are both Marian, but so are the great majority of motets in this manuscript), nor (barring further attributive research) do they appear to be by the same composer, but they do both have multiple texts and use multiple pre-existing melodies. That said, the Chigi codex and Cappella Sistina 15 are exceptions: the majority of manuscripts within 20 years either side of 1500 which contribute to the repertoire of polytextual motets contain relatively few examples of that repertoire. As fascinating as it is to look at the placement of motets in these two manuscripts and what that might reveal about the individual compositions, they provide a somewhat limited picture of the polytextual repertory.

Secondly, if the polytextual motets in Trent 88 and 89 are mostly anonymous, the repertory both before and after tends to be dominated by individual composers. Beforehand, this would have been Du Fay and Dunstaple; afterwards, Busnoys, Regis, Obrecht, Compère, and Josquin. Each of these composers used different methods to incorporate multiple texts and melodies in single motets, but common threads can be found despite significant variety. Busnoys's polytextual motets are in three or four voices and use a single cursus of one relatively long chant-based cantus firmus. The motet and cantus firmus texts are carefully coordinated both with each other and within the musical structure: mensuration changes and sectional breaks tend to occur at divisions in the text. Regis and Obrecht both composed five-voice tenor motets, with cantus firmi frequently though not always based on chant, often liturgically related to the motet text. Regis's tenor motet composition almost always involves the tenor in longer notes at the centre of the polyphonic texture (and also central to the counterpoint) with one, two, or three tenor cursus potentially manipulated through mensural

¹ See discussion in section 3.2.2.

transformation. Obrecht frequently used multiple cantus firmi, arranged by mensuration canon or other types of melodic repeats, resulting in up to seven iterations of the tenor melody. The survey which follows attempts both to demonstrate the variety of composition in the tenor motet repertory and to show the development of these compositional trends.

2.3.1. Antoine Busnoys

Table 2.6. Polytextual motets by Busnoys

<i>Anima mea liquefacta est/Stirps Jesse</i>	<i>I-Rvat</i> CS 15, ff. 239v-241r <i>B-Br</i> 5557, ff. 83v-84r
<i>?Incomprehensibilia firme/Preter rerum ordinem</i>	<i>I-VEc</i> 755, ff. 101v-104r
<i>?O pulcherrima mulierum/Girum celi circuivi</i>	CS 15, ff. 235v-238r

Only one polytextual motet is securely attributable to Busnoys, the three-voice *Anima mea/Stirps Jesse*. Two additional motets can be added to this list on account of proposed attributions by modern scholars. Rob C. Wegman has suggested that the anonymous *Incomprehensibilia firme/Preter rerum ordinem* is also by Busnoys, though he pointedly refuses to stake anything on his attribution.² More recently, Sean Gallagher has connected the anonymous *O pulcherrima mulierum/Girum celi circuivi* to the composer on account of notational and rhythmic idiosyncrasies and its transmission in the source in a small cluster of Busnoys motets, nevertheless maintaining a bracketed question mark after Busnoys's name in his edition of the motet.³ Doubt has recently been cast on Wegman's attribution by Jeffrey Dean, who suggests that the influence of Busnoys (especially in the unusual notational details that Wegman discusses) 'is as likely as his authorship'.⁴ Dean's counter-argument is based on

² Wegman, 'Another Mass by Busnoys?', *Music and Letters* 71/1 (1990), 4 n. 15, and *ibid.*, 'Mensural Intertextuality in the Sacred Music of Antoine Busnoys', in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. Paula Higgins (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1999), 199-201.

³ Gallagher, 'Busnoys, Burgundy, and the Song of Songs', *op. cit.*, 418-419, 422.

⁴ 'Verona 755 and the *Incomprehensibilia* composer', in *Manoscritti di Polifonia nel Quattrocento Europeo: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio 18-19 ottobre 2002*, ed. Marco Gozzi (Trento: Provincia autonoma di Trento, Soprintendenza per I Beni librari e archivistici, 2004), 98-101 (quote at 99).

the motet's 'concern for symmetry and parallelism' (unusual among the composer's other motets), the straightforward layout of the tenor, and the simple proportional changes.⁵ Given the motet's compositional similarity with several other works in the Verona manuscript, he suggests further that they were all the work of the single musician given the appellation 'the *Incomprehensibilia* composer'.⁶ While Wegman's notational evidence does not prove authorship (nor does he claim that it does), Dean's structural considerations equally do not disprove it: as is discussed below, the text of the motet could have provided the motivation for a composer like Busnoys to depart from any particular structural norms. Regardless of whether *Incomprehensibilia* and *O pulcherrima mulierum* were actually composed by Busnoys, insofar as the attributions by Wegman and Gallagher are based substantially on stylistic and notational (mensural) evidence, these three compositions show a level of similarity that justifies their consideration as a group. The textual interpretation of two of these motets is discussed at length in section 3.2; here I discuss primarily aspects of their polytextual composition.

As was found in some motets from Trent 88 and 89, the cantus firmi often used longer texts than were commonly found earlier, and this trend continues in these three motets. *Stirps Jesse* and *Girum celi circuivi* are both full prolix responsories, the latter included with its verse, and *Preter rerum ordinem* is a Marian sequence. *Stirps Jesse* has the shortest text of the three, though as a responsory, it has a fairly long, melismatic chant melody. *Preter rerum ordinem* is at the other extreme with the longest of the three texts but a simple and repetitive syllabic chant melody. In all three cases, there is a significant amount of musical and textual material to deal with in the cantus firmus, and the motets are correspondingly long and carefully structured.

⁵ Ibid., 99.

⁶ Ibid., 100-101.

Both responsory cantus firmi are treated in a similar fashion, with a rhythmic character not altogether different from that of the other voices. The musical and/or textual structure of the cantus firmus also influences the musical structure of the motet. In *Anima mea/Stirps Jesse*, the macrostructure of the three-voice motet was determined by the melody of the cantus firmus, and the local phrasing was adapted to the main text, that from the Song of Songs. Cadences are frequent throughout, with the strongest points of closure occurring at the ends of textual phrases. In the opening duet, for instance, the cadence at the end of ‘anima mea’ (see below, dashed box) is somewhat weakened by a delayed resolution in the contratenor and an immediate continuation into the following phrase on ‘liquefacta’; the cadence at the end of the duet (solid box), which completes the textual phrase, is more conclusive:⁷

⁷ Of course, an interpretation of how the musical phrases coincide (or not) with the textual phrases depends on texting, and the variations between the two sources in this regard are a good reminder as to its flexibility. CS 15 has both voices completing the opening duet with the ‘est’, whereas in Brussels 5557, the upper voice’s ‘est’ is delayed until the end of the following phrase, after the contratenor has already sung ‘ut dilectus’. The point holds regardless, as this following cadence (into bar 20, each bar equivalent to an imperfect breve in C) is equally strong. Richard Taruskin considers CS 15 to be the less authoritative of the two manuscripts, at least in part because a work by Busnoys seems out of place in the manuscript; see Antoine Busnois, *The Latin-texted Works*, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 63. That said, Taruskin quickly dismisses the attribution to Busnoys of both *O pulcherrima mulierum/Girum celi* and *Gaude celestis Domina*, also in CS 15, made by Laurence Feininger and copied by José M. Llorens in *Capellae Sixtinae Codices musicis notis instructi sive manu scripti sive praelo excussi* (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1960), 28; for more on this, see Gallagher, op. cit., 417 n. 19. Taruskin stated that ‘neither betrays any idiosyncrasy that would point to Busnoys on internal grounds’ (103), but Wegman’s attribution of *Gaude celestis* (‘Mensural Intertextuality’, 185) and Gallagher’s of *O pulcherrima* do just that, and more. These attributions also change the picture somewhat as to CS 15’s supposed lack of authority, as now *Anima mea/Stirps Jesse* is just one piece in a small nest of Busnoys motets in the manuscript. That said, while the text of the upper voice is more or less coordinated with that of the contratenor in both manuscripts, I find the text-setting in the Brussels manuscript (which Taruskin follows) to be more closely linked to the musical structure and phrasing.

Figure 2.4. Busnoys, *Anima mea liquefacta est/Stirps Jesse*, opening duet⁸

The musical score is written for three voices: Soprano (S), Tenor (T), and Contratenor (C). The time signature is 2/1, and the key signature has one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: "A - ni - ma me - - - li - que - fa - - Li - - que - fac - - cta Stirps - cta est". The score is divided into three systems, with measures 6, 11, and 16 marked at the beginning of each system. A red dashed box highlights the first system, and a red solid box highlights the second system.

Even so, the full-scale structure is clearly delineated by a few more notable points of closure. As Richard Taruskin points out, the apparently single-section motet is ‘demonstrably bipartite in conception’, with a *signum congruentiae* in the contratenor at bar 86.⁹ Each of these two sections opens with an extended duet in the upper voice and contratenor, followed by a mostly three-part texture through the remainder. The bipartite structure is further amplified by the point at which Busnoys chooses to divide the cantus firmus: the melody for ‘spiritus almus’ begins in a notably similar fashion to the opening of the responsory. In fact, in the duets which open each section, the upper voice sings the beginning of the chant melody as well, stopping only when the tenor comes in to repeat it.

⁸ This and the following music example are based on Taruskin’s edition in *Antoine Busnoys: The Latin-texted Works*, op. cit., 132-7.

⁹ *Latin-texted Works*, vol. 3, p. 63.

Figure 2.5. Busnoys, *Anima mea liquefacta est/Stirps Jesse*, breves 87-96

The image shows a musical score for two parts: Tenor (T) and Cantus (C). The Tenor part is on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The Cantus part is on a single staff with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the staves. A red box highlights a section of the Tenor staff, specifically the notes for the words 'Tu - le - - - - runt'. The lyrics for the Tenor part are: 'Tu - le - - - - runt pa - - - -'. The lyrics for the Cantus part are: 'Tu - - - le - - - - runt pa - li - -'. The score is divided into two systems, with the first system starting at measure 87 and the second system starting at measure 92. The lyrics for the second system are: '- li - - um me - um cu - - - -' for the Tenor and '-um me - - - - - um cu - - - -' for the Cantus.

In the Brussels manuscript, the original text for these chant quotations is written out in addition to the *Song* text. This division makes little textual sense for the cantus firmus (it breaks in the middle of a phrase), but the musical sense is apparent, and it captures the final extended melisma on ‘almus’.¹⁰ For the Song of Songs text as well, there seems to have been little textual reason for a break at this point. The Brussels manuscript suggests beginning the second half with ‘Tulerunt pallium meum’, which is a new textual phrase, but it comes at the middle of a scriptural verse.¹¹

In *O pulcherrima mulierum/Girum celi*, the structure of the motet seems to have been influenced by the textual structures of both the *Song* text and the Wisdom responsory, and moreover the two texts were carefully coordinated together within this structure. The musical division into three sections does not correspond to the textual division of the responsory and its verse. That said, the addition of the extra ‘et’ into the liturgical text also diminishes any sense of the original bipartite structure of the text. The section divisions are nevertheless closely aligned to phrase divisions in both of the texts. Additional musical sectioning also

¹⁰ One musical consequence is that the ‘medial close’ (as Taruskin calls it, p. 63) has an E in the tenor. Taruskin’s terminology here and mention of the *signum congruentiae* do not seem to be accidental, for this point is reminiscent of medial cadences in chansons.

¹¹ *Song* 5:7. Here CS 15 provides a less plausible solution, beginning the duet in the middle of the phrase with ‘custodes murorum’. The reading is corrupted further as it lacks the essential verb ‘tulerunt’.

corresponds to notable textual divisions. The first section of the motet is itself bipartite in the same manner as *Anima mea/Stirps Jesse*: each consists of an extended duet followed by full, four-voice texture. The second duet begins in earnest at ‘vox enim’ in the *Song* text, the phrase which provides the justification for the preceding imperatives (‘surge’, ‘veni,’ and ‘ostende’). It is this textual break, and not that between ‘in omni gente’ and ‘et in omni populo’ in the cantus firmus, which seems to have provided a justification for the musical sectioning. In the *secunda pars*, there is an equally if not more significant break after a series of duets ending with a strong cadence at bar 185. The break coincides with a page turn in the manuscript, a mensuration change, and the beginning of imitation in all voices. In the tenor, this divides the responsory text from its verse. While the division separates two parts of a single phrase in the *Song* text, it would seem that here the composer wanted to emphasize a brief textual correspondence in the two texts with the words ‘et ego’.¹²

Of the three motets, *Incomprehensibilia firme/Preter rerum ordinem* is the most clearly and rationally organized by text.¹³ The sequence cantus firmus consists of three couplets of equal length, and the newly written hymn text ‘Incomprehensibilia firme’ also divides into three equal stanzas, each one further divisible by three.¹⁴ The musical structure consists of three large sections. Each of these begins with a self-contained trio, wherein the tenor is silent but the first line of the cantus firmus is sung by one of the other three voices. As there are three voices besides the tenor, each carries the sequence melody for one of the three trios.¹⁵ The remainder is itself divided in half, with a mensuration change immediately

¹² The motet and this textual correspondence in particular are discussed in further detail in section 3.2.2.

¹³ Andrew Kirkman discusses the structure briefly in the liner notes to The Binchois Consort (dir. Andrew Kirkman): *The Marriage of England and Burgundy*, Hyperion CDA67129 (2000).

¹⁴ The text matches *RH* 15405; see Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum* (Louvain: Imprimerie Lefever, 1892-1921). The full text was published in *Analecta liturgica*, Pars II: Thesaurus Hymnologicus, ed. Eugene Misset and William Henry James Weale (Lille: Societas S. Augustini, 1888), I: Prosae, p. 295, number 194.

¹⁵ While the tenor is consistently underlaid with the sequence text, when the cantus firmus occurs in the other voices, as it does in each of these trios, it is given both the sequence text and the concurrent hymn text in full. Neither of these is merely an incipit: they are both fully underlaid through the entire space given to the musical notes, apparently allowing for two performance alternatives. As might be expected, the text of the sequence fits far more naturally with the melody originally composed to set it.

coinciding with the second entrance of the tenor (from O to Ø, O2 to Ø2, and O3 to Ø3).

Each time a portion of the cantus firmus melody appears, it has the same rhythmic configuration, always with much longer note values than the remainder of the voices; this is especially true in the sections of reduced texture, where the accompanying voices are extremely rhythmically active. Given the musical repetitions inherent in sequence couplets, the resulting nine-fold motet structure contains three iterations of each melodic phrase in the sequence, each with identical rhythmic proportions. With the exception of the underlay in the final section, which could be quite easily adjusted, the hymn text is divided within this structure with complete regularity:

Table 2.7. Structural divisions in *Incomprehensibilia firme*

		Tenor, unless otherwise noted
Prima pars	Incomprehensibilia firme tria sunt fidei	<i>Preter rerum ordinem Parit deum hominem Virgo mater.</i> [Contratenor]
	Que tamen credibilia existunt a patre rei	<i>Preter rerum ordinem Parit deum hominem Virgo mater.</i>
	Sed cuncta visibilia transit immensitas dei.	<i>Nec vir tangit virginem Nec prolis originem Novit pater.</i>
Secunda pars	In personis est trinitas divinitatis unius	<i>Virtus sancti spiritus Opus illud celitus Operatur.</i> [Superius]
	In virgine maternitas cuius deus est filius	<i>Virtus sancti spiritus Opus illud celitus Operatur.</i>
	Verbo iuncta humanitas quo nil admirabilius.	<i>Initus et exitus Tui partus penitus Quis scrutatur.</i>
Tertia pars	Maria virgo tum mater Iesu dei tum hominis	<i>Dei providentia Que disponit omnia Tam suave</i> [Bassus]
	Impetra quod eius pater nos urat igna flaminis Cum per te noster sit frater	<i>Dei providentia Que disponit omnia Tam suave</i>
	qui conregnat in divinis.	<i>Tua puerperia Transfert ad palacia Mater ave.</i>

There can hardly be any doubt that the various triple divisions in the motet allude both to the ‘incomprehensibilia tria fidei’ (three incomprehensible matters of faith) mentioned in the new text and to one of those in particular, ‘trinitas divinitatis unius’ (Trinity of a single Godhead).¹⁶ The second and third of these mysteries of faith seem to be Mary as virgin mother of God and the Incarnation (‘the Word joined to humanity’), respectively; the line between the two of them is ambiguous in the motet text not least because the phenomena they refer to are inherently linked.¹⁷ Andrew Kirkman has suggested that these three ‘incomprehensibles’ are drawn from the Athanasian Creed.¹⁸ While this may very well be possible, the Creed discusses in detail only two of these three mysteries: the Trinity and the Incarnation. The third mystery both enhances the triple nature of the text and adds a Marian element, one which is drawn out further in the Marian cantus firmus.

From the start the newly written text is closely coordinated with chant text. Before the listener is aware that the new text highlights three matters of faith, it is apparent that they cannot be understood. ‘Incomprehensibilia’ resonates not only with the opening line of the sequence (‘Preter rerum ordinem’, or ‘outside the course of nature’) but also, and more literally, with the question at the end of the second stanza of the cantus firmus (‘Initus et exitus / tui partus penitus / quis scrutatur?’, or ‘Who can study in depth the ins and outs of thy giving birth?’). Mary as the virgin mother of God is both one of the three incomprehensibles described in the new text and the central subject of the sequence. The third mystery, that the Word is joined with humanity in the person of Mary’s son, is not emphasized by the sequence, but it is nevertheless present: the new-born child (‘puerperia’) is the God-man ‘deum hominem’. The only one of the three mysteries missing in the sequence is the Trinity,

¹⁶ Translations here and following are after those of Leofranc Holford-Strevens in the liner notes to *A Marriage of England and Burgundy*, op. cit.

¹⁷ Dean, op. cit., 102, reads ‘tria’ as ‘tua’. It certainly appears that the scribe intended to write ‘tria’ in all three voices where the word is written out; its rendering in the bassus is especially clear in this respect. It is possible that Dean thought the division into three discreet mysteries was forced and therefore considered ‘tua’ as a more likely original.

¹⁸ Kirkman, op. cit., 8.

as only two of the three persons (Christ, the ‘deum hominem’, and the Holy Spirit) are mentioned explicitly. ‘Incomprehensibilia firme’ does not begin as an exclusively Marian hymn, but its placement alongside the Marian ‘Preter rerum ordinem’ emphasizes these elements. The prayer at the end, addressed to the Virgin, joins together these three aspects of faith:

Maria virgo tum mater Iesu dei tum hominis Impetra quod eius pater nos urat igna flaminis Cum per te noster sit frater qui conregnat in divinis.	Mary, Virgin and also mother of Jesus, God and also man, Persuade His Father by prayer to burn us in the fire of the Spirit, Through you, let Him be our brother who reigns jointly in the divine realm.

2.3.2. Johannes Regis

Table 2.8. Polytextual motets by Regis

<i>Celcitonantis/Abrahe fit promissio</i>	<i>I-Rvat</i> Chigi C.VIII.234 (Chigi codex)
<i>Clangat plebs flores/Sicut lilium</i>	Chigi codex, CS 15, CS 16, <i>RISM</i> 1508/1
<i>Lauda Sion Salvatorem/Ego sum panis</i>	Chigi codex
<i>Lux solemnis adest/Repleti sunt omnes</i>	Chigi codex, 1508/1
<i>O admirabile commercium/Verbum caro</i>	Chigi codex, <i>NL-L</i> MS 1439 ¹⁹

The motets of Johannes Regis form a small but cohesive group, unusual at the time of their composition for the use of five voices but drawing on many of the techniques of tenor motet composition found in earlier motets. All of the surviving complete Regis tenor motets are found in the Chigi codex.²⁰ Sean Gallagher argues that Regis’s five-voice texture is not created merely by adding another voice to a pre-existent textural type, such as the *Caput-*

¹⁹ Editions for all of these motets can be found in Johannes Regis, *Opera omnia*, ed. Cornelius Lindenberg, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 9 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1956), vol. 2 and Heinz-Jürgen Winkler, *Die Tenormotetten von Johannes Regis in der Überlieferung des Chigi-Kodex* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Brepols Publishers: Città del Vaticano, Turnhout, 1999). Winkler’s editions follow the readings of the Chigi Codex.

²⁰ Lindenberg suggests that the missing voice of *Salve sponsa* in *RISM* 1508¹ might be a differently texted tenor even though one of the four surviving voices is labelled as the tenor; see Regis, *Opera omnia*, op. cit., vol. 2, commentary p. 1. Wolfgang Stephan had previously noted the possibility of a *Salve regina* quotation in the Vagans; see *Die burgundisch-niederländische Motette*, op. cit., 114. Sean Gallagher allows for the possibility of this Marian antiphon having been the original cantus firmus, but suggests that reconstruction would be too speculative given Regis’s normal level of embellishment; see *Johannes Regis* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2010), 181.

texture. Whereas the *Caput*-texture has four voices in three different vocal ranges, with two in the middle, the texture which Regis pioneered in his tenor motets has five voices in four different vocal ranges, each with a reasonably compact span. The two voices which share the same range might be the top two (as in *Celcitonantis*, *Lux solemn**is*, and *O admirabile*) or the second and third from the top (as in *Clangat plebs* and *Lauda Sion*).²¹ As Gallagher has summarized, these motets also feature a bi-sectional structure moving from perfect time to imperfect cut time and a tenor cantus firmus quoting an entire piece of chant and beginning (after a reduced-texture introduction) with notes of comparably longer duration.²² The voice labelled ‘tenor’ is generally found in the middle of the texture by vocal range.²³ It is also the functional tenor in most full-texture sections, forming frequent cadences either with the bassus or with one of the higher voices while being supported by the bassus. Even so, all voices are contrapuntally essential.

Despite the fact that all of these motets survive in no source earlier than the Chigi codex, one of them (*Clangat plebs*) was mentioned by Tinctoris as early as 1477.²⁴ Because of the rarity of five-voice composition in any genre before this date, Gallagher argues that they were probably composed after 1470, during his period as *écolâtre* at Soignies, and before his death, arguably in 1496.²⁵ When Chigi was copied shortly before 1505, Regis (along with Ockeghem) was in the older half of a ‘clear generational divide’ among the composers included, but the motets were probably still in common use.²⁶ Both Gallagher and

²¹ Gallagher, op. cit., 174-181. Gallagher discusses five-voice compositional precedents in detail, especially Du Fay’s *Ecclesie militantis* (which has three voices in the lower, tenor register) and the anonymous *Adoretur beata trinitas/In ultimo lucente Iunii/Dies datur/Pacem Deus/Lilia nunc flores* (which uses the *Caput*-texture along with a fifth voice in the highest register); see p. 173. He is right when he says ‘in most fifteenth-century music for four voices, the voices occupy three distinct ranges’, but there are nevertheless a few additional precedents for ‘four-range’ motets in the earlier four-voice repertoire, including the anonymous *Advenisti: Venisti nostras/Lauda Sion* in Trent 88 and *Salve regina/Le serviteur* in Trent 89; see Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 258-259.

²² Gallagher, op. cit., 174.

²³ Gallagher calls this an ‘axial tenor’; op. cit., 174.

²⁴ Ibid., 39.

²⁵ Ibid., 40-41, 50. Later, he estimates that the motets were composed ‘some twenty-five to thirty years earlier’ than the copying of Chigi (p. 53), which gives dates of composition between c. 1475 and c. 1480.

²⁶ Ibid., 51-53; quoted at 51.

Heinz-Jürgen Winkler have analyzed these motets extensively.²⁷ Gallagher and Bloxam have discussed *O admirabile commercium* with particular reference to its numerous melodic and textual quotations, three from liturgical chants for Christmas and two from Christmas cantiones.²⁸ It is also the one motet in which the tenor is more closely integrated into the rhythmic and contrapuntal texture, perhaps because of these pre-existing melodies found throughout the texture. I will limit myself to the remainder of the motets, in particular reviewing aspects of tenor-based composition and considering some of the textual connections. While the newly written metrical texts used in these compositions tend to be long and ambitious, if awkward, Regis tended to use shorter cantus firmi in their entirety, drawing most frequently from well-known liturgical antiphons.²⁹ Even excluding the unique case of *O admirabile commercium*, however, the recomposition of these melodies as the tenor of the motets takes a number of different forms: it might be single, double, or triple cursus; it might or might not involve mensural transformations; it might be based closely on the entire chant melody or only reflect the contour of the first few notes. These differences reflect the compositional conceits of individual pieces as well as a careful coordination of the metrical and cantus firmus texts.

The tenor of Regis's motet *Celcitonantis ave genitrix/Abrahe fit promissio* is a Marian antiphon for Matins on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, and its meaning in the liturgical sense is clarified by the antiphon which invariably follows it at Matins, *Hoc promissum*.³⁰ According to the antiphons, God's promise to Abraham, 'that his descendance should increase as the sand and become equal to the stars', was 'fulfilled through the

²⁷ See *ibid.*, especially Chapter IV, 173-208, and Winkler, *Die Tenormotetten*, *op. cit.*

²⁸ The quotations from cantiones were first pointed out by M. Jennifer Bloxam, 'A Survey of Late Medieval Service Books from the Low Countries', *op. cit.*, 253-261. These have been discussed in a more general analytical context by Gallagher, *op. cit.*, 154-171.

²⁹ Concerning the combined awkwardness and ambition of the texts, cf. Leofranc Holford-Strevens, 'The Latin Texts of Regis's Motets', in *The Motet around 1500: On the relationship of imitation and text treatment?*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2012), 157-171.

³⁰ All of the 19 sources indexed in the *CANTUS* database, *op. cit.*, containing 'Abrahae fit promissio' also contain 'Hoc promissum'. In 18 of these, 'Hoc promissum' immediately follows 'Abrahae fit promissio'; in the single exceptional case, they are nevertheless present in the same nocturne.

offspring of the Virgin Mary'.³¹ The connection to the Immaculate Conception may be of some relevance to the main text, and while it is not emphasized overtly, it is present implicitly.

Hail, Mother, [...] whom the angelic choir, exalting thee above itself, praises, cherishes and reveres, and the confusion of the company of dread Hell obeys! For in heaven thou art known as high, and in Hell as deep. Who to thee, Star of the Sea, knowing not a man, nurturing Mary, who to thee, Virgin Mother, shall be able to render worthy? [...]³²

The odd phrase about the 'company of dread Hell' obeying Mary may be a reference to her lack of original sin, and this 'sin of the first man' is explicitly referenced in the *secunda pars*. When the text asks 'Who shall be able to render worthy to thee?', it is emphasizing the difference between Mary and everyone else, namely, her conception without sin. In addition to this, it is likely that the use of her title 'stella maris' was a specific reference to the 'stellis' of the antiphon.

Of these five motets, *Celcitonantis* is the only one with a true double cursus of the tenor cantus firmus. More specifically, it is a perfect mensuration canon, though the notation in Chigi does not make this clear (and it would have been difficult to do so, given that the motet is written out over four different openings).³³ The *prima* and *secunda partes* are in *tempus perfectum* and *tempus imperfectum diminutum*, respectively, and the notation of the hymn melody is almost identical in both iterations, including ligatures and coloration. There are only three brief deviations, but these are not necessary ones: it could have been perfectly homographic.

³¹ From 'Abrahae fit promissio quod illius successio velut arena cresceret stellisque aequalis fieret' and 'Hoc promissum est impletum castae per Mariae [...]'. Translation of the former antiphon is that of Leofranc Holford-Strevens, as printed in Gallagher, op. cit., 213-14.

³² Excerpt from the translation by Holford-Strevens as printed in Gallagher, op. cit., 214.

³³ Winkler, *Die Tenormotetten*, op. cit., 35-36, points out that the tenor was repeated with the same note values, and continues by saying that the number of mensural units increases in the second half by around eight. However, that the number of mensural units is going to increase when a passage in perfect time is repeated in an imperfect mensuration is self-evident (at least when not all of the notes are breves or longer). Winkler continues by comparing the cantus firmus technique here with the rhythmic organization in the last ('isorhythmic') motets of Du Fay. An equally important precedent, however, would be the later, 'double discursus' tenor motets; see Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 260.

Figure 2.6. Regis, *Celcitonantis*, end of both tenor cursus, on Chigi f. 262v and 264v

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The first cursus iteration of the cantus firmus has an extra semibreve c' at the arrow A. The extra note seems to have been added in order to make it less ambiguous: the breve has to be imperfed by the following semibreve. Nevertheless, had the note been left out, a singer would eventually realize that the preceding breve would have to be perfect.³⁴ At arrows B and C, in the first iteration the two final ligatures are written out. Before the final long, the first iteration also has an extra semibreve. The extra note is not necessary, but it is only possible in the *tempus perfectum* iteration.

Clangat plebs/Sicut lilium was praised by Tinctoris for its *varietas*, and Gallagher suggests that this may have something to do with its unusual cantus firmus treatment and innovative paired duos.³⁵ Of the cantus firmus treatment, Gallagher points to the lack of coordination between motet sections and cantus firmus cursus: the second and third cursus through the 'sicut lilium' melody are packed into less than half of the *secunda pars*. This compression is both reminiscent of the diminution in earlier motets yet involves 'the full integration of the tenor as a figural voice'.³⁶ Finally, the second cursus—coinciding with the

³⁴ At the beginning of this fourth part of the tenor melody, there is another breve which looks at first like it would be imperfed by the following semibreve, and there is no dot of division to suggest otherwise. Nevertheless, as a singer would eventually realize, it must be perfect.

³⁵ Gallagher, op. cit., 190-198.

³⁶ Ibid., 198.



This sonorous, full texture is stylistically in opposition to the unusually short and choppy phrases in the duo with the text ‘we may not proffer our songs worthily’ found later:⁴¹

Figure 2.8. Regis, *Clangat plebs*, duet breves 55-60

55

ri pos - su - mus haud

ri pos - su - mus haud

58

di - - gne can - ti - ca por - ri - ge -

di - gne can - ti - ca por - - ri - - ge -

In the self-referencing of the singers, elsewhere described as specifically clerical singers,⁴² the quotation from chant gains in significance. When the metrical text exhorts everyone to join in ‘loud song’, the chant evokes that song. This happens in a more explicit manner in Josquin’s motet *O virgo prudentissima/Beata mater*: after beseeching Mary to hear her

⁴¹ From the Latin ‘possumus haud digne cantica porrigere’.

⁴² ‘To her may songs depart from the dear neck of the clergy’, from the Latin ‘cui cleri collo concedant carmina caro’.

humble servants' prayer, all voices join in singing the text of the cantus firmus 'Beata mater' to enact this prayer (see section 3.2.4).

The connection between texts is perhaps clearest in *Lauda Syon/Ego sum panis vivus* and *Lux solemnis adest/Repleti sunt omnes*. In the first of these, the hymn for Corpus Christi is combined with excerpts of other liturgical texts for the feast.⁴³ The only apparent chant quotation comes from the antiphon *Ego sum panis vivus*, though the connection is tenuous: even the long-note tenor opening is 'highly embellished'.⁴⁴ A singer unfamiliar with the particular antiphon would probably not discern the minimal chant basis. As Gallagher points out, the bassus is also given the text 'Ego sum panis vivus' at the outset, and this reflects a careful rhythmic and contrapuntal pairing of the tenor and bassus not unlike the 'double-tenor technique' found in many of Du Fay's motets.⁴⁵ A precedent closer in chronology is the anonymous *Odas clangat/Yesse produxit* in Trent 89, where the tenor and contratenor, both given the incipit 'Yesse produxit', form a close contrapuntal pair. As in the earlier motet, Regis's tenor seems to have been composed to sound like chant, but the lack of a firm chant basis provides greater harmonic and contrapuntal flexibility. The tenor is central to the counterpoint in full-texture sections, frequently forming cadences with the upper voice while being supported by the bassus. Despite occasionally repeating melodic patterns (the tenor bb. 120-124 and 162-167 follows d-f-g-a-g-f-e-d; also 23-25 is similar to 57-60 and 107-113), Regis does not attempt an emulated double cursus, but the tenor line is not substantially different from that of the composer's other motets: it begins with long notes before the apparent embellishment, and it is all carefully sectioned.

Lux solemnis adest combines a Pentecost responsory, *Repleti sunt omnes*, with another new metrical text giving a more detailed description of the first Pentecost and its

⁴³ Winkler, *Die Tenormotetten*, op. cit., 66 and 105.

⁴⁴ Gallagher, op. cit., 184.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 184.

implications for contemporary listeners.⁴⁶ After discussing the textural varieties present in the opening thirty breves of the motet, Gallagher mentions two passages with a ‘strongly declamatory quality’.⁴⁷ The most striking passage occurs in the *secunda pars* when the superius sings a number of short phrases on a single pitch, articulating a list of the Holy Spirit’s teaching methods.⁴⁸ The single-pitch conceit begins to break down in the middle of the passage, but the ending of the passage is finally signaled by the re-entry of the cantus firmus at the textual climax, ‘Hic Deus est noster’.

The second passage consists of seven pairs of short duets in the *prima pars*, alternating between the lower and upper pairs of voices.⁴⁹ These are marked by striking similarities of contour: for the first three pairs of duets, the lower voices begin on unison d and end on an octave A/a, whereas the superius begins on a' and ends with the contratenor on a unison d'. From there it is varied slightly, but it continues to emphasize pitch classes A and D. Unlike the previously discussed passage, this results in the text being chopped up and repeated nonsensically (‘Cumque repentino / sonitu / comitante refulsit...’, or ‘and with sudden / noise / accompanying, [the feast day] blazed forth’). Nevertheless, the effect at the end of the section is dramatic: all five voices come together in time to sing the final two phrases, demarcated by fermatas in all voices and simultaneous rests in at least four of the five. Having been enriched with eloquence and doctrine, the metrical text explains that, ‘thus, fearless, they spoke of the great works of Christ’. The tenor here comes to a close with ‘et coeperunt loqui’: they began to speak.

As Gallagher mentioned, despite the fact that this is the longest of Regis’s motets, the cantus firmus is given only a single cursus.⁵⁰ This is explained by the fact that the tenor is singing for hardly more than a third of the motet, and that, while the cantus firmus text is

⁴⁶ Translations by Holford-Strevens as printed in Gallagher, op. cit., 216-217. See also Winkler, *Die Tenormotetten*, op. cit., 97-98.

⁴⁷ Gallagher, op. cit., 186-190.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 186.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 190.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 186.

quite brief, its melody, as a responsory, is comparatively long. That said, the motivation for Regis to use only a single cursus seems to be that the metrical text aligns itself fairly closely with the responsory. In addition to the passage described above, the fourth and final opening of the motet in Chigi has the text ‘Munere nos igitur lucis tante radiantis / laudes altitonas canimus tibi’ coinciding with the beginning of the tenor phrase ‘Et convenit multitudo dicentium Alleluia’.⁵¹ The metrical text turns away from Pentecost as an historical event and towards its present implications: that the singers of this motet, having been filled with the Holy Spirit, perform this song of praise. The final phrase of the responsory is the only portion not taken from the Acts of the Apostles, and in a similar way it can be interpreted as broadening the historical Pentecost into its present, devotional context. The ‘multitude saying Alleluia’ thus can refer to the praise of the singers, the ‘laudes altitonas’.

2.3.3. Jacob Obrecht

One of the most prolific composers of motets with multiple texts and/or cantus firmi around 1500 was Jacob Obrecht. There are ten such compositions with secure attributions to Obrecht, out of a total of 23 unique motets.⁵² An eleventh motet, *Humilium decus*, contains no attribution but has been described by Patrick Macey and Rob C. Wegman as quite similar in style to the motets of Obrecht.⁵³

⁵¹ Translated by Holford-Strevens as ‘Therefore we, for thy beaming gift of so great a light, sing loud praises to thee’ and ‘And there gathered a multitude of persons saying Alleluia’, respectively. See ‘The Latin Texts’, op. cit., 165.

⁵² In the Grove article on Obrecht, Wegman lists 27 compositions under ‘motets’, one of which is a contrafactum of another, and three of which are contrafactum of vernacular compositions; see ‘Obrecht, Jacob’, *Grove Music Online*, accessed 19 September 2012 (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20231>).

⁵³ Sanders, ‘Motet’ (2001), op.cit., vol. 17, p. 207, and Wegman, liner notes to The Clerks’ Group, dir. Edward Wickham, *Ockeghem: Missa Prolationum*, ASV/Gaudeamus CD GAU 143 (1995). The relevant section of the Grove article was originally written by Leeman L. Perkins, but the reference to *Humilium decus* was added by Patrick Macey in a new paragraph on Mass-motet cycles and other motets with vernacular cantus firmi.

Table 2.9. Polytextual motets by Obrecht

<i>Beata es Maria Virgo/Ave Maria</i>	<i>RISM</i> 1505/2
<i>Factor orbis/Canite tuba</i>	<i>I-Fn</i> II.I.232, CS 42
<i>Inter preclarissimas virtutes/Estote fortes in bello</i>	<i>E-SE</i> MS s.s.
<i>Laudemus nunc Dominum/Non est hic aliud</i>	CS 42, 1504/1, 1508/1
<i>Mater patris nati nata/Sancta Dei Genitrix</i>	1508/1
<i>Mille quingentis/Requiem eternam</i>	<i>I-Fc</i> Basevi 2439 (Basevi Codex), <i>E-SE</i> MS s.s.
<i>O beate Basili/O beate pater</i>	<i>I-Fn</i> II.I.232, 1505/2
<i>O preciosissime sanguis/Guberna tuos famulos</i>	1508/1
<i>Salve crux arbor vite/O crux lignum triumphale</i>	1520/4
<i>Salve sancte facies nostri redempto/Homo quidam fecit cenam</i>	<i>I-Fn</i> II.I.232
<i>(?) Humilium decus/Sancta Maria succurre miseris/Cent mille escus</i>	CS 15

M. Jennifer Bloxam has aptly referred to the composer as a ‘master glossator’, as he ‘succeeds in weaving together texts and tunes of plainsongs so as to illuminate a particular subject.’⁵⁴ In particular, she was here referring to those six motets with multiple cantus firmi, she went on to analyze them in detail with particular consideration of the origins and compositional treatment of their cantus firmi.⁵⁵ Her characterization, however, is no less true of the remaining motets: *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*, *Mater patris nati nata*, *Mille quingentis*, *O preciosissime sanguis*, and potentially *Humilium decus*.⁵⁶ This last motet will be analyzed in section 3.3.2; here I will start by discussing *Mater patris* in some detail and then place it in the context of his other tenor motets.

Mater patris nati nata survives as an *unicum* in Petrucci’s 1508 *Motteti a cinque*, *libro primo*, and as such only four of the original five voices survive.⁵⁷ The cantus firmus is present in the tenor voice and is identical in the first three of four sections.⁵⁸ It is structured

⁵⁴ ‘A Survey of Late Medieval Service Books’, op. cit., 311.

⁵⁵ Op. cit., 311-366.

⁵⁶ Bloxam included *Salve sancta facies/Homo quidam* among those motets with multiple cantus firmi as certain phrases of the lower voices (texted to ‘Salve sancta facies’) resemble chant (‘Survey’, op. cit., 323-4). Since then, a single melody for the sequence has been found, and it does not appear to have been used in this motet; see Jacob Obrecht, *Motets II* (New Obrecht Edition 16), op. cit., XLIV.

⁵⁷ There is no apparent extant version of the second contratenor partbook; see Stanley Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci: Catalogue Raisonné* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 696-701.

⁵⁸ Petrucci does not label the ‘quarta pars’ as such, but the double barline at the end of the third section is the same as that found at the end of each other section. Structural elements to be discussed also support the idea of this section as its own ‘pars’, and not as the second half of the ‘tertia pars’.

by means of a fairly simple mensuration canon: in each of these three sections, the melody (comprising ten breves of rests and 19 breves of sung notes) is sung once in perfect time and once in imperfect cut time. The final section has only a single cursus of the same melody, though it incorporates the same shift of mensuration: the rests are written in perfect time, and the melody in cut C. It is quite easy to imagine a verbal canon in which all seven cursus of the cantus firmus are made explicit even with it written out only once.

The missing voice is the second contratenor, and it was probably in a similar range to the tenor. There are occasional portions of this voice which can be reconstructed with some degree of confidence. In particular, this voice would have been required for two duets at the beginning of the *secunda pars*. There are four paired duets which begin the section, going back and forth between the superius and contratenor primus, and the missing contratenor secundus and bassus. Both duets in each pair are of the same length, and the bassus appears to be a second counterpoint composed against the melody of the superius. The missing voice in these sections is thus almost certainly identical to the superius part which precedes it, taken down an octave (with the possible exception of changes of ornamentation):

Figure 2.9. Obrecht, *Mater Patris*, beginning of *secunda pars*⁵⁹

The musical score is presented in five staves, each with a label to its left. The first staff, labeled 'Superius', is in treble clef with a common time signature (C) and contains the melody with lyrics 'Ab e - ter - - no ge - - - ne - ra -'. The second staff, labeled 'Contratenor primus', is also in treble clef with a common time signature and contains the same melody as the Superius part. The third staff, labeled 'Tenor', is in treble clef with a common time signature and is empty. The fourth staff, labeled '[Contratenor secundus]', is in treble clef with a common time signature and is empty. The fifth staff, labeled 'Bassus', is in bass clef with a common time signature and is empty. A brace on the left side of the staves groups them together.

⁵⁹ This is based on the edition in Obrecht, *Motets I* (New Obrecht Edition 15), op. cit., pp. 110-111, with the addition of the new contratenor secundus.

6
S
tus
C1
tus
[C2]
Ab e - ter - - no ge - -
B
Ab e - ter - - no ge - -

12
S
Tem - po - ra - lis est et na - -
C1
Tem - po - ra - lis est et na - -
[C2]
ne - ra - - tus
B
ne - ra - tus

18
S
tus
C1
tus
[C2]
Tem - po - ra - lis est et na - - - tus
B
Tem - po - ra - lis est et na - - - tus

What is most striking and unusual in this piece is the use of several full repeats of a substantial portion of music: the final 19 breves of each *pars*, coinciding with the second entrance of the cantus firmus, is pitchwise identical in all four surviving voices. The text in the three non-tenor voices is different in each *pars*, and the notes are occasionally divided in order to facilitate this, but otherwise, there are no differences to the resultant sound. The passages which precede this repeated section are all rhythmically very active, usually with a reduced texture. By contrast, the repeated section sets all four surviving voices to fairly simple homophony. In fact, depending on the text of the individual iteration, the tenor tends

to be the most rhythmically active voice with its consistently repeating semibreves. The passage is contrapuntally sound without the missing voice, and it appears to me that the fifth voice would make for a very awkward addition.⁶⁰ Four-voice texture is fairly common in this motet: the only reason why one might expect five-voice texture here is because it comes at the end of each *pars*.⁶¹

Figure 2.10. Obrecht, *Mater Patris*, repeated section (version from *prima pars*)

S
In te no - stra est na - tu - ra

Cl
In te no - - - - - stra est na -

T
San - cta De - i ge - ni - trix, vir - go sem - per Ma -

B
In te no - stra est na - tu - ra Non se -

S
Non se - - - - - cum - dum su - a iu - ra De -

Cl
tu - - - - - ra su - a iu - ra De -

T
-ri - - - - - a, au - di pre - ces no - stras hu -

B
cum - - - - - dum su - a iu - - - - - ra De -

⁶⁰ Philip Weller has composed a fifth voice for this section, but it appears to me awkward and uncharacteristic, and several times it only narrowly manages to avoid parallels. See ‘Some Ways of the Motet: Obrecht and the Paths of Five-Voice Composition’, in *The Motet around 1500: On the relationship of imitation and text treatment?*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2012), 262.

⁶¹ Four-voice texture is found, for example, at the very opening, including all voices besides the tenor. (The non-surviving voice is necessary to complete the cadences.) Following the bar numbers in the New Obrecht Edition, four-voice texture would also be likely in the *prima pars* at bars 14-17, 28-34, and 73-82.

The texts of the surviving non-tenor voices are the Marian hymns *Mater Patris* in the first three sections and the second stanza of *Memento salutis auctor* in the fourth. The tenor is given the repeating text ‘Sancta Dei genitrix, virgo semper Maria, audi preces nostras humiliter coram te fusas’.⁶² Several Marian liturgical texts begin with the first six words, and the second half is found in an antiphon for St. Margaret (without the word ‘humiliter’).⁶³ However, the combination of these two halves does not appear to have happened previously. While the text of the tenor is more or less appropriate to accompany that of any Marian hymn, *Mater Patris* emphasizes Mary’s role in the Incarnation and position as mother of God, reiterated in the tenor as ‘Dei genitrix’. Marian prayers frequently wait until the end to make explicit petitions of the Blessed Virgin, but here they are woven in throughout the combined hymn texts.⁶⁴ When the tenor mentions ‘our prayers humbly poured out before thee’, it is probably referring to this collection of petitions.

The melody used repeatedly for this short Marian prayer is not based on the liturgical melodies of any of these texts, nor does it even appear to be particularly chant-like with its

⁶² See Obrecht, *Motets I*, op. cit., pp. XLI and 124.

⁶³ This same antiphon is used as the text for the motet which opens the Medici Codex, Willaert’s *Virgo gloriosa Christi*.

⁶⁴ Notably: ‘Aures tue pietatis / ad nos vertens a peccatis / te laudantes exime’ (turn thy piteous ears unto us and remove from sins those that praise thee); ‘A peccati carcere / educ nos potenti prece, / Nobis detur victa nece / tecum semper vivere’ (from the prison of sin free us by thy potent prayer; let death be overcome, let it be granted us to live with thee always); and ‘Tu nos ab hoste protege, / et mortis hora suscipe’ (do thou protect us from the enemy, and take us up in the hour of our death). Translations by Leofranc Holford-Strevens, as in Obrecht, *Motets I*, op. cit., 124.

frequent repeated notes.⁶⁵ The rhythm splits the melody into four phrases, and each phrase is suggestive of a simple cadential harmonization. As might be expected, the tenor cadences with the bassus on an octave D going into the fourth bar, with the superius on an octave B-flat going into the ninth bar, again with the bassus in bar thirteen, and with the superius in the final bar. The tune-like melody with its simple harmonization is, if anything, reminiscent of chansons. If the tenor and/or its harmonization were found to be based on a chanson, a curious parallel to this motet would be Compère's *Omnium bonorum plena*, wherein the tenor 'De tous biens plaine' is joined with the upper-voice and bassus melodies of the chanson at the conclusion of the piece.⁶⁶ While non-tenor instances of the chanson melodies are marked by superfluous coloration in Compère's motet, in Obrecht's motet the repeated section is marked in each instance in a more subtle fashion. Thanks to the choice of ligatures, there are a number of similarly shaped note-heads. In the superius, for example, these are either all square or all diamond-shaped:

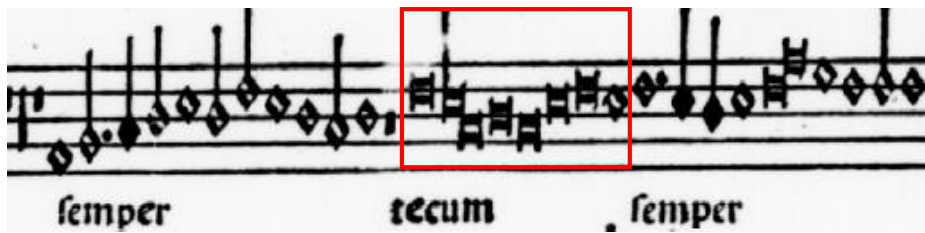
Figure 2.11. Obrecht, *Mater Patris*, repeated section notated four times, Superius partbook (RISM 1508¹)⁶⁷



⁶⁵ Weller claims that it is a 'chant fragment', but he appears to have no evidence for making this assumption. See Weller, op. cit., 248.

⁶⁶ This is all discussed in detail in section 3.3.1.3.

⁶⁷ Images courtesy of the British Library, used with permission.



As can be seen, this repeating section is marked both visually and stylistically. The relatively high rhythmic activity of the tenor heightens its textual role, and the repetition of the passage serves to ground the meaning of the motet even more firmly in this simple Marian prayer.

Obrecht's *Mille quingentis/Requiem* is one of several examples of a funeral motet using a cantus firmus from the Requiem Mass. The text clearly references the death of Obrecht's father Willem in 1488, though Wegman suggested that it may have been composed for commemoration services starting the following year.⁶⁸ Wegman compared it to the much earlier *Romanorum rex/Requiem* of Johannes de Sarto, composed at the death of Albert II, King of the Romans, in 1439. He suggested that occasional tenor motets tend to commemorate significant historical events, and the death of Obrecht's father does not seem to qualify.⁶⁹ A somewhat closer analogue, chronologically if not stylistically, is Ockeghem's *Mort tu as navré/Miserere*, composed for the death of Binchois in 1460. As a lament for a Burgundian court composer, it is not unlikely that Obrecht would have been familiar with it; indeed it probably served as inspiration for Josquin's *Nymphes des bois/Requiem* and La Rue's *Plorer, gemir, crier/Requiem*, at least the Josquin but possibly also the La Rue for Ockeghem's death in 1497.⁷⁰ However, at least in the choice of cantus firmus, Obrecht's

⁶⁸ *Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 21-25.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁷⁰ See Honey Meconi, 'Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson in Fifteenth-Century France', in *Johannes Ockeghem: actes du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes, Tours, 3-8 février 1997*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Paris: Klincksieck, 1998), 381-402, as well as the discussion in section 2.4.1 and 2.4.2.

motet seems an equally important precedent to these laments as well as motets like Josquin's *Absolve quesumus/Requiem*. In particular, the tenor of Josquin's chanson shares the Phrygian treatment with that of Obrecht's motet.⁷¹

Like *Mater Patris*, in both *Mille quingentis* and a second occasional motet, *Inter preclarissimas*, the tenor cantus firmus is structured with a mensuration canon. A mensuration canon of a simpler form is found in *O beate Basili*, where there are two iterations of the cantus firmus in the Superius during the *secunda pars*, in C and Ċ. If the mensuration canon is relatively simple, the motet structure is further complicated by the use of canonic cantus firmi in the first section—between altus and tenor, offset by three breves and a perfect fifth—and extended periods of imitation at the beginning of the second and third sections. In *Mille quingentis*, there are three tenor cursus, one in perfect time in the *prima pars* and two in the *secunda pars* in Ċ and O3. The motet also includes some imitation of the chant in the other voices, frequently appearing before its entrance in the tenor: in the bassus at the beginning, in the superius at bb. 43-44, and in both the bassus and superius at bb. 110-125. The mensuration canon in *Inter preclarissimas* is by far the most complex, with five cursus in both the first and second sections of the motet. Chris Maas pointed out some mistakes with the other voices failing to line up correctly with the tenor around bb. 115 and 226 of his edition, but as he demonstrated, these are easily fixable by deleting an extra breve rest in the other three voices.⁷² What is perhaps more interesting is to see how Obrecht chose to undermine the mensuration canon in order to end on a strong cadence at the end of the *secunda pars*. Unlike in the first section, where the five sounding cursus of the tenor melody are notated in one, the last two are here written out separately:

⁷¹ Wegman points this out, *Born for the Muses*, op. cit., 24 n. 9.

⁷² The only exception to this is the superius at bar 225. The manuscript shows six successive notes on b-flat: a semibreve, a minim, a semibreve, two minims, and a semibreve. The simplest and best solution involves skipping over the final two minims and semibreve.

Figure 2.12. Obrecht, *Inter preclarissimas*, final two tenor cursus, E-SE MS s.s., 80v

Image removed for reasons of copyright.

This allows two compositional changes to be made: the tenor was given an extra g long, replacing what would have been rests. Secondly, the composer removed one semibreve of rest before the final entry on ‘estote’, allowing the final g of the tenor to coincide with the arrival of the cadence at the start of a new breve division. Regardless of whether the motet was written for Pope Alexander VI, as Wegman suggests,⁷³ the complex mensuration canon places it within the long-established tradition of occasional motets, in continuity especially with those structured motets from the earlier fifteenth century.

While only these four motets use mensuration canons for the cantus firmus, nine of the eleven listed repeat a cantus firmus melody at least once in some form or another. In *Beata mater*, the cantus firmus ‘Beata es’, taken from a Marian cantio, is repeated identically in the second section, where it is sung against an additional cantus firmus, the sequence ‘Ave Maria’.⁷⁴ In *Humilium decus*, the melody ‘Cent mille escus’ is sung through twice in the contratenor primus, both times following the original chanson rhythm yet with different quantities of rests in different places. The tenor of *Laudemus nunc Dominum* is made up of three different cantus firmi used successively, but the first (the antiphon ‘Non est hic aliud’) is repeated in a slightly paraphrased form at the end of the *prima pars*. In *Salve crux*, the sequence melody ‘O crux lignum’ is repeated three times in quite different fashions: notably, the first repeat has a quick, syncopated triple beat (it is notated in perfect time like the remainder of the voices, but it sounds as if it were imperfect tempus, major prolation). Presumably this is closest to how the sequence would have sounded on its own. O

⁷³ Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, op. cit., 288-92, 295-6.

⁷⁴ See Bloxam, ‘Survey’, op. cit., 326-335.

preciosissime also has a quadruple cursus of its main cantus firmus ‘Guberna tuos famulos’, half of a stanza from the hymn *Christe qui lux es et dies*.⁷⁵ The first three cursus are slightly different but all use long notes; the fourth fits the entire melody into the space of five breves.

In the few cases where the tenor has no repeats through the entire motet, it tends to be either quite a long chant melody or a combination of chant melodies. *Salve sancta facies* has a single cursus of the responsory ‘Homo quidam’ with its verse ‘Venite, comedite’.⁷⁶ In *Humilium decus*, the Latin cantus firmus (in the tenor primus) is the antiphon ‘Sancta Maria succurre miseris’. Antiphons tend to be brief, and while ‘Sancta Maria’ is long for an antiphon, it is made to last through most of the motet on account of long periods of rest at the beginning of each section, shorter periods of rest between most words of the chant, and a significant amount of elaboration. *Factor orbis* is an extreme example, as it quotes upwards of nineteen different liturgical texts and nine of their plainsong melodies.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, its tenor takes on the same structural role as do those in the remainder of Obrecht’s tenor motets, using the majority of the motet to sing two Advent antiphons (‘Canite tuba’ and ‘Erunt prava in directa’) in relatively long note values. As already mentioned, *Laudemus nunc Dominum* includes a repeat of its first cantus firmus, but it requires two additional antiphon melodies (‘Vidit Jacob scalam’ and ‘Erexit Jacob lapidem’) to make it through the second section.

The textual combinations in Obrecht’s motets tend to fall into clear categories. A few examples use multiple melodic and/or textual sources from the same office or feast: *O beate Basili* for the feast of St. Basil, *Salve crux* for the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, and *Laudemus nunc Dominum* for the dedication of a church. *Factor orbis* quotes numerous liturgical sources, and though their origins are a bit more varied, most would have been used at some point during Advent. In both its exegesis of the texts it sets and its preaching of the

⁷⁵ See Obrecht, *Motets II*, op. cit., XXVIII-XXIX.

⁷⁶ See *ibid.*, XLIV.

⁷⁷ Bloxam, ‘Survey’, op. cit., 353-366, and ‘Obrecht as Exegete: Reading *Factor Orbis* as a Christmas Sermon’, in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 169-192.

knowledge gained therein, Bloxam used the analogy of a ‘Christmas sermon’ as a way of understanding the textual combinations.⁷⁸ The newly written text of *O preciosissime sanguis* does not survive complete, but the connection to its two cantus firmi is clear: they are both excerpts of longer, unrelated chants which centre on the Blood of Christ and the salvation gained through its having been shed. Following Strohm, Philip Weller has expanded upon the likelihood of the motet being for the procession and other ceremonies connected to the relic of the Holy Blood in Bruges.⁷⁹ As discussed, there are three cases where non-liturgical melodies are used in Obrecht’s Marian motets: a sequence is combined with a cantio in *Beata es*, a new if liturgically based text is combined with a hymn in *Mater patris*, and the chanson *Cent mille escus* is combined with the antiphon *Sancta Maria succurre miseris* and a new Marian text in *Humilium decus*. Finally, there are two motets written for non-liturgical occasions (*Mille quingentis* and *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*), and these combine newly written occasional texts with appropriate liturgical texts. *Salve sancta facies* is an anomaly, as it combines a responsory for Corpus Christi (‘Homo quidam’) with a sequence for the feast of the Holy Face. Reinhard Strohm has suggested it may have been commissioned by a cloth merchant of Bruges—with the connection of the Holy Face to St. Veronica and her veil—to commemorate a charitable act.⁸⁰

As Wegman suggests, most of the motets discussed here are likely to date from the late 1480s or 1490s.⁸¹ This places them perhaps slightly later than most of those by Regis, even if almost all of the tenor motets by both composers do not survive in any pre-1500 manuscripts or prints. While there is much variety within the tenor motets of Regis, those of Obrecht contain more substantial differences from each other, and not only in the features already discussed: which voice(s) sing the cantus firmus, how the cantus firmus might be

⁷⁸ ‘Obrecht as Exegete’, op. cit., especially 172.

⁷⁹ Weller, op. cit., 249-251.

⁸⁰ *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 145. See also Bloxam, ‘Survey’, op. cit., 324-326.

⁸¹ ‘Obrecht, Jacob’, *Grove Music Online*, op. cit.

structured or organized, and what sort of texts are being combined. Nevertheless, there are several compositional patterns which have been found in significant portions of the motets. Mensuration canons, multiple cursus tenors, and cantus firmi taken from short chants or chant excerpts may appear to be retrospective, but in fact they anticipate a particular sort of tenor motet from the early sixteenth century and beyond, where even shorter melodic/textual motives are repeated in various forms as a sort of ostinato. Unlike some of these later motets, however, those of Obrecht show particular creativity in the choices of texts and ingenuity in the means by which they were combined compositionally.

2.4. Bilingual Repertory from the Mid-Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries

After the fourteenth-century motets with vernacular triplum and motetus texts and Latin cantus firmi, or occasionally with vernacular triplum and Latin motetus, there is a relative lack of bilingual compositions in the first half of the fifteenth century. From the middle of the century, however, composers much more frequently mixed musical material from vernacular chansons and from Latin masses and motets together in the same work. The most famous of such examples are the mass settings based on vernacular melodies such as *L'homme armé*. But in addition to mass settings based on monophonic or polyphonic chansons, there are a number of shorter, 'combinative' pieces which incorporate Latin and/or vernacular texts with melodies from Latin chant and/or vernacular song.¹

I have already discussed problems with the changing definition of the motet through the fifteenth century, and in particular the ambiguous position of explicitly liturgical music (other than mass settings) within the genre.² The bilingual repertory sits on the other side of the genre, at first glance blurring the distinction between (Latin-texted) motets and (vernacular) chansons. The compositional distinctions between these two genres start to break down over the course of the fifteenth century. In early fifteenth-century music, two upper voices of equal or similar pitch range would be more consistent with the motet repertory,

¹ This is the term used by Maria Rika Maniates and, more recently, Fabrice Fitch; see for example Maniates, 'Combinative Techniques in Franco-Flemish Polyphony: A Study in Mannerism from 1450-1530', PhD Dissertation (University of Columbia, 1965); Fitch, 'Towards a Critical Perspective of the Motet-chanson', at the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Barcelona, 5-8 July 2011; and Fitch, 'The "Motet Chanson": Death and/or a Genre', at the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society Annual Conference, Oxford, 10 March 2012.

² See sections 1.1 and 1.3.

especially in the Italian tradition, whereas a single ‘melodic’ voice would be characteristic of chansons. Julie Cumming paradoxically distinguishes between ‘motet-style motets’ (with the ‘motet texture’) and ‘cantilena-style motets’ (with ‘cantilena texture’).³ But she could only make this distinction because of substantive compositional differences in the first place. The textural distinction no longer applies to music composed later in the century, because it becomes much rarer for music of any genre to be composed with two equal upper voices, as Cumming rightly points out.⁴ (As a corollary, it is much rarer to see motets with two parallel upper-voice texts.) For some scholars, ‘isorhythm’, a cantus firmus, a Latin text (especially a non-liturgical Latin text), or some combination thereof may also qualify a work to be a motet instead of either a chanson or other liturgical work.⁵ Isorhythm, however it may be defined, ceases to be a criterion by which genres are classified by the middle of the fifteenth century. From a stylistic point of view, motets of the second half of the century tend to be larger, more ambitious pieces than chansons: they have four or five voices (only rarely three), they are most often in two or three (or more) *partes*, and they frequently still use cantus firmi, occasionally incorporating techniques such as diminution and mensuration canons. Chansons tend to be simpler: they are more likely to have only three voices and frequently use a text in one of the *formes fixes*, sometimes setting only the refrain. The upper-voice melodies tend to consist of several short, tuneful phrases, each drawing on similar musical material. More often than not, they do not have cantus firmi, but there are frequent chanson reworkings as well as quoting of pre-existing melodies within new compositions. All of these stylistic criteria, however, are to some extent generalizations. When classifying works from the second half of the fifteenth century as motets or chansons, the single most useful criterion is that of verbal language—useful because the choice of language tends to coincide with the stylistic generalizations mentioned. (It is much more consistent than other potential criteria,

³ *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, esp. 67-71.

⁴ *Ibid.*, esp. 28-30, including Table 2.1 on p. 30.

⁵ See the discussion in section 1.3.

such as ritual function or textual content.) If a composition has a Latin text, it is most usefully classified as a motet; if a composition has a vernacular text, it is most usefully classified as a chanson.⁶

In light of this, it is easier to understand the confusion resulting from bilingual works in the second half of the fifteenth century. Similar works in the first half of the century are much more easily explainable within the existing genres, both because the musical characteristics of motets and chansons are more easily distinguishable, but also because the history of French and bilingual motets is less distant. In the second half of the century, this earlier tradition is further removed; therefore, the use of a vernacular language in conjunction with Latin (regardless of musical characteristics) is seen as justification for labelling it as a hybrid genre of sorts: hence, ‘motet-chansons’. However, this particular term was never used simply to refer to bilingual works which might otherwise be motets or chansons: it was always used with respect to a small portion of these bilingual works, most frequently those which follow a *forme fixe* text and have a Latin cantus firmus. The rest of the bilingual repertory, it seems, remain under the category of motets.

What I will argue in this chapter is that there is a justifiable division of the bilingual repertory, but that this is no different from the already existent division between motets and chansons. A new genre is not required and in fact only muddles the issue. (‘Motet-chansons’ usually correspond to what I will consider to be chansons.) However, if most late fifteenth-century pieces are categorized as motets or chansons based primarily on the language of their text(s), then more explicit criteria are necessary for pieces with Latin *and* vernacular texts. Some scholars have asserted textual priority of the voice in the highest pitch range, but as I will demonstrate, this results in numerous problematic categorizations. Fortunately, all of these bilingual pieces have something that many other motets and chansons do not have: a

⁶ There are earlier exceptions, such as Du Fay’s *Apostolo glorioso* and *O tres piteulx/Omnes amici*; the latter will be discussed below in section 2.4.2.1.

cantus firmus. This technical detail provides the most helpful means of categorizing the bilingual repertory. When Latin-texted plainchant is used as a cantus firmus in an otherwise vernacular piece, the piece is most usefully considered a chanson; when a vernacular melody is used as a cantus firmus in an otherwise Latin-texted piece, it is most usefully considered a motet. The cantus firmus can be in any voice, even if it is most frequently found in the Tenor. While it would not be surprising if we were still left with a number of ambiguous cases, especially where there might be melodic material from both Latin and vernacular sources, there are very few problems of the sort. Finally, there is no real musical justification for creating an intermediate genre: what is found in chansons with Latin cantus firmi would not be out of place in other combinative chansons; likewise, the motets with vernacular cantus firmi are not at all unlike other tenor motets.

2.4.1. Historiography of the ‘Motet-Chanson’⁷

In 1937, Wolfgang Stephan used the term ‘Motettenchanson’ to refer to that group of works where a Latin cantus firmus is the lower voice of a three-voice song. For him, this is the central type (‘Haupttypus’) of the subgenre ‘song motet’ (‘Liedmotette’), which also consists of works with a single Latin text or with text incipits only. Even though he included this discussion of song motets in a monograph about motets proper, he stated that they fall more under the scope of chanson, both because of where they are found in sources and how they appear stylistically. As he understood it, examples of motet-chansons could be found by composers as early as Du Fay (he cites *Je ne puis plus*, which has the cantus firmus ‘Unde veniet auxilium mihi?’), but their peak was reached around the end of the century.⁸

⁷ Fabrice Fitch has recently given papers critiquing the genre motet-chanson: ‘Towards a Critical Perspective of the Motet-chanson’ and ‘The “Motet Chanson”: Death and/or a Genre’, op. cit. He has generously shared the text of the latter version with me. A good portion of his discussion is dedicated to a historiography of the genre. At the risk of duplicating some of what he has already said, my survey here will focus on how various definitions of the ‘motet-chanson’ are problematic from the compositional perspective.

⁸ Stephan, *Die Burgundisch-Niederländische Motette zur Zeit Ockeghems*, op. cit., 51 and 58.

Later scholars have continued to use the term ‘motet-chanson’ (or something like it) through the present day.⁹ Ludwig Finscher used both terms (‘motet-chanson’ and ‘song-motet’), but even though he cited Stephan, his definitions are subtly different. Most importantly, motet-chansons and song-motets are conceived of separately, a distinction which has largely survived in subsequent usages of the terms. He also made his definition of motet-chansons less strict: they might have four or five voices, and they need not always use the chant melody. Curiously, Finscher critiqued both terms: unlike Stephan, he saw motet-chansons as primarily motets on account of their supposed genealogical connection to earlier, bilingual motets.¹⁰ These definitions were affirmed by Leeman Perkins in the 1980 *New Grove Dictionary*.¹¹

Finscher seems not to have been familiar with certain now-famous examples such as Ockeghem’s *Mort tu as navré/Miserere*: his narrative suggests that, after a few early fifteenth-century bilingual examples, it ‘disappeared in the generation of Ockeghem and suddenly returned in Josquin’s time’.¹² But in the work of later scholars, Ockeghem, and indeed this particular work, take centre stage in this new genre. According to Perkins, with this work, ‘Ockeghem may have been responsible for establishing a new compositional genre’.¹³ This statement forms the starting point of Honey Meconi’s article on motet-chansons, wherein she argues that *Mort tu as navré* ‘sets the tone for more than two dozen succeeding works in a very special medium’, both as it connects a *forme fixe* vernacular text with a Latin cantus firmus and as it seems to have reinvented a tradition of composers’ laments.¹⁴ In doing so, she has outlined a specific compositional tradition, the genealogical

⁹ Mary Electa Columbro, for example, chose to reverse the words: see ‘The Chanson-motet: a remnant of the courtly love tradition in the renaissance’, *Music and Man* 1/4 (1975): 267-276.

¹⁰ Ludwig Finscher, *Loyset Compère (c.1450-1518): Life and Works, Musicological Studies and Documents* 12 (American Institute of Musicology, 1964), 205.

¹¹ Sanders et al., ‘Motet’ (1980), op. cit., XII, 631. Curiously, in the following article in the same volume, David Fallows defines ‘Motet-chanson’ as a work with ‘the scope of a chanson but a sacred Latin text’ (647) – namely, what Finscher and Perkins termed a song-motet. Nevertheless, Fallows conforms to the mainstream view in the second edition (volume 17, 2001, p. 227).

¹² Finscher, *Loyset Compère: Life and Works*, op. cit., 205.

¹³ Perkins, op. cit., 631.

¹⁴ ‘Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson in Fifteenth-Century France’, op. cit., especially 383.

development of which is the most compelling justification to consider this group of works separately from both motets and chansons. Her list of compositions at the end solidifies her article's status as standard-bearer for the (sub?)genre.¹⁵

While Meconi does not admit it, the definition of 'motet-chanson' seems once again to have been subtly altered.¹⁶ For her, it is 'a polytextual work that uses French in its top voice and Latin in at least one of the lower voices'.¹⁷ No longer is it merely a chanson with a single Latin cantus firmus: now included in the discussion are pieces such as the five-voice *Permanent vierge/Pulchra es et decora/Sancta dei genitrix* in the Dijon Chansonnier with two different Latin cantus firmi. But it also might include pieces such as Josquin's *Victime paschali laudes* (with cantus firmi 'D'ung aultre amer' and 'De tous biens plaine'), Richafort's *Sufficiebat nobis* (with cantus firmus 'Mon souvenir'), and the four-voice *Le serviteur/Salve regina* attributed to Ar. Fer. in *D-Mbs Mus. MS 3154*, all excluded from Meconi's list.¹⁸ These works look and feel decidedly like motets, but the vernacular cantus firmus (or cantus firmi) is found in the top voice. *Le serviteur/Salve regina* has both liturgical and vernacular cantus firmi, in the tenor and upper voice, respectively. The tenor quotes the 'Salve regina' chant, and it is the only voice which is texted throughout. Both altus and bassus have incipits from the same text at the beginning of each section: 'Salve regina', 'Ad te suspiramus', etc. While they are not as strict as the tenor, they also imitate the antiphon melody, especially at the opening of the sections. The top voice quotes a different vernacular melody for each section, giving only the incipits; the first and third are in French, the second, fourth, fifth, and sixth are in German.

¹⁵ Ibid., 393-398.

¹⁶ Unfortunately, Meconi relegates a more complete discussion of definition to a future work, one which has yet to be published. See *ibid.*, n. 16.

¹⁷ Ibid., 383.

¹⁸ A modern edition of *Le serviteur/Salve regina* can be found in *Der Kodex des Magister Nicolaus Leopold*, ed. Thomas L. Noblitt, *Das Erbe deutscher Musik* 80-83 (Bärenreiter-Verlag: Kassel, 1987-1996), vol. 81 pp. 41-52.

That Meconi did not include any of these works in her list is no surprise: they follow the structure of the Latin text rather than a vernacular *forme fixe*. The Latin text is divided into some number of sections, and each French text serves as cantus firmus for that section. In all respects these are motets with vernacular cantus firmi, even though the cantus firmi happen to be found in the top voice. But Meconi's definition does not take such instances into account. As these examples show, the compositional structure of a work need not be based on the text of the top voice, and thus the language of the top voice is not a universally valid criterion for making genre distinctions.

If these examples appear to satisfy Meconi's strict definition despite seeming more like motets, the opposite problem is demonstrated by Crispin van Stappen's *Beati pacifici/De tous biens playne*. The top voice is the sacred cantus firmus 'Beati pacifici', the tenor carries the vernacular melody 'De tous biens playne', and the contra and bassus are given the incipit 'De tous biens'. The incipits seem to suggest that this is a vernacular song with a sacred cantus firmus in the top voice, and this is confirmed by its unique transmission in Petrucci's *Canti C* (RISM 1504/3). But because the Latin cantus firmus is in the top voice and not any of the lower voices, it is not included among the 'motet-chanson' repertory. There may be other reasons why it is out of place among the works on Meconi's list: it appears to be a through-composed work of an instrumental texture. Its use of sacred material (text and melody) in a mostly secular, vernacular context (both within the piece and in the collection where it is found), however, is not unlike other works which have been described as 'motet-chansons'.

While 'motet-chanson' may have seemed a convenient term for a specific group of works, most scholars have qualified their use of the term by choosing to define it as primarily a chanson or primarily a motet. It is primarily a chanson for Stephan because of compositional features and source distribution. It is primarily a motet for Finscher because of genealogical relation to earlier motets, though he concedes that they appear more like

chansons. Meconi makes no such qualification: she gives the impression that she conceives of the ‘motet-chanson’ not as a subgenre of motet or chanson but as a genre in its own right. She generally uses the term ‘French-Latin composition’ as equivalent to ‘motet-chanson’ without reference to masses or motets with vernacular cantus firmi. Surely many vernacular cantus firmi might have been sung with the Latin text proper to the motet or mass movement instead of the French original, but here they are not even mentioned, as if the mixing of languages were unique to the ‘motet-chanson’.

The problem with this genre is that it is inconsistently based on musical or linguistic/textual distinctions. ‘Motet-chansons’ can be distinguished from motets on structural and stylistic grounds, even while motets with vernacular cantus firmi can also be both bilingual and bitextual. ‘Motet-chansons’ can only be distinguished from chansons on textual grounds, even while they have much to share compositionally with chansons, and especially chansons with multiple French texts. It would be more accurate from a musical perspective simply to call them chansons; the linguistic aspect can be raised by calling attention to their use of a Latin cantus firmus.

Recently, Fabrice Fitch has argued in favor of considering the so-called ‘motet-chansons’ alongside other polytextual chansons. Aside from issues of style and composition, he argues that manuscripts might make distinctions between polytextual chansons and monotextual chansons, but they do not distinguish between polytextual chansons, macaronic or not.¹⁹ Indeed this seems to be the case. In particular, Fitch mentions the ‘combinative chansons’ in M. Rika Maniates’s *The Combinative Chanson: An Anthology*.²⁰ Included are 34 works found in the Escorial, Pixérécourt, and Dijon chansonniers, each of which ‘combine a freely composed setting of a *forme fixe* poem (usually a *rondeau* or *ballade*) in the superius voice with one or more lower parts that quote one or several popular songs (both tunes and

¹⁹ ‘Towards a Critical Perspective of the Motet-chanson’, op. cit., and ‘The “Motet Chanson”: Death and/or a Genre’, op. cit.

²⁰ *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance* 77 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1989).

texts).²¹ Maniates excludes what might be construed as ‘motet-chansons’ from the volume,²² but there are nevertheless a couple of Latin-French pieces. In one of these (*Se je suis despourveu/Veni veni*), the ‘popular song’ is in Latin, even if it may be quite vulgar.²³ In a second (*Avertissiez/Averte oculos*), the tenor has four statements of a Latin motto, repeated in inversion and retrograde inversion. Technically, both of these fall under Meconi’s definition of ‘motet-chanson’, though they lack a certain seriousness frequently connected to the genre, especially as Meconi connects the genre to composers’ laments.

The chansons which Maniates calls ‘combinative’ frequently share many of the same characteristics of Meconi’s ‘motet-chansons’, even if they only use French texts.²⁴ If some of the chansons with Latin cantus firmi might be considered more ‘motettish’ on account of certain features, many of these same features can be found in the chansons with vernacular cantus firmi. The repertoire Maniates discusses is taken from the Escorial, Pixérécourt, and Dijon chansonniers, dating from 1460 to 1474, from before c. 1484, and from the 1470s-80s, respectively. She divides her ‘combinative chansons’ into categories based on structural techniques; parallels for many of these categories can be found within Meconi’s repertoire of ‘motet-chansons’. Maniates’s ‘category II’ is for triple chansons: in addition to a *forme fixe* text in the upper voice, these pieces include two popular tunes as cantus firmi in the lower voices. This is certainly more common among the repertoire with vernacular cantus firmi, but one parallel example with Latin cantus firmi would be Dijon’s *Permanent vierge/Pulchra es/Sancta Dei genitrix*. Another group is Category III, type 4, where a single cantus firmus is in found in two canonic voices. Josquin’s *Nimphes nappés* is a parallel example, with the cantus firmus *Circumdederunt me* sung canonically at the fifth between the *quinta* and *sexta*

²¹ Ibid., vii.

²² As Fitch mentions, Maniates refers to two of the Dijon combinative pieces (*Permanent vierge/Pulchra es/Sancta Dei genitrix* and Ockeghem’s *Mort tu as navré*) as ‘not strictly speaking combinative chansons’ (xiii).

²³ For modern edition, see op. cit., 6-9. Maniates has found melodic correspondences with two different (French-texted) popular melodies; see ‘Combinative Chansons in the Escorial Chansonnier’, *Musica Disciplina* 29 (1975): 97, #30.

²⁴ For what follows in this paragraph, cf. Maniaties, *The Combinative Chanson*, op. cit., vii-ix.

pars. This is also a technique commonly found in motets such as the anonymous *Ave rosa speciosa/Beata mater* in Chigi. Most of the pieces with Latin cantus firmi could be categorized within the simpler Category III, type 1, with a single cantus firmus in a single melodic voice. This is slightly less common for the vernacular cantus firmi: only seven of the thirty-four chansons listed by Maniates are in this group. If there is occasionally a stylistic difference between chansons with Latin versus vernacular cantus firmi, it concerns some of the techniques by which the cantus firmi are manipulated. Cantus firmi taken from songs are more likely to be manipulated in two voices, either being split up between two voices or using imitation or canons. Latin tenors, on the other hand, are occasionally manipulated in ways which are reminiscent of motet tenors in appearance, with multiple cursus governed by verbal or mensuration canons. (Two examples to be discussed include Du Fay's *Je ne puis plus/Unde veniet* and the anonymous *Avertissiez/Averte oculos*.) That said, the musical realization of these examples tends to be much more straightforward than is common in motets with multiple cursus tenors. Even if the tenor carries some 'motettish' qualities on account of its Latin origins, the compositional whole in most cases is much more suggestive of chansons.

The only remaining justification for a separate intermediate genre is that of historical precedent and genealogy, and this too is insufficient. As Meconi herself admits, it is unclear that someone like Ockeghem, composing *Mort tu as navré/Miserere*, would have been familiar with fourteenth-century bilingual compositions or even with the three earlier fifteenth-century examples by Du Fay (to be discussed below).²⁵ Rather, their musical form derives primarily from chansons. The conceit of using a Latin cantus firmus in a vernacular work is unsurprising considering the context provided by chanson masses and motets with vernacular cantus firmi. Chansons with Latin cantus firmi are closely related structurally to other polytextual ('combinative') chansons; likewise, motets with vernacular cantus firmi are

²⁵ Meconi, 'Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson in Fifteenth-Century France', op. cit., 384-385.

structurally similar to those with Latin cantus firmi. Surely Ockeghem used a cantus firmus from the Requiem Mass simply because it was textually appropriate for his lament.

2.4.2. Chansons with Latin Cantus Firmi

2.4.2.1. Early Fifteenth-Century Examples

With few exceptions, fifteenth-century bilingual motets and chansons only begin to appear in the second half of the century. Nevertheless, the exceptions are instructive: unlike the later repertory starting with Ockeghem's *Mort tu as navré*, the musical textures and structuring techniques are more motet-like than might be expected for compositions with new French texts. As Meconi has shown, the three earliest fifteenth-century examples are all by Du Fay: *Je ne puis plus/Unde veniet*, *Seigneur Leon/Benedictus*, and *O tres piteulx/Omnes amici eius*. These and other early examples span the spectrum between chansons which happen to have Latin cantus firmi and motets which happen to have a French text. The first is the most chanson-like, despite the pseudo-complication of the tenor's verbal canon; the third is simply an occasional tenor motet, except that the newly written text happens to be in French and not Latin.

Je ne puis plus/Unde veniet auxilium mihi? is the earliest of the three pieces, found only in *GB-Ob* MS. Canon. Misc. 213. Its French and Latin texts were obviously meant to go together, but their satirical intent may never be confirmed due to the absence of the final word of the French text in the manuscript. Alejandro Planchart suggests 'the "motet texture" is being used out of context, so to speak, as part of a relatively obvious and slightly salacious joke.'²⁶ Meconi explicates the interpretation: it is 'a cry of woe for lack of sexual potency; it is coupled with a cantus firmus asking "whence cometh my help?" in steadily decreasing note values.'²⁷ On the other hand, both of these interpretations are largely dependent on the final

²⁶ 'What's in the name? Reflections on some works of Guillaume Du Fay', *Early Music* 16/2 (1988): 175, n. 77.

²⁷ Meconi, 'Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson in Fifteenth-Century France', op. cit., 384.

word of the French text being obscene, and as Fitch has pointed out, there is no obvious choice.²⁸ Concerning the structure, Fitch speaks of its ‘affiliation with the motet tradition’ on account of a triple-cursus tenor in diminution. Bent has argued that, despite the signum over the top voice, the musical structure (as concerns cadences and the tenor canon) is not suitable for performance as a rondeau, even if the text ‘may have been written as an *ad hoc* rondeau refrain’.²⁹ The piece may not be performable as a rondeau, and its tenor canon seems to suggest a ‘motet texture’; but it is otherwise like a chanson, even if it is subverted in these ways. It is very brief, it has three voices, and if you do not actually try to sing it as a rondeau, you might not realize that the jump from signum back to the opening is so awkward. As Planchart suggests, these subversions (antiphon tenor and quote-on-quote ‘motet texture’) may be part of the joke: the serious aspects of the piece are not really that serious after all.

This is not altogether different from the two somewhat later ‘combinative chansons’ mentioned above. *Avertissiez/Averte oculos* uses some similarly serious-looking notational canons, in this case with both lower voices.³⁰ Maniates places it ‘among the most arcane puzzle pieces in the renaissance repertory’, but in fact they are more notationally playful rather than cleverly composed: the contratenor is merely written backwards, and the tenor replaces note values with numbers.³¹ The only compositional element is the repetition of the tenor. As Maniates mentions, the words ‘Averte oculos’ are found both in Song 6:5 and Psalm 119:37.³² The latter is found liturgically as a responsory verse, though the tenor here does not resemble either of the common melodies and does not seem to be a chant melody. Perhaps the *Song* version might be more closely connected to the courtly love of the French text, but either way it is playing with the connection between the openings of the two texts. *Se je suis despourveu/Veni veni* combines a serious courtly love poem with a vulgar Latin

²⁸ Fitch, op. cit.

²⁹ ‘The songs of Dufay: Some questions of form and authenticity’. *Early Music* 8/4 (1980): 455-456.

³⁰ See Maniates, ‘The Combinative Chanson’, op. cit., 28-29.

³¹ ‘Combinative Chansons in the Escorial Chansonnier’, op. cit., 70; see facsimile on pages 124-125.

³² *Ibid.*, 76-77; 93.

text. The irony here is that it is the French text which is serious (and even mentions God), while the Latin text is all about sex. The two French-texted voices are also more serious musically, using occasional imitation and frequent periods of triple time in one of the two voices. The melody of the Latin-texted song is almost as vulgar as the text; after the song melody is finished, the tenor is given a musical idiom similar to the contratenor.

The two later Du Fay works discussed by Meconi are supposedly composed by ‘a considerably more mature Dufay’;³³ in any case, they were both written to commemorate more serious occasions. *Seigneur Leon/Benedictus* is not unusual as a four-voice rondeau, nor is it particularly long, but like *Je ne puis plus/Unde veniet*, only the text of the rondeau refrain is given. The texture is unusual for a chanson, however: static lower voices (one of which is a cantus firmus) and a quick-moving upper voice are more commonly found among the motets. As an occasional work (to commemorate a particular honour given to this ‘Seigneur Leon’, presumably Leonello d’Este upon succeeding his father as Marquis of Ferrara in 1441)³⁴, the use of a Latin cantus firmus such as ‘Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini’ from the mass makes sense. If anything, it would be unusual (though certainly not unheard of) for the occasional text to be a French rondeau.

The third work of Du Fay’s is *O tres piteulx/Omnes amici eius*, given the heading *Lamentatio Sancte Matris Ecclesie Constantinopolitane*. Despite its original classification by Besseler among the *cantiones*, Planchart somewhat more accurately categorized this work with the ‘cantilena motets’.³⁵ But it would be most accurate to call it a tenor motet, as does Julie Cumming, ‘in spite of its French text’.³⁶ It is in two sections, changing from *tempus perfectum* to *tempus imperfectum*; there is an opening duet, and elsewhere when the tenor drops out, there is a reduced, three-voice texture; the tenor is sung once in each section with

³³ Meconi, ‘Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson in Fifteenth-Century France’, op. cit., 384.

³⁴ See David Fallows, *The Songs of Guillaume Dufay: Critical Commentary to the Revision of Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, ser. I, vol. VI*, Musicological Studies and Documents 47 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1994), 233-234. See also Fallows, *Dufay*, op. cit., 62-63.

³⁵ ‘Du Fay’, op. cit.

³⁶ *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 261.

through-composed diminution. Perhaps most interestingly, the tenor cantus firmus (from the Lamentations of Jeremiah, sung to the Lamentations tone) is loosely paraphrased by the top voice at the beginning of each section.³⁷ The texts refer to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, and Cumming suggests that genres are mixed ‘for expressive purposes’: secular lament in the upper voices with the cantus firmus and musical form of a motet.³⁸

2.4.2.2. Textual Considerations

As discussed above, most recent scholars have placed the beginning of the ‘motet-chanson’ genre with Ockeghem, and in particular, with *Mort tu as navré/Miserere*, a ballade written to commemorate the death of Binchois. Meconi suggests that this piece was, on the one hand, old-fashioned: the form ballade was ‘essentially moribund by 1460’, and its texture is that of older motets. On the other hand, it forged the way forward for composers’ laments, as a ‘new model for mourning’ and for the ‘motet-chanson’ genre.³⁹ In support of the first point are a couple of obvious examples (Josquin’s *Nymphes des bois/Requiem* and La Rue’s *Plorer, gemir, crier/Requiem*, both commemorating Ockeghem himself), and they certainly seem to have a direct relationship to Ockeghem’s work. Numerous other composers may have followed Ockeghem’s (or Josquin’s) example in writing composers’ laments, but these two pieces are the only bilingual ones on Meconi’s list.⁴⁰

Insofar as Ockeghem’s piece may have served as a model for the ‘motet-chanson’ genre, there are indeed a number of further French/Latin works which have subject matter relating to mourning; other commonly used types of texts involve courtly love poetry and/or the Virgin Mary. The textual combinations in these chansons tend to fall into four main categories: laments with penitential or Requiem cantus firmi, courtly love poems with

³⁷ See Fallows, *The Songs of Dufay*, op. cit., 55-56. See also Fallows, *Dufay*, op. cit., 130.

³⁸ *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 261-2.

³⁹ Meconi, ‘Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson in Fifteenth-Century France’, op. cit., 385-7.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 399-402.

penitential or Requiem cantus firmi, courtly love poems with Marian cantus firmi, and Marian devotional texts with Marian cantus firmi. In addition to Ockeghem's *Mort tu as navré/Miserere*, the first category contains Agricola's *Revenez tous regretz/Quis det ut veniat*, Josquin's *Cueur desolez par toute nation/Plorans ploravit*, La Rue's *Cueur desolez par toute nation/Dies illa*, Moulu's *Fiere attropos/Anxiatus me*, and the anonymous *Se je souspire/Ecce iterum*. Meconi suggests that such examples move mourning away from the masculine, Latin sphere (previously the most appropriate sphere for mourning) and into the feminine, vernacular sphere of chansons; 'motet-chansons' are, after all, found most frequently in chansonniers.⁴¹ While she considers 'motet-chansons' as a separate genre, she thus concedes that they act textually more like chansons. In fact, from a compositional/structural standpoint, they seem much more akin to chansons, whereas the combination of texts mixes both of these linguistic spheres.

The mixing of sacred and secular spheres seems particularly appropriate for laments: the French text eulogizes the deceased, and the Latin text either quotes a biblical instance of mourning or facilitates prayer for the soul of the deceased. The Latin texts thus tend to be taken either from penitential liturgy (Lent or Holy Week, including the Lamentations of Jeremiah) or from the Mass for the Dead. Not all of these Latin texts are given the liturgical melody: in Agricola's *Revenez tous regretz*, the bassus has the text of a responsory verse set to a melody in long notes, but it does not quote the chant.⁴² *Mort tu as navré*, on the other hand, contains just one short chant quotation, from the end of the Requiem sequence; the remainder of the text is paraphrased from various sources.⁴³

⁴¹ Ibid., 387.

⁴² See Edward R. Lerner, ed. *Alexander Agricola: Collected Works*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 22 vol. 4: Motetta, Contrafacta (American Institute of Musicology, 1966). As Lerner points out, the beginning of the chant is not dissimilar to the melody found in the more active upper voices, though this may be 'fortuitous'. The chant-like bassus may start as a paraphrase of this upper-voice melody, though without any remaining resemblance to the chant.

⁴³ See Richard Wexler, ed, with Dragan Plamenac, *Johannes Ockeghem: Collected Works*, vol. 3: Motets and Chansons (Philadelphia: American Musicological Society, 1992) and Jaap van Benthem, ed. *Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Mass Sections*, II: Masses based on secular songs, Fasc. 1 (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1995).

Table 2.10. Sources of Latin texts used in vernacular laments⁴⁴

(a) From the Mass for the Dead		
Laments	Latin text	Liturgical Source
La Rue, <i>Cueurs desolez</i>	Dies illa	From <i>Libera me</i> , responsory from the burial service
Ockeghem, <i>Mort tu as navré</i>	Miserere, pie Jesu Domine	Includes the final verse of the <i>Dies irae</i> , sequence for the Requiem Mass
Josquin, <i>Nymphes des bois</i> La Rue, <i>Plorer, gemir, crier</i>	Requiem aeternam	Introit for the Requiem Mass

(b) From Penitential Liturgy		
Moulu, <i>Fiere attropos</i>	Anxiatus est in me	Second antiphon at Lauds on Good Friday
<i>Se je souspire/Ecce iterum</i>	O vos omnes	Lamentations, from Lesson III at Matins for Maundy Thursday
Du Fay, <i>O tres piteulx</i> Josquin, <i>Cueurs desolez</i>	Omnes amici eius / Plorans, ploravit	Lamentations, from Lesson I at Matins for Maundy Thursday
Agricola, <i>Revenez tous regretz</i>	Quis det ut veniat	from book of Job, also a Matins Responsory verse ‘De Job’

Both of these types of Latin texts are also found frequently alongside French texts of courtly love, presumably as love entails the same sort of suffering found in these texts. This second category of textual combinations includes the following pieces:

Table 2.11. Sources of Latin texts used alongside courtly love poems

Agricola, <i>L'eure est venue</i>	Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis	Introit for Septuagesima Sunday
Compère, <i>Male bouche</i>	Circumdederunt me viri mendaces	Responsory at Vespers for Passion Sunday
Prioris, <i>Deuil et ennuy</i>	Quoniam tribulatio	Responsory verse for the above
Compère, <i>Tant ay d'ennuy</i> <i>Douleur me bat</i>	O vos omnes	Lamentations, from Lesson III at Matins for Maundy Thursday
Josquin, <i>Nymphes, nappés</i> <i>Tout a par moy</i>	Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis	Sarum antiphon for the Office for the Dead
<i>Hors de propos</i>	Creator omnium rerum	Responsory verse at Matins for the Office for the Dead

is no exact overlap between the cantus firmi of these two groups, though ‘Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis’ is also found as the cantus firmus for Gombert’s lament for Josquin, the motet *Muse Iovis*.

⁴⁴ Most of the liturgical details are taken from *ibid.*, 393-398.

Josquin's *Ce povre mendant/Pauper sum ego* is closely related to this type of mournful courtly love song: it has the text of a rondeau refrain, and its Latin cantus firmus (from Vulgate Psalm 87:16) conveys the same sort of suffering as many of those listed above. Its tenor is given the same treatment as that of Compère's *Royne du ciel/Regina celi*: only the first bit of chant is sung, repeated a number of times changing pitch by step. (While Josquin's tenor descends by step, Compère's ascends.) The *New Josquin Edition* reads it as 'the petition of a suppliant', though as Meconi aptly suggests, it was probably satirical, complaining about a lack of money, presumably that of the composer.⁴⁵

The third category includes French texts of courtly love found alongside Marian antiphons from the Song of Songs, especially those emphasizing beauty or the suffering of love. Examples include Agricola's *Belles sur toutes/Tota pulchra es* and Compère's *Plaine d'ennuy/Anima mea*. Finally, the fourth category places Marian French texts alongside Marian cantus firmi. The compositions in this category include Compère's and Prioris's *Royne du ciel/Regina celi*, Josquin's *A la mort/Monstra te esse matrem* (the cantus firmus is from the hymn 'Ave maris stella'), and the anonymous *Permanent vierge/Pulchra es/Sancta dei genitrix* in the Dijon Chansonnier that might be by Ockeghem.

There are some pieces which do not fit into these categories. Busnoys's *Resjois toi terre de France/Rex pacificus* is a rare joyful example, in this case composed for the coronation of Louis XI in 1461 or events around that time relating to the end of the Hundred Years War.⁴⁶ The French text of *Checun par grant intencion/Agimus tibi gratias* merely introduces a Latin table grace, which the upper voices proceed to sing (paraphrasing the

⁴⁵ Ibid., 389, and *New Josquin Edition* 27, ed. Jaap van Benthem and Howard Mayer Brown (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 20), Commentary p. 34.

⁴⁶ See Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, 'Resjois toi terre de France/Rex Pacificus: An "Ockeghem" Work Reattributed to Busnoys', in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. Paula Higgins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), especially 277-278. Lindmayr-Brandl's article also provides compelling evidence for its attribution to Busnoys. Fabrice Fitch has commented that this piece shares several characteristics with *Mort tu as navré*, one of only two other contemporaneous examples of the commemorative or ceremonial ballade; see 'Restoring Ockeghem's *Mort tu as navré*', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 51/1 (2001), 11-12.

melody) along with the stricter tenor cantus firmus.⁴⁷ A number of the pieces already mentioned feature a close correspondence in meaning between the French and Latin incipits, for example, the settings of *Royne du ciel/Regina celi* by Compère and Prioris. Another similar textual correspondence occurs in Compère's *Le corps/Corpusque meum*. It is unclear what the French text is about as only the incipit survives; its cantus firmus is unsurprisingly taken from the funeral liturgy.⁴⁸ Such correspondence is not unique to chansons with Latin cantus firmi, but can also be found among motets with vernacular cantus firmi: consider, for example, another piece by Compère, *Omnium bonorum plena/De tous biens plaine* (see discussion in section 3.3.1).

One of the more unusual pieces on Meconi's list is Japart's *Vray dieu d'amours/Sancte Joannes baptista/Ora pro nobis*. She calls this piece 'slavish' in following the design of Isaac's *Fortuna desperata/Sancte Petre*; both are also related to the anonymous *Ic zie den claren dach/Sancte Johannes baptista/Ora pro nobis* in *F-Pn* lat. 16664.⁴⁹ The latter two pieces have texts in vernacular languages other than French, and thus would not qualify for 'motet-chanson' status according to Meconi; Japart's effort is dismissed as being 'far removed from the others'.⁵⁰ All three pieces are in five voices with two inner voices alternately singing the Litany of the Saints. It became quite common towards the mid-sixteenth century to use this melodic formula as an ostinato tenor for motets, but these three compositions are by far the earliest such examples; see the discussion in section 2.5.2.

Another curious case is Josquin's *Que vous, madame/In pace*. In addition to the French text of courtly love, wherein the narrator reiterates his dedication to one lady alone,

⁴⁷ For a transcription, see Peter Woetmann Christofferson, *French music in the early sixteenth century: Studies in the music collection of a copyist of Lyons: The Manuscript Ny kgl. Samling 1848 2° in the Royal Library, Copenhagen* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1994), vol. 3, 46-47.

⁴⁸ According to Meconi, it is a 'Dominican responsory versicle from funeral rites'; see 'Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson in Fifteenth-Century France', op. cit., 394.

⁴⁹ The correlation is also mentioned in Allan W. Atlas and Jane Alden, 'Japart, Jean', *New Grove*.

⁵⁰ Meconi, 'Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson in Fifteenth-Century France', op. cit., 390, including n. 45.

the cantus firmus is the responsory and verse for Compline on the first Sunday of Lent.⁵¹ The anonymous *O rosa bella/In pace* in *E-Sco* 5-1-43 (not on Meconi's list as the text is not in French) uses the same Latin cantus firmus as well as the text of John Bedyngham's song.⁵² The reason for the choice of cantus firmus is not obvious in either case, though it is possible that it was chosen in part on account of its Lenten associations. The cantus firmus of *Que vous, madame/In pace* can be interpreted as representing the peace that the narrator receives in giving his love to his lady. On the other hand, the vernacular text lends itself quite naturally to a Marian reading, and, given the sacred cantus firmus, it might be interpreted as a devotional commitment to the Virgin during Lent.

2.4.2.3. Thoughts on Musical Structure and Style

Categorization for almost all of the pieces discussed by Meconi and others proves unproblematic: these are chansons with Latin cantus firmi. Nevertheless, it is useful to consider how this repertory might be divided with respect to structural techniques, just as Maniates divides the 'combinative chansons'. The majority of the repertory is structurally very simple, with the Latin cantus firmus in a single voice (or a single Latin-texted voice designed to look like a cantus firmus). Stephan would have called these pieces 'Motettenchanson': they resemble the repertory of chansons structurally and stylistically, with three (or maybe four) voices, a French text in one of the *formes fixes*, and a musical structure which follows that of the chosen *formes fixes*. Most of the works by Agricola and Compère discussed above would fall into this category, with the possible exception of Compère's *Royne du ciel/Regina celi*, whose repeating tenor figure might be construed as somewhat 'motettish'.

⁵¹ See *New Josquin Edition* 27, op. cit., Commentary, 221-223, for texts, translations, and different versions of the cantus firmus.

⁵² See *Musica Britannica* 8 (1953, 2nd edition 1970) for an edition of Bedyngham's song.

Table 2.12. Chansons with Latin cantus firmi, by composer

Agricola

Belle sur toutes/Tota pulchra es

Lheure est venue/Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis

Revenez tous regretz/Quis det ut veniat

Compère

Le corps/Corpusque meum

Malebouche la decevable/Circumdederunt me viri mendaces

O devotz cueurs [or Tant ay d'ennuy]/O vos omnes qui transitis

Plaine d'ennuy de longue main atteinte/Anima mea liquefacta est

Josquin

A la mort/Monstra te esse matrem

Ce povre mendiant/Pauper sum ego

Que vous madame/In pace

Prioris

Deuil et ennuy/Quoniam tribulatio

Royne du ciel/Regina celi

Stappen

Beati pacifici/De tous biens playne

Anonymous

Hors de propos de rayson separe/Creator omnium rerum deus (DK-Kk Ny kongelige Samling 1848, 2°)

Se je souspire/Ecce iterum (Escorial Chansonnier, E-E MS IV.a.24)

The second category includes a number of pieces which have one or more motet-like characteristic. As discussed previously, these are mostly characteristics which would not have been out of place in chansons more generally, although some (verbal or mensuration canons, for instance) might be more common in Latin tenors. One piece in this group is Ockeghem's *Mort tu as navré/Miserere*, which Meconi claims to have a 'quasi-isorhythmic motet texture'.⁵³ There is a whole spectrum of possibilities, which makes it hard to classify into sub-categories. The pieces listed below may contain motet-like structuring techniques, a more expansive musical texture, or generally greater compositional scope. Several are also single-strophe, and thus through-composed.

⁵³ 'Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson in Fifteenth-Century France', op. cit., 386.

Table 2.13. Chansons with Latin cantus firmi with motet-like characteristics

Busnoys

Resjois toy, terre de France/Rex pacificus

Compère

Royne du ciel/Regina celi

Josquin

Cueurs desolez/Plorans ploravit

Nymphes nappés/Circumdederunt me

Nymphes des bois/Requiem eternam

La Rue

Plorer, gemir, crier/Requiem

Moulu

Fiere attropos mauldicte et inhumaine/Anxiatus est in me spiritus meus

Ockeghem

Mort tu as navré/Miserere

?Permanent vierge/Pulcra es/Sancta dei genitrix

Anonymous

Cueurs desolez/Dies ire (B-Br 228)

Douleur me bat/O vos omnes (A-Wn Cod. 18746)

Tout a par moy/Circumdederunt me (A-Wn Cod. 18746)

Finally, there are several anomalies, including Isaac's *Fortuna desperata/Sancte Petre* and the two pieces seemingly modelled after it, Japart's *Vray dieu d'amours/Sancte Johannes baptista/Ora pro nobis* and the anonymous *Ic zie den claren dach/Sancte Johannes baptista/Ora pro nobis* in *F-Pn* lat. 16664.⁵⁴ There are also a few pieces, such as Isaac's *Le serviteur/Salve regina* and *En lombre/Une mousque/Sustinuimus pacem*, which are motets with vernacular cantus firmi in the highest voice. Only by the convention of listing the incipits in order of voices as they appear in modern score notation (approximately from highest pitch range to lowest) might they be interpreted—misleadingly—as chansons or motet-chansons.

⁵⁴ Some other anomalies can be found among the so-called 'quodlibets', such as *O rosa bella/In pace, veni creator* and *Pour prison/Passio Domini* found in *E-Sco* 5-1-43. These are both two-part pieces with a chanson in the upper voice and a Latin melody in the tenor; in the former, it is a collection of beginnings of well-known chants. Facsimile images of these can be found in *Sevilla* 5-1-43 & *Paris N. A. Fr.* 4379 (Pt.1), ed. Dragan Plamenac, *Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts* 8 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1962), 25-26.

2.4.3. Motets with Vernacular Cantus Firmi

Coinciding loosely with the appearance of chansons with Latin cantus firmi, composers in the 1450s and 1460s started using the tenors of vernacular songs as cantus firmi for masses and motets. There are precedents for motets with vernacular cantus firmi from as early as the thirteenth century, but in the fifteenth century such examples are not found in sources earlier than Trent codices 88 and 89. Compositionally, these motets are closely related to the chanson masses of the period: many of the earliest such motets are found alongside masses as compositional pairs. To a greater extent than is seen in the chansons discussed in the previous section, the juxtaposition of ostensibly sacred and secular elements is commonly justified by the affinity between Marian devotion and courtly love poetry. In addition, the use of vernacular song as opposed to liturgical chant as cantus firmi has specific implications for cantus firmus composition in the mid- to late fifteenth century.

2.4.3.1. Relation to ‘Mass-Motet Cycles’?

Eight motets with vernacular cantus firmi survive from c. 1450 to 1480:

Table 2.14. Motets with vernacular cantus firmi, c. 1450-1480

Composer	Latin text	Cantus firmus	Sources
Le Rouge	Stella celi	So ys emprentid	<i>Tr</i> 88
	Gaude Maria virgo	Esclave puist	<i>Tr</i> 88
	O pater eterne	O rosa bella	<i>CZ-Ps</i> Ms. D.G.IV.47 <i>I-Mfd</i> Librone 1
Philipus	Salve regina	Hilf und gib rat	<i>Tr</i> 89 <i>CZ-Ps</i> Ms. D.G.IV.47
	Salve regina	Le serviteur	<i>Tr</i> 89
	Ave mundi spes Maria	Gottes Namen fahren wir	<i>Tr</i> 89 <i>D-Mbs</i> 3154
Compère	Omnium bonorum plena	De tous biens plaine	<i>Tr</i> 91 <i>I-Rvat</i> San Pietro MS. B 80
	Gaude virgo decus morum	Naraye jamais mieulx que jay	<i>I-VEc</i> 755

Some of the earliest of these examples may have been composed alongside mass settings.

Robert J. Snow pointed to six mid-century mass cycles and six tenor motets which he

believed to be intentional compositional pairs, calling them ‘Mass-motet cycles’.⁵⁵ The first four of the motets in the list above are found among Snow’s cycles:

Table 2.15. Six original ‘mass-motet cycles’

Composer	Mass (vv: sources)	Motet (vv: sources)
?Le Rouge ⁵⁶	Missa So ys emprentid (3v: <i>Tr</i> 90 & <i>I-Rvat</i> S.P. B80)	Stella celi/So ys emprentid (4v: <i>Tr</i> 88)
	Missa Esclave puist (3v: <i>Tr</i> 88)	Gaude Maria virgo/Esclave puist (4v: <i>Tr</i> 88)
	Missa O rosa bella (3v: <i>Tr</i> 89 & <i>CZ-Ps</i> Ms. D.G.IV.47)	O pater eterne/O rosa bella (4v: <i>CZ-Ps</i> Ms. D.G.IV.47 & <i>I-Mfd</i> Librone 1)
Philipus ⁵⁷	Missa Hilf und gib rat (4v: <i>CZ-Ps</i> Ms. D.G.IV.47)	Salve regina/Hilf und gib rat (4/5v: <i>Tr</i> 89 & <i>CZ-Ps</i> Ms. D.G.IV.47) ⁵⁸
	Missa Mediatio cordis (4v: <i>CZ-Ps</i> Ms. D.G.IV.47)	Gaude Maria/Meditatio cordis (4v: <i>Tr</i> 88)
Frye	Missa Summe trinitati (3v: <i>B-Br</i> 5557)	Salve virgo/[Summe trinitati] (3v: <i>Tr</i> 88)

The known relationships between these and other mid-century masses and motets have since undergone some revision, and increasingly the term ‘mass-motet cycle’ seems insufficient to describe them. Reinhard Strohm confirmed Snow’s mass-motet pairs and suggested some others: the ‘sine nomine’ mass of Johannes Pullois with his motet *Flos de spina* and potentially Standley’s canonic mass with the motet ‘Que est ista’. But Strohm argued further that three of the motets might be contrafact Kyries: in these cases, there is no other surviving Kyrie, and the number of essential voices in the motet matches that of the

⁵⁵ See ‘The Mass-Motet Cycle: A Mid-Fifteenth-Century Experiment’, in *Essays in Musicology, in honor of Dragan Plamenac on his 70th birthday*, ed. Gustave Reese and Snow (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1969), 301-320.

⁵⁶ The only attribution for the mass is in *Trent* 90, to ‘W. de Rouge’; the motet survives anonymous. See Snow, op. cit., 309. Brian Trowell has questioned the pairing of mass and motet on account of the English character of the motet; see ‘Frye, Walter’, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers, 1980), vol. 9, p. 305. Rebecca L. Gerber has suggested that the English-sounding techniques found in the motet are also found in the mass; see Gerber, ed., *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent*, op. cit., Introduction.

⁵⁷ The attribution to ‘Philipus’ is in *Strahov*, where the motet text is ‘O gloriosa mater’. The motet is also found in *Trent* 89, where it is found with the texts ‘Salve regina’ and ‘Gaude rosa speciosa’ along with the inscription ‘Hilf und gab rat’. See Snow, op. cit., 305.

⁵⁸ In the *Strahov* Codex, Philipus’s motet immediately follows the movements from the Mass Ordinary and includes a fifth voice labelled ‘contratenor concordans cum omnibus’. It is not a contrapuntally necessary voice, and given that the four-voice version is found in *Trent* 89, it was probably added later, perhaps even to differentiate it from the four-voice texture of the Ordinary movements.

mass.⁵⁹ The first three masses listed here, as well as that of Pullois, have three voices, whereas their motets have four. For the remainder, the number of voices in the mass matches that of the motet. Cumming supports the theory of contrafact Kyries, especially in the case of Frye's *Missa Summe trinitati*, as its original Kyrie would most probably have been troped.⁶⁰ In another one of these examples, the motet *Stella celi/So ys emprentid*, Margaret Bent has suggested that the present text has been copied over an erasure, almost certainly the text of a Kyrie.⁶¹ The mass to which it is paired, however, has fewer voice parts (three instead of four) and already includes a Kyrie. If *Stella celi* is indeed a contrafact version of a different mass's Kyrie, it is unlikely that it is also a compositional pair with the mass in Trent 90 and San Pietro B80. As discussed in section 2.2.3, the motet *Gaude Maria/Meditatio cordis* may be a companion motet to a different mass from the one that Snow originally suggested, and the same may also be true of *O pater eterne*.⁶² In sum, only one of Snow's original six pairs (the *Missa Esclave puist* with the motet *Gaude Maria virgo*) remains unchallenged as a compositionally intended cycle and not as a mass with contrafact Kyrie.

The revisions to Snow's original theory suggest that the phenomenon of mass-motet pairings is less straightforward than originally proposed. On the one hand, in at least a couple of cases, a single composer may have designed a mass and motet as related compositions, whether they share a cantus firmus and the techniques by which it is manipulated, or some other musical material. When there is much musical material in common between the mass and motet, they are not unlike early parody masses.⁶³ On the other hand, at least two mid-century scribes, especially that of the Strahov Codex (CZ-Ps Ms. D.G.IV.47), occasionally

⁵⁹ *The Rise of European Music*, op. cit., 428-9.

⁶⁰ *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 258, 263-5.

⁶¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 350 n. 7 and personal communication with Margaret Bent, most recently July 2013.

⁶² Cumming suggests that the motet may have greater similarity with the *O rosa bella* mass found in Trent 88 and *I-La* 238, rather than the one with which the motet is paired in CZ-Ps Ms. D.G.IV.47; see *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 180 and 258.

⁶³ Strohm suggests that there is a direct line between Mass-motet pairs such as that on 'Esclave puist' and Du Fay's motet and mass on 'Ave regina celorum'; see *The Rise of European Music*, op. cit., 432-5. Snow argues against the possibility that some of the cycles are simply early parody masses (op. cit., 302-3), but since much of his analysis has been critiqued and some of his pairings discredited, there is little reason to continue accepting his conclusions.

placed pairings of masses and motets next to each other, regardless of whether they were originally designed as compositional pairs. Furthermore, scribes sometimes retexted troped Kyries to be conceived of either as an individual work or in conjunction with the mass cycle from which it was taken. The trickiest question may be how the compositional or scribal pairing of masses and motets was meant to operate in performance contexts. Snow suggests that it was liturgical, with the motet coming at the conclusion of the liturgical mass.⁶⁴ His evidence is weak, however, and it is based on the assumption that the ‘mass-motet cycle’ is a single, unified phenomenon—compositional, scribal, and liturgical. This hardly seems to be the case.

If, as I am suggesting, there is no such thing as the ‘mass-motet cycle’, but rather a wide variety of mostly unrelated compositional or scribal associations between some mid-century masses and motets, then the conclusions that scholars have drawn from the phenomenon’s existence are open to revision. Strohm has argued that ‘[t]he practice of the Mass-motet cycle [...] initiated the resurrection of the great cantus firmus motet after the end of isorhythm.’⁶⁵ This is now problematic not just because of its invocation of the ‘end of isorhythm’ (see section 1.1.2). I have argued previously that the break between earlier ‘isorhythmic motets’ and later ‘tenor motets’ has tended to be overstated (see section 2.2): so too is the ‘practice’ which is supposed to have facilitated that transition. Cumming has argued that ‘[t]he existence of these “Mass motets” confirms our sense of the mutual influence of the big motets and the cyclic Mass during this period.’⁶⁶ If the ‘Mass motets’ do not exist in the way that Snow has suggested, the variety of relationships between masses and motets as discussed actually points to a greater level of compositional similarity between genres. The compositional relationships are not always the result of a pre-compositional decision to coordinate the musical structure of a mass and motet, though some may have been planned in

⁶⁴ Snow, op. cit., 313-15.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 429.

⁶⁶ *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 265.

that way. Composers were using the same cantus firmi in masses and motets, and scribes could take advantage of these and other accidental similarities to group together two pieces of different genres.

As the charts above demonstrate, four of the earliest motets with vernacular cantus firmi have some relationship to one or more mass setting, whether compositional, scribal, structural, or liturgical. While these relationships may not point to a specific origin for motets with vernacular cantus firmi, they do show that such motets were considered by both composers and scribes as very similar in conception to cyclic masses, and in particular, masses based on vernacular song. Chanson masses first appeared in the 1450s, before which polyphony destined for the mass was almost exclusively based on plainchant.⁶⁷ M. Jennifer Bloxam gives a list of examples up to 1477, with 39 such masses in total, of which 25 are based on French-texted models.⁶⁸ Motets with vernacular cantus firmi are less prevalent during this period, though they continue to be composed at least occasionally through much of the sixteenth century.

Of the eight motets with vernacular cantus firmi copied before 1480, two of the others are found in Trent 89. The eight-voice *Ave mundi spes Maria/In Gottes Namen fahren wir* does not fit in this group structurally: the other seven are all four-voice tenor motets.⁶⁹ *Salve regina/Le serviteur* is a four-voice tenor motet of the same type. Cumming suggests that it could potentially have been composed alongside a mass on *Le serviteur*, but she argues that it does not fit with the available possibilities.⁷⁰ Loyset Compère's *Omnium bonorum plena/De tous biens plaine* and the anonymous *Gaude virgo decus morum/Naraye jamais mieulx que jay* in I-VEc 755 were probably copied towards the end of the 1470s. *Gaude virgo decus morum* is the only motet in this group with an inessential second contratenor: like *Perpulchra*

⁶⁷ See M. Jennifer Bloxam, 'A Cultural Context for the Chanson Mass', in *Early Musical Borrowing*, ed. Honey Meconi (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 7-8.

⁶⁸ Ibid., Fig. 1.1, pp. 9-11.

⁶⁹ See the discussion of *Ave mundi spes Maria* in section 2.2.3.

⁷⁰ *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, op. cit., 259, 265.

Sion filia discussed in section 2.2.3, the original was probably conceived for three voices.⁷¹

Both *De tous biens plaine* and *Naraye jamais mieulx que jay* are the basis of numerous mass settings. None of these masses matches the motets, and there is nothing to suggest that the motets might have been paired in some respect. They are nevertheless an extension of this same tradition of mutual influence between genres.

2.4.3.2. Sacred and Secular

The use of ostensibly secular material in an otherwise sacred work would have encouraged parallels between the two realms. As Craig Wright has argued, ‘When placed in an ecclesiastical context and surrounded by a host of religious artifacts, popular tunes miraculously became sacred signifiers.’⁷² In these motets and most chanson masses, the religious emphasis is found in the figure of the Virgin Mary. Bloxam has discussed this with reference to chanson masses, elaborating on Howard Mayer Brown’s suggestion that ‘song masses and especially those based on courtly songs that celebrate love were normally meant either to be dedicated to the Virgin Mary or to some other beloved saint, following the late medieval inclination to equate secular and sacred love’.⁷³ In particular, Bloxam argued that chanson masses could be considered alongside examples from visual art and literature ‘as the courtly expression of new trends in religious thought and Marian worship’.⁷⁴ She suggests that the chansons ‘articulate a distinct expressive register, striking a certain poetic/musical posture toward the beloved, whether damsel or Blessed Virgin Mary: the lament register [...], the plea register [...], and the subservient lover’.⁷⁵

⁷¹ See the edition of both pieces in the appendix.

⁷² *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology, and Music* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 164. Wright’s discussion focuses on ‘Sanctifying the Mundane’ in *L’homme armé* masses; 163-205.

⁷³ ‘Music and Ritual at Charles the Bold’s Court: The Function of Liturgical Music by Busnoys and his Contemporaries’, in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. Paula Higgins (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1999), 64. This passage was cited by Bloxam, ‘A Cultural Context’, op. cit., 8.

⁷⁴ Bloxam, ‘A Cultural Context’, op. cit., 27.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 26.

If Marian resonances can be present in masses *without* any explicit reference to Mary in the texts, they are more obvious when sung alongside Marian texts in motets. Seven of the eight motets listed above have Marian texts. The one exception is *O pater eterne/O rosa bella*, in which the Latin text nevertheless asks for her intercession as well as that of the rest of the saints. The vernacular song text ‘O rosa bella’ could thus have been used in both the mass and the motet on account of Marian resonances. If vernacular cantus firmi were used for their Marian resonances in motets, they might have been used for similar reasons in mass settings. This would be especially true if, as Snow has suggested, any of these variously related masses and motets might have been sung together in a single liturgical context. Some of the relationships between Latin and song texts in motets are more obvious or specific. The first few words of Compère’s *Omnium bonorum plena* are a translation into Latin of the opening words of the chanson, *De tous bien plaine*.⁷⁶ In Josquin’s *Stabat mater*, the chanson *Comme femme desconfortée* portrays the suffering of a disconsolate woman not unlike that of Mary standing at the foot of the cross.⁷⁷

Not all chanson masses use a courtly love song as cantus firmus: the most obvious are those based on the *L’homme armé* melody. In motets, however, the songs which serve as cantus firmi are almost all related to love. By far the most common chanson used as a cantus firmus in motets is Binchois’s *Comme femme desconfortée*. Other chansons which were used more than once include *Adieu mes amours*, *De tous biens plaine*, *D’ung aultre amer*, *Fors seulement*, *Le serviteur*, and *Mon souvenir*. Only two motets use French cantus firmi not related to love: the anonymous *Ave rosa speciosa* in the Chigi codex and *Humilium decus* in Cappella Sistina 15. The former quotes parts of the *L’homme armé* melody in one of the

⁷⁶ The parallels between the Latin and French texts extend beyond this; see the discussion of the motet in section 3.3.1.

⁷⁷ A brief discussion of the identification of the ‘femme desconfortée’ with the Virgin Mary can be found in Michael Long, ‘Symbol and Ritual in Josquin’s *Missa di Dadi*’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 42 (1989), 1-2; David Rothenberg’s discussion of it alongside other works of the same cantus firmus gives greater context to its interpretation: see ‘Angels, Archangels, and a Woman in Distress’, *op. cit.*, especially 536-9.

Bassus voices. An additional cantus firmus, based on the antiphon *Beata mater*, is treated strictly in a two-voice canon. The short excerpts of the vernacular melody seem almost accidental, as if the composer were accustomed to using the melody as a contrapuntal bass. In the case of the latter, the vernacular melody (from Caron's comic chanson *Cent mille escus*) is also not the only cantus firmus for the motet, as the tenor carries the antiphon *Sancta Maria, succurre miseris*.

There are also a number of motets with cantus firmi from German- and Flemish-texted songs. Through the first quarter of the sixteenth century, there are some motets based on German love songs, such as the anonymous *Veni creator spiritus/Tannhauser, Ihr seid mir lieb* in the Leopold Codex (*D-Mbs Mus. ms. 3154*). The German song takes its text from a verse of the Song of Tannhäuser, wherein Venus reminds Tannhäuser of his oath to her.⁷⁸ While this is sung in the Bassus, the Tenor is another cantus firmus, the hymn 'Veni creator spiritus', which is also paraphrased in the two upper voices. The textual combination may be symbolic of continual temptation even amid the soul's desire for the Holy Spirit's 'supernal grace'; or perhaps more simply, 'Veni' could be a pun on 'Venus'.⁷⁹ More typical is Franciscus Strus's *Sancta Maria succurre miseris/O werder mondt* (in *B-Br 228*), where the cantus firmus of a love song is used in a Marian motet. The same cantus firmus is used by Johannes Molunet in his setting of the *Salve regina* (in *D-Mbs Mus. ms. 34*). German cantus firmi continued to be used in Latin works much later into the sixteenth century, but in a very different fashion, and more frequently the German texts were themselves sacred. Caspar Othmayr used brief German or Latin texts as repeating tenor mottos in his *Symbola illustrissimorum principum*, each work of which was dedicated to a particular noteworthy

⁷⁸ An edition of the song can be found in Thomas L. Noblitt, ed., *Der Kodex des Magister Nicolaus Leopold*, op. cit., in vol. 80, number 38. The full text can be found John Meier, ed. *Balladen*, vol. 1, *Deutsche Literatur: Das deutsche Volkslied*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam jun., 1935), 71-8.

⁷⁹ As suggested by Margaret Bent (personal communication, 15 May 2012).

person.⁸⁰ These later works are far removed from the earlier tradition of motets with mostly French cantus firmi, so I will not discuss them further here.

In total, 33 motets from the mid-fifteenth century onwards have cantus firmi from French songs, and 21 are explicitly dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. One of these, the anonymous *Regina celi/Allez regretz* in A-Wn Mus. Hs. 18825, is discussed in further detail in section 3.4.1.3. Of the motets with non-Marian Latin texts, in some cases the vernacular cantus firmus may still be used to draw to mind the potential Marian connotations of the song. The text of Isaac's *Angeli archangeli/[Comme femme desconfortée]* consists of two antiphons for the feast of All Saints. In spite of this, Rothenberg has argued that the text more properly concerns the Assumption: Mary is represented by the vernacular cantus firmus *Comme femme desconfortée*, and she is surrounded in her heavenly throne by all the angels and saints. This is supported by the motet's position within a section of Marian motets in Cappella Sistina 46 and following Josquin's *Stabat mater/Comme femme* in the Chigi codex.⁸¹ While this interpretation may seem overly speculative, it does raise the intriguing possibility that the melody of a courtly love song might be a Marian symbol in any sacred context, and it need not explicitly invoke the Blessed Virgin.

There are other potential examples of cantus firmi being used for their Marian resonances in non-Marian compositions. In Josquin's motet cycle, *Vultum tuum*, the texts of the first six motets are all conventional Marian prayers, with emphasis on Mary's dual role of bringing Christ into the world and interceding with him on our behalf. As might be expected in a set of Marian prayers, the language tends to repeat itself, and not only in common epithets like 'Sancta dei genitrix'. The phrase 'ne despicias preces nostras, quia ore indigno nomen sanctum tuum invocavimus' in the third motet is repeated in the fifth as 'Preces

⁸⁰ Othmayr 1547. A modern edition of the collection is available in Caspar Othmayr, *Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. Hans Albrecht, *Erbe deutscher Musik* 16 and 26 (Frankfurt: C.F. Peters, 1956-1962), at vol. 16.

⁸¹ David Rothenberg, 'Angels, Archangels, and a Woman in Distress', *op. cit.*, 514-78.

nostras [...] ne despicias, quia ore indigno nomen sanctum tuum invocare presumimus.’⁸²

The sixth motet ends with an invocation to the three persons of the Trinity, setting up a shift in the seventh motet towards the person of Christ. The text of this final motet is based on the *Agnus dei*: there are three invocations beginning ‘Christe Fili Dei’, the first two of which end ‘miserere nobis’. While the first two invocations are closely modelled after those of the *Agnus dei*,⁸³ pride of place in the third invocation is given to ‘the prayers of your most holy mother’: even though the prayer is directed towards Christ, it makes explicit reference to the intercession sought in the previous six motets. Mary is also present in this final motet in a more subtle yet pervasive fashion: the Contratenor quotes the melody of the courtly love song *J’ay pris amours*. In this sacred context, the French text could signify the singer’s dedication to love of the Virgin as a means of obtaining eternal happiness through her Son.⁸⁴ Were this final motet of the cycle taken out of context, the Marian connotations of the cantus firmus would be far less obvious.⁸⁵ It is possible that some of the remaining non-Marian motets with vernacular cantus firmi have likewise lost their obvious connection to Mary as their performance context has been lost.

Two additional early examples of non-Marian motets with vernacular cantus firmi are also by Josquin: *Victime paschali laudes* and *Tu solus qui facis mirabilia*. The former uses the melody of Ockeghem’s *D’ung aultre amer* in the first section and Hayne’s *De tous biens plaine* in the second; the latter uses Ockeghem’s chanson only in the second section. In spite of the fact that Josquin elsewhere uses vernacular song (in particular, *Comme femme*) with Marian connotations, both of these motets seem to apply the French text to the person of

⁸² This translates as ‘Do not look down upon our prayers because we [presume to] invoke your holy name with unworthy mouth’, bracketed text included in the second version.

⁸³ In the first invocation, ‘mundi qui crimina tollis’ (‘who carries the crimes of the world’) is nearly identical to ‘qui tollis peccata mundi’; the second invocation also includes the word ‘mundi’, though in a different context.

⁸⁴ ‘J’ay pris amour en ma devise pour conquerir joyeuseté’; in English, ‘I have taken love as my motto in order to conquer happiness.’

⁸⁵ Petrucci’s *Motetti libro quarto* (RISM 1505²) is the only source for this motet cycle which contains all seven motets: the remaining sources contain between one and five of the motets. *Christe fili dei* does not survive alone, but in its only other source, *I-Pc* A17, it is copied out of context from the four other *Vultum tuum* motets in the manuscript.

Christ. Using these two motets as primary examples, Rothenberg has argued that this particular song, *D'ung aultre amer*, was consistently applied to confer Christological implications. Nevertheless, the use of *D'ung aultre amer* in these motets reflects less on the difference between this and other songs and more on the similarity between the language of Marian devotion and the Christological language used in these motets. In both instances, Christ is addressed in language more commonly associated with Mary, and the textual resonances to a vernacular song such as *D'ung aultre amer* is therefore much stronger. (For further discussion of these two motets and Mariological/Christological interpretation of vernacular song, see Section 3.4.1.2.)

2.4.3.3. Structural Implications of Vernacular Cantus Firmi

Vernacular song is different from liturgical chant for musical reasons as well. Unlike most genres of chant, most vernacular songs used in masses and motets are both rhythmically measured and polyphonic. While ‘parody’ technique is usually associated with cyclic masses, several motets use more than just one melodic voice from a song.⁸⁶ In almost all cases, however, a melody taken from vernacular song carries at least some rhythmic material from the original, and this rhythmic material is closely tied to the song’s melodic material. Thus, the structuring techniques associated with ‘isorhythm’ are not well-suited to vernacular cantus firmi. If the song melody were to be broken up into smaller sections, imposing the same rhythmic patterns on different melodic sections would destroy the rhythmic character of the original.⁸⁷ But two other general structuring techniques are well-suited to vernacular cantus firmi and were used in a number of fifteenth-century examples: free adaptation of the

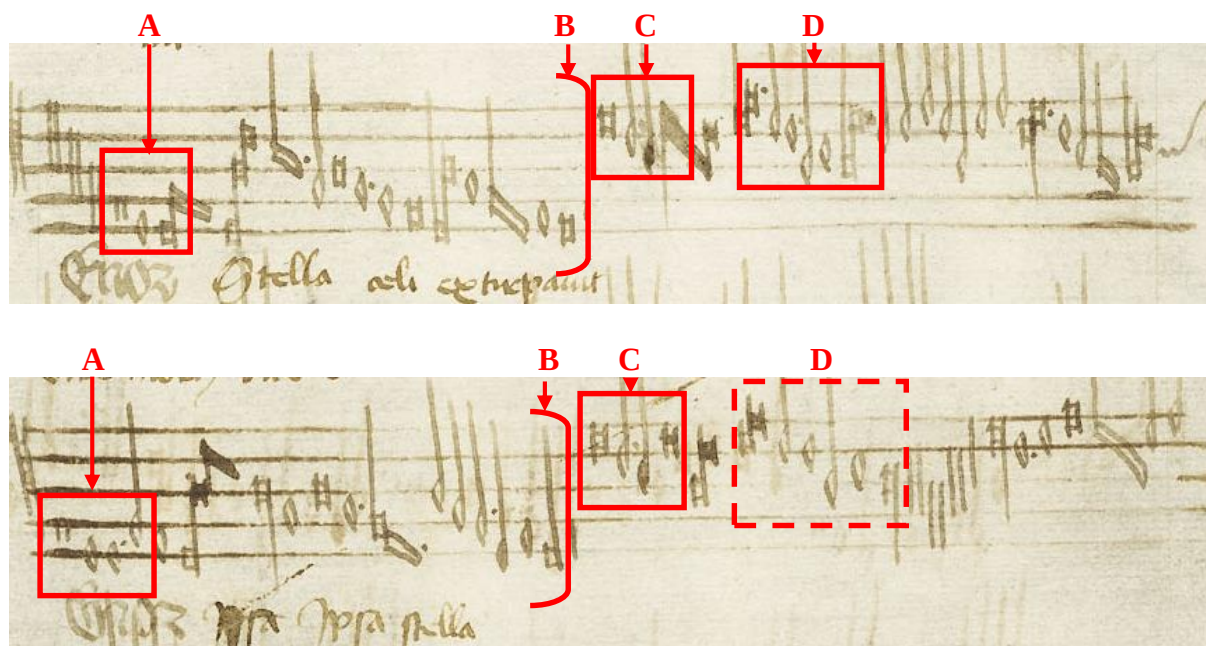
⁸⁶ See the discussion of Compère’s *Omnium bonorum plena* in section 3.3.1.

⁸⁷ Fabrice Fitch (March 2014) has reminded me of the repeating rhythmic patterns in some of Obrecht’s masses, for instance the bass in the first Kyrie of *Missa Adieu mes amours*, which repeats the first five notes of the chanson melody to the same rhythm, or the tenor of *Missa Je ne demande*, which repeats the first five notes of the chanson melody with mensural transformation of the rhythm. These and other examples, however, repeat the melody with the rhythm, so the rhythmic character of the original remains.

song tenor, usually in two or three cursus, and manipulation of the song tenor through mensural or other transformation.

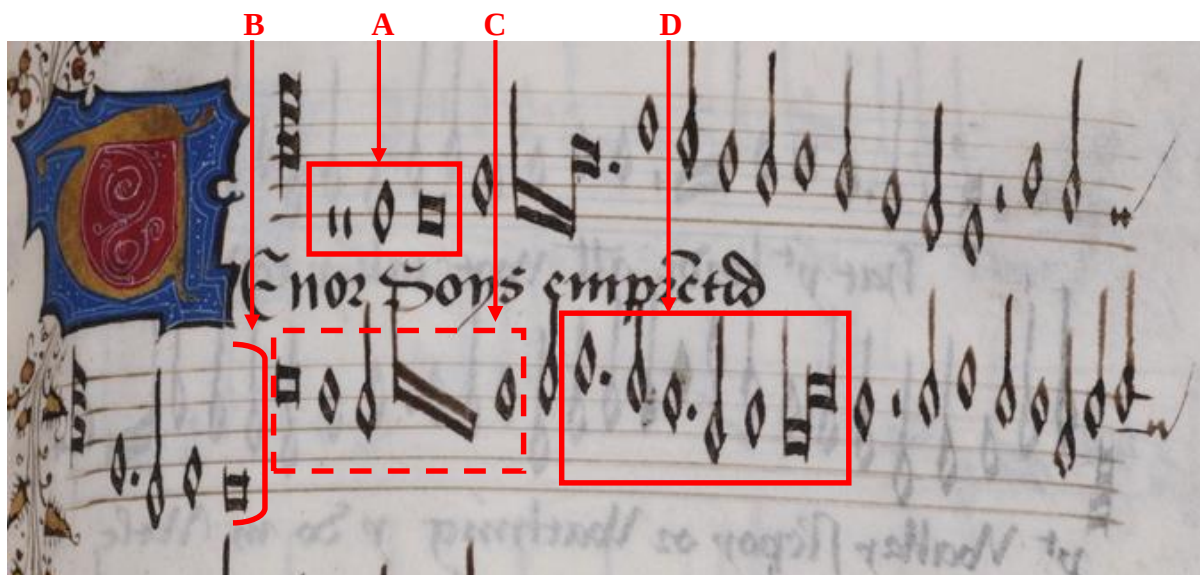
The earliest cases employ free adaptation: the rhythm of the song is not followed closely, but aspects of its character are present. One of the Trent 88 motets with a vernacular cantus firmus is the anonymous *Stella celi*. The tenor twice begins singing the melody of the song *So ys emprentid*:

Figure 2.13. *Stella celi*, beginning of the first two cursus of the tenor, Tr 88, ff. 11v and 12v⁸⁸



⁸⁸ Images © Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trento, used with permission.

Figure 2.14. *Soyez emprentid, tenor*, Mellon Chansonnier (US-NHub 91), f. 62r⁸⁹



The rhythms are all different, but some rhythmic characteristics of the song remain in the motet. All three versions pictured here start on the third semibreve of a perfection (see box A). Phrase structure is mostly maintained: all three versions reach the first major closure on the D as indicated (see bracket B). In some instances, the rhythm of both motet versions is identical, both closely related to that of the chanson (see box C). In another instance, the rhythm of the chanson and one of the two motet cursus are identical (see box D). The rhythm of the song is present in the motet versions, even if it is never consistently and rarely exactly followed.

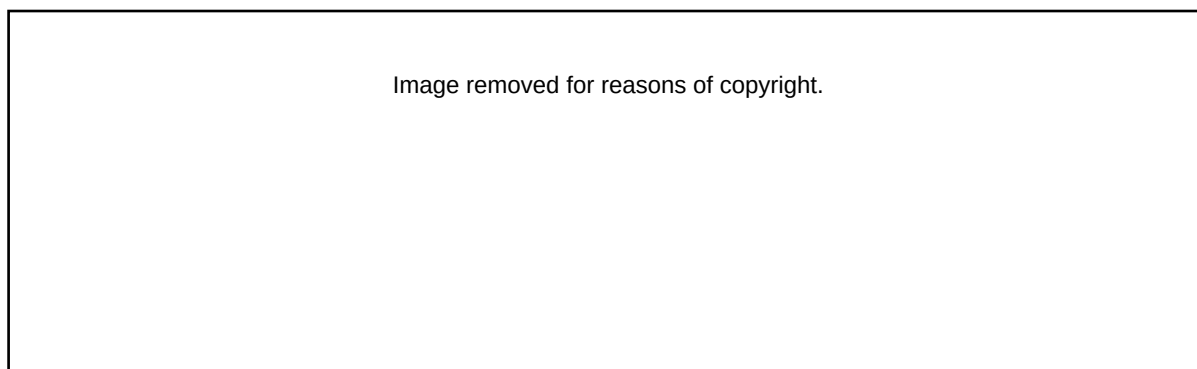
Within a decade or two, it becomes standard practice to use a homographic version of the chanson tenor as the basis for mensural transformation: a single notated statement of the chanson tenor is sung multiple times in different ways. This image usually has the same pitches and note shapes as the original, and frequently also the same ligatures, though most often different mensuration signs. Sometimes the image is recopied with the changes in successive cursus already realized. In Compère's *Omnium bonorum plena*, the tenor has two cursus which follow the exact image of the tenor from Ghizeghem's *De tous biens plaine*.

⁸⁹ Images courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, used with permission and available at <<http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3522414>>.

These cursus are notated separately and are given different mensurations. There are complications to the scheme, including one section which seems to have been intentionally notated inaccurately. In this case, the composer's desire to maintain the image of the song melody seems to have outweighed the desire for strict notational correctness (see below, section 3.3.1).

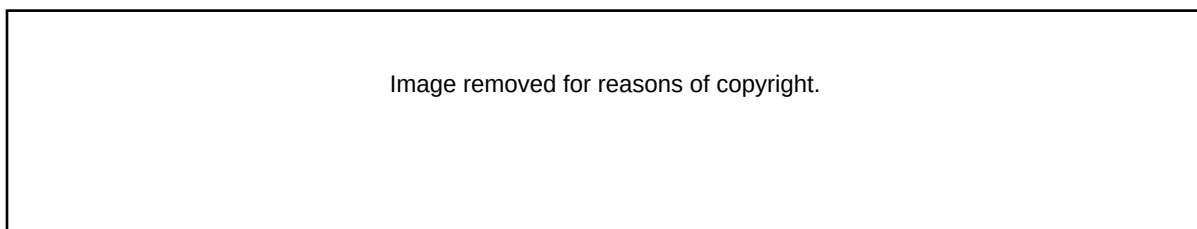
The form of transformation need not be mensural or exclusively mensural. *Gaude virgo decus morum* in *I-VEc* 755 has the simple instruction 'crescit in duplo', which indicates that the notes are to be sung at twice the notated lengths:

Figure 2.15. *Gaude virgo decus morum*, tenor verbal canon, *I-VEc* 755, f. 104v



In the second half, the verbal instruction is made explicit by a mensuration canon: at first, the tenor sings in C against the cut C of the other voices, and at the repeat, all voices are in cut C and sing at the same rate.

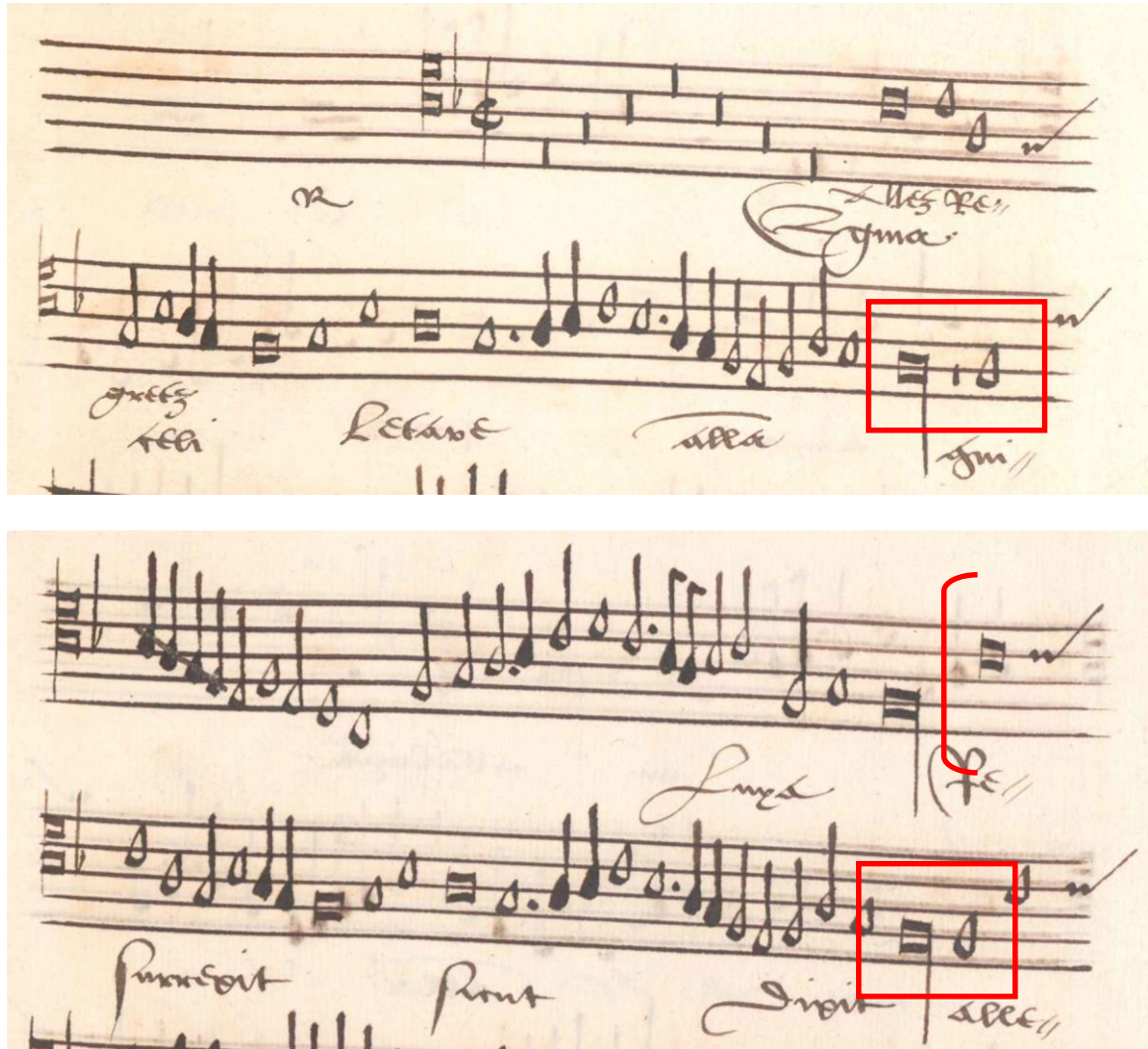
Figure 2.16. *Gaude virgo decus morum*, tenor mensuration canon, *I-VEc* 755, f. 105v



Another motet, a *Regina celi* in *A-Wn* Mus. Hs. 18825, uses the tenor *Allez regretz*. (See discussion of this motet in section 3.4.1.3.) Both tenor cursus are written out in the manuscript, but it could have been notated once with the instruction to repeat without rests.

The red outline below shows where the first rest is indicated in the first cursus and omitted in the second:

Figure 2.17. *Regina celi/Allez regretz*, beginning of first and second tenor cursus, A-Wn Mus. Hs. 18825 (T), ff. 13r and 14r⁹⁰



Thus, the choice to use a vernacular cantus firmus in motets has particular implications for the musical structure. It is difficult to say much about the influence of this group of motets on the continuing development of the genre: after all, development in mass composition also exerted a powerful influence. But the use of vernacular cantus firmi encourages certain musical and structural decisions, and these decisions become more common for tenor motets in general. One potential example is another motet in the Verona

⁹⁰ Images courtesy of the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library, used with permission.

manuscript, *Incomprehensibilia firme* with the cantus firmus *Preter rerum ordinem* (see discussion in section 2.3.1). The sequence chant is rhythmic and always follows the rhythm exactly. There are mensural transformations in each of three sections, though the relative proportions are always exact. As in *Omnium bonorum plena*, the cantus firmus melody is not exclusive to the tenor but is on occasion found in all three other voices. The parallels are not perfect, but it can be seen that this motet fits into the same tradition largely begun by the mid-century motets with vernacular cantus firmi.

While the link between chanson masses and motets continues to be misunderstood due to the concept of ‘Mass-motet cycles’, some smaller claims can be made about the relationship of these two genres and their implications for the ongoing development of motet composition. First, while there is no single unified phenomenon, there are a number of different compositional, scribal, and liturgical or performative connections between the genres of mass and motet. Second, cantus firmi drawn from vernacular song are employed in both masses and motets, and their practice is clearly linked compositionally and contextually. Third, while the use of vernacular song may be motivated by changing devotional practices, it nevertheless has some implications for composition with cantus firmus in the mid- to late fifteenth century.

2.4.4. Conclusions

This chapter has argued that the repertory of chansons with Latin cantus firmi is quite diverse. Whereas most appear virtually non-distinct from chansons with vernacular cantus firmi, sometimes the application of a Latin cantus firmus (or multiple cantus firmi) coincides with certain motet-like features, such as a verbal canon. Given such cases, it is understandable that scholars have classified some of these works in their own category, namely, the ‘motet-chanson’. But this group of pieces is not as homogeneous as its proponents would claim, and it is not accidental that the various definitions of ‘motet-

chansons' all fall short of describing the repertory in a comprehensive manner. Most significantly, there seems to be no reason to prioritize the text of the top voice over the other voices either in chansons or in motets.

The bilingual repertory is worth examining separately from the all-French or all-Latin repertory if only because the sorts of textual relationships tend to be different: there is usually a mixture of ostensibly sacred and secular language, and either the sacred is treated irreverently, or the secular is sanctified.⁹¹ The phenomenon of bilingual polytextuality is primarily textual, reflecting the fact that vernacular languages were used alongside Latin more frequently from the middle of the fifteenth century. From a musical point of view, these compositions are not clearly differentiated from the non-bilingual repertory, although the use of vernacular cantus firmi has compositional implications. It is more helpful to expand the already diverse genres of chansons and motets to include those instances where the cantus firmus has a different language from the rest of the work.

The most useful way of distinguishing between these bilingual motets and chansons concerns the cantus firmi, or those voices which primarily use pre-existing melodic material. Both chansons and motets use cantus firmi at least occasionally, and the Latin or vernacular source of the pre-existing material does not necessarily affect how the composer might wish to structure the piece. In this way, the bilingual repertory can be divided loosely between chansons which use Latin cantus firmi and motets which use vernacular cantus firmi. While the chanson repertory is musically diverse, insofar as a number of the works have some motet-like characteristics, the bilingual motet repertory is much less ambiguous.

The mid-fifteenth-century origins of this bilingual polytextuality have been discussed separately for chansons and motets, but they seem to blossom more or less simultaneously

⁹¹ This term was used by Michael Long in 'Symbol and Ritual', op. cit.: 'the chanson [*Comme femme*] itself undergoes a process of "sanctification"' (2); this is quoted by Rothenberg in 'Angels, Archangels, and a Woman in Distress', op. cit., 539. Long himself 'borrows' the term from art historian Erwin Panofsky in *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, MA, 1953), vol. 1, p. 142.

with each other and alongside the development of the chanson mass. The single earliest work appears to be Du Fay's *Je ne puis plus/Unde veniet auxilium mihi?* found in *GB-Ob* Canon. misc. 213, but the chansons with Latin cantus firmi did not become particularly prevalent until much later in the century, partly following the lead of Ockeghem's *Mort tu as navré* from around 1460. Meanwhile, chanson masses begin to appear in great numbers in manuscripts from the 1450s and 60s, especially the Trent codices 88-91, even while some can be dated earlier. Motets with vernacular cantus firmi appear shortly thereafter. All three of these new compositional trends continue through the turn of the century and begin to diminish after the first quarter of the sixteenth century, where they are kept alive in some peripheral traditions.

2.5. Polytextual Trends in Sixteenth-Century Motets

Over the first half of the sixteenth century, there was a change in the purpose of polytextual composition. Where previously composers frequently used a cantus firmus with a different text in order to add an additional layer of meaning, by the middle of the sixteenth century cantus firmi tend to have been used simply in order to ground the meaning already present in the text. Earlier composers might have chosen a cantus firmus whose original text had an ambiguous connection to the motet text, and any connections that were present (semantic, structural, or lexicological) could have been emphasized by the musical setting, for example in the musical structure and division of the texts, cantus firmus layout and textual synchronization, and in stylistic details such as imitation. By mid-century, the connection between motet text and cantus firmus tended to be unambiguous: it confirmed what was already self-evident in the motet text, such as the identity of the saint to whom the motet was addressed. The musical setting did not need to be manipulated in order to emphasize the connection between the texts, though when the text of the cantus firmus appeared at some point in the longer motet text, they were frequently designed to coincide. More commonly, instead of the cantus firmus being something to be manipulated within the broader textual context of the motet, the cantus firmus was treated as a simple structuring device.

While the late fifteenth century saw a lengthening of melodies used as cantus firmi, by the mid-sixteenth century composers reverted to shorter melodies, based either on short chants or on smaller portions of longer chants, and they tended to be repeated more frequently over the course of the composition. Vernacular songs were no longer commonly used as sources of cantus firmi, and relatively few Latin chants (especially the Litany of the

Saints, parts of the Requiem Mass, *Miserere mei, Domine*, and *Da pacem, Domine*) provided the cantus firmi for a great majority of the polytextual repertoire. Some of these trends may seem more reminiscent of motets from the earlier fifteenth century, in particular the use of shorter cantus firmi with a greater number of structural repeats. The longer cantus firmi of the mid- to late fifteenth century tended to be structured either with an implicit or explicit mensuration canon or with approximate melodic (and not rhythmic) repeats. With these later, shorter cantus firmi, the repeats tended to be both melodic and rhythmic, potentially with melodic transposition and/or proportional transformation of the rhythm, and not infrequently sung in canon with itself.

This chapter will discuss three types of motets following these newer trends in polytextuality: the ‘ostinato-tenor motet’, the subset of those with a Litany cantus firmus, and motets with the cantus firmus *Da pacem, Domine*. Unlike the previous chapters, in which manuscripts and/or composers were used as the basis for contextualizing and grouping motets, this chapter considers the identity of the cantus firmus as an important consideration for categorization. This is not a new approach: David Rothenberg, for instance, has tracked the use of the vernacular song *Comme femme desconfortée* as the cantus firmus for ten different Latin compositions from the late fifteenth to early sixteenth century, proposing that it has ‘distinctive devotional associations’ with the Virgin Mary.¹ He gave similar analyses of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century compositions on the *In seculum* tenor and of late fifteenth-century motets and mass movements based on the vernacular song *De tous biens plaine*.² M. Jennifer Bloxam has also grouped works on this basis, such as the motets by Compère, Obrecht, and Brumel on the cantus firmus *Beata es, Maria*.³ The categories to be discussed here are noteworthy as Latin cantus firmi for the sheer number of works which were structured around them, surpassing the vernacular songs discussed by Rothenberg. While

¹ ‘Angels, Archangels, and a Woman in Distress’, op. cit., 524-545 (quote at 526).

² *The Flower of Paradise*, op. cit., chapters 3 and 6.

³ “‘La Contenance Italienne’”, op. cit., 39-89.

they do have ‘distinctive devotional associations’, these tend to be much more obvious than that of previously used tenors. Structurally, however, they have a number of unique characteristics: composers tended to use these cantus firmi with an awareness of the tradition into which they placed themselves. A consideration of the use of these cantus firmi loosely based on their historical and chronological connections yields interesting results concerning the compositional contexts into which these motets were written.

2.5.1. Ostinato-Tenor Motets

The term ‘ostinato’ has been used to represent at least two different compositional techniques within fifteenth and sixteenth-century music. Edgar H. Sparks used the term most frequently to refer to the repetition of melodic motives in free counterpoint, usually between two or three of the non-tenor voices, as a sort of concentrated or repeated imitation.⁴ He also occasionally used the term when referring to repetitions of motives in the tenor: the three Josquin motets, *Miserere mei, deus, Illibata dei virgo nutrix*, and the five-voice *Salve regina* are said to be ‘constructed on an *ostinato* c.f.’.⁵ It is this use of the term which will be discussed here: where relatively short melodic patterns are repeated several times in a single tenor voice, potentially in different transpositions, or in two voices in canon. While ostinato-tenor motets as discussed here begin to appear in the second half of the fifteenth century, they are an extension of earlier fifteenth-century structuring techniques (those associated with ‘isorhythm’). Ostinato tenors become more common in motets from the beginning of the sixteenth century and continue to be composed frequently until the end of the century.

Compositions with ‘ostinato tenors’ have been discussed by several different scholars, including Sparks, Wolfgang Stephan, Mary E. Columbro, and, most recently, Timothy Pack.⁶

⁴ ‘[S]equence and *ostinato* are normally devices of the free counterpoints’; *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet*, op. cit., for example 226-9, quote at 236.

⁵ Ibid., 210-11 and 392-3, quote at 393.

⁶ See Sparks, op. cit., as above; Stephan, *Die Burgundisch-Niederländische Motette zur Zeit Ockeghems*, op. cit., especially pp. 34 and 50; Columbro, ‘Ostinato Technique in the Franco-Flemish Motet: 1480-ca.1562’

Pack has compiled the most complete list of compositions (most of which are motets) with what he considers to be ostinato tenors, spanning the time period c. 1450 to c. 1600, drawing on Columbro's dissertation.⁷ Pack considers an ostinato to be any cantus firmus which has at least three iterations of a motive or phrase, and he describes five different types of these ostinato tenors: motivic, phrase, scalar, *soggetto cavato*, and supplicatory.⁸ These categories are not all equally relevant to polytextuality—scalar ostinato tenors or those based on *soggetto cavato* are just as likely not to have a second text—but the majority of Pack's list consists of compositions with multiple texts. Some of Pack's categories are useful because they describe specific compositional techniques—such as repeating tenors based on scales or *soggetto cavato*—whereas the motivic and phrase categories (along with the hybrid categories 'motivic-phrase' and 'phrase-motivic') seem to be used to describe simply varying lengths of ostinato melodies. 'Supplicatory' is perhaps the least helpful designation as it (uniquely) refers to textual and not musical characteristics: surely all of these could also be placed in the motivic or phrase categories.⁹ Nevertheless, Pack does reach some interesting conclusions: first, ostinato technique became much more common in several different genres in the generation of composers from c. 1450 to c. 1520; in subsequent generations, the technique is used most frequently in motets; and these compositions continue to be common until the end of the sixteenth century.¹⁰ As Pack divides the repertory, motivic ostinatos tend to be found before and around 1500; scalar ostinatos and those based on *soggetto cavato* tend

(Ph.D. diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1974); and Pack, 'Ostinato-Tenor Motet Composition, c.1500', in *The Motet around 1500: On the relationship of imitation and text treatment?*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 277-97.

⁷ 'Ostinato-Tenor Motet Composition', op. cit., 294-7. While Pack's list is useful for its completeness, it is limited in usefulness by lack of information (there are no sources mentioned, even for anonymous works).

⁸ Ibid., 278-9.

⁹ See ibid., 279-81. A separate category for ostinatos based on the Litany of the Saints might be justifiable for musical reasons—they have a distinctive call and response pattern—but there is no such musical justification for ostinatos based on the text 'Miserere mei, deus' or the antiphon *Da pacem, Domine*. On the other hand, Brumel's *Langueute miseris* with cantus firmus 'Clamor meus ad te veniat' could just as easily have been interpreted as 'supplicatory' instead of having a 'phrase ostinato'.

¹⁰ Ibid., 278.

to be found around 1500; phrase ostinatos tend to be from the early to mid-sixteenth century; and supplicatory ostinatos are common in motets throughout most of the sixteenth century.¹¹

The use of frequent structural repetition in the tenor may be more closely linked chronologically to multiple cursus repetition, but it is also strongly reminiscent of those earlier structural techniques which have misleadingly fallen under the name of ‘isorhythm’. One of the earliest motets discussed by Pack is Busnoys’s *In hydraulis*, with its 24 iterations of a simple three-note motive in the tenor. Pack connects this motet to later fifteenth-century examples such as Josquin’s *Illibata dei virgo*, but the technique employed here is more evocative of earlier fifteenth-century structured tenors than of sixteenth-century ostinato tenors.¹² Richard Taruskin has suggested, for example, that Busnoys ‘reverted [...] somewhat to the style and procedures of the isorhythmic motet’, emphasizing the mensural transformation as well as the melodic transposition.¹³ This earlier historical context is certainly informative for a motet such as Busnoys’s, and it is also a useful comparison when dealing with later ostinato tenors.

In general, motets with short ostinato motives (which Pack would call ‘motivic’) such as *In hydraulis* and *Illibata dei virgo* are found in sources from the fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries. In these cases, the ostinato is most frequently from a common Marian antiphon, such as the first four notes of the ‘Salve regina’ or the first five of ‘Regina celi’. One example might be the anonymous *Salve/Tota pulcra es* in *GB-Lbl* Royal 8.G.VII, wherein the first four notes of the Salve regina chant are repeated in canon with various transpositions. But there are also fifteenth-century motets with longer ostinato tenors (‘phrase ostinatos’) such as Brumel’s *Languente miseris* with the tenor ‘clamor meus ad te veniat’.¹⁴ Repetition of melodic phrases also occurs in the number of multiple cursus tenor motets from the later

¹¹ Ibid., 279-80.

¹² See *ibid.*, 285-7. Pack also cites Columbro, ‘Ostinato Technique’, *op. cit.*, 188-9 and Allan W. Atlas, *Renaissance Music in Western Europe* (London: Norton, 1998), 152.

¹³ Antoine Busnoys, *The Latin-texted Works*, *op. cit.*, Commentary p. 76.

¹⁴ Unicum in *A-Wn* Cod. 18746.

fifteenth century discussed in sections 2.2 and 2.3. Of the ten motets securely attributable to Obrecht discussed in section 2.3.3, four motets have at least four (and up to seven) cursus through the tenor melody. Some of these tenor melodies are hard to classify as ostinatos because of their length.¹⁵ However, all of these (short and long) repeating tenor melodies form an important precedent for the sixteenth-century ostinato repertoire which follows.

A significant majority of the later ostinato-tenor motet repertoire uses longer melodic patterns, frequently based on a simple chant formula such as the Litany of the Saints, a short antiphon such as *Da pacem, Domine*, or the commonly used motive connected to the text ‘Miserere mei, deus’. These are also by far the most common to involve polytextuality: there is a short, common, and relevant phrase of text, most often with the chant melody commonly associated with the phrase, to accompany a somewhat longer liturgical or occasional motet text. These examples are most common from the early sixteenth century and continue to be composed towards the end. The following two sections (2.5.2 and 2.5.3) will discuss motets which use the two most common ostinato melodies: the Litany of the Saints and *Da pacem, Domine*.

2.5.2. Tenors Based on the Litany of the Saints

The Litany of the Saints is first found as an ostinato melody in compositions with vernacular text. Of the five chansons with Latin ostinato tenors, three use the Litany melody:

¹⁵ None of Obrecht’s motets are included in Pack’s list.

Table 2.16. Chansons with Latin ostinato tenors

	<i>Ich zie dien claren dach/Sancte Johannes baptista/Ora pro nobis</i>	<i>F-Pn lat.</i> 16664
Compère	<i>Royne du ciel/Regina celi</i> ¹⁶	<i>RISM</i> 1501 <i>I-Bc</i> Q17 <i>I-Fn</i> Ms. Panc. 27
Isaac	<i>Fortuna desperata/Sancte Petre/Ora pro nobis</i>	<i>E-SE</i> MS. s.s.
Japart	<i>Vray dieu d'amours/Sancte Iohanes baptista/Ora pro nobis</i>	<i>RISM</i> 1504 ³
Josquin	<i>Ce povre mendant/Pauper sum ego</i>	<i>B-Br</i> 228 <i>GB-Lbl</i> 35087 <i>I-Fc</i> Basevi 2439

All of these date from the end of the fifteenth century or the first few years of the sixteenth, mostly from sources which transmit a large majority of vernacular music. As mentioned in section 2.4.2.2, three of these are related in having two inner voices alternating between the invocation and response portions from the Litany of the Saints. These are by far the earliest examples of compositions using this particular melodic formula as a cantus firmus (or pair of cantus firmi). It tends to be assumed that there must be some close relationship between the three chansons which use this melodic formula.¹⁷ Despite the fact that they use three different vernacular languages and their three unique sources were copied or printed in three quite different regions (France, Spain, and Venice), these compositions are near contemporaries of each other and their musical similarities are undeniable. It is almost unthinkable that three separate composers would decide individually yet in close chronological proximity to each other to use the litany as a cantus firmus (something that had never been done previously), to split it between two voices, and to do so in the context provided by a vernacular chanson.¹⁸

¹⁶ Whereas both the Petrucci print and the Florentine manuscript attribute the composition to Compère, Pack follows the Bologna manuscript in attributing it with a question mark to Prioris (op. cit., 293). Presumably this is results from confusion with the other known composition to use the same two textual incipits, though without the ostinato tenor. This piece survives both in the same Bologna manuscript (anonymous) and in *I-Fc* Basevi 2439 (attributed to Prioris). Both compositions can be found with manuscript information in *Johannes Prioris, Opera omnia*, ed. T. Herman Keahey and Conrad Douglas, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 90 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1982-5), volume 3: 'Motets and Chansons'.

¹⁷ See Meconi, 'Ockeghem and the Motet-chanson', op. cit., 390; Pack, op. cit., 287-92; Martin Picker, 'Henricus Isaac and *Fortuna desperata*', in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. Paula Higgins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), esp. 438; and Allan W. Atlas and Jane Alden, 'Japart, Jean', *Grove Music Online* (<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>, accessed 16 November 2012).

¹⁸ Additional musical similarities are discussed in Pack, op. cit., 287-9.

The earliest of these works is probably the anonymous *Ich zie dien claren dach*.¹⁹ Isaac may have come into contact with the piece before moving to Florence around 1485,²⁰ and the same might be true of Japart, who moved to Milan around 1476 and to Ferrara shortly thereafter. While five-voice chansons might be unusual as early as the 1470s,²¹ the two litany voices in all three works are contrapuntally equivalent to a single voice (all overlap is at the unison), and Japart's composition seems more closely related to the anonymous work than to Isaac's, with its rhythmically active lower voices.²² Of the three, Isaac's chanson appears most probably to have drawn inspiration from one or both of the others and to have taken it in a slightly different direction. It is not implausible to think that Japart's chanson might have appeared alongside Isaac's in the lost manuscript of music by Isaac given by Lorenzo de' Medici to the Venetian ambassador Girolamo Donato in 1491. Bonnie Blackburn suggests that Donato probably had connections to Petrus Castellanus, who collected much of the music for Petrucci's prints, and Japart's work appears in one of the earlier collections, *Canti C*.²³

Other examples of compositions using the Litany of the Saints as a cantus firmus do not arrive until well into the sixteenth century, notably in the motet manuscript from the

¹⁹ Pack, op. cit., says that it was copied 'between c.1474 and c.1485' (287), though he gives no citation. DIAMM, following Jos. Smits van Waesberghe, ed., *Guidonis Aretini: Micrologus, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica* 4 (American Institute of Musicology, 1955), 56, suggests that it is from the late fifteenth century (Digital Archive for Medieval Music, <<http://www.diamm.ac.uk>>, accessed 16 November 2012).

²⁰ Picker, in 'Henricus Isaac and *Fortuna desperata*', op. cit., 238, suggests that the presence of Isaac's work in the Segovia manuscript suggests that it was composed *before* Isaac moved to Florence, though he also questions whether Isaac would have known *Fortuna desperata* in Flanders.

²¹ Though certainly not unheard of: another chanson with multiple (Latin) cantus firmi is the more sophisticated anonymous *Permanent vierge/Pulcra es/Sancta dei genitrix* found in the Dijon Chansonier (*F-Dm* 517) discussed in the previous chapter.

²² Whether Japart used the anonymous work as inspiration or the unknown composer based his work on Japart's is unclear, though there is no evidence that Japart would have composed this piece so long before Petrucci printed *Canti C* in 1504. The cantus firmus treatment in both works is so similar that I would think it unlikely that a single composer would have composed both works, and more likely that Japart and Isaac were intrigued by the structural conceit and thought that they would make use of it in their own way.

²³ 'Lorenzo de' Medici, A lost Isaac manuscript, and the Venetian ambassador', in *Musica Franca: Essays in Honor of Frank D'Accone*, ed. Irene Alm, Alyson McLamore, and Colleen Reardon (Stuyvesant, 1996), 19-44, reprinted in Blackburn, *Composition, Printing and Performance* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2000); see especially 36-7. The remainder of the article includes more on this manuscript and the correspondences which attest to its existence. Blackburn also questions whether the manuscript contained only works by Isaac; see p. 29.

Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome resurrected by Edward E. Lowinsky, which he suggested was copied around 1530-1531 in Florence.²⁴ There are four such motets found therein:

Table 2.17. Motets with litany cantus firmi in I-Rv S1 35-40, with additional sources

Arcadelt	<i>O pulcherrima mulierum vulnerasti cor meum/Sancta Maria ora pro nobis</i> ²⁵	RISM 1539 ⁵
Verdelot	<i>Celorum candor splenduit/Sancte Francisce, ora pro nobis</i> ²⁶	
Willaert	<i>Simile est regnum celorum/Sancta Helena, ora pro nobis</i>	I-Bc Q27
	<i>Apostolus andreas/Sancte Andrea ora pro nobis</i>	

The relationship between the earlier chansons and these four motets from some 25 years later is unclear. While the three chansons use the Litany of the Saints as a cantus firmus, these four motets all use the litany text in a single voice which sings both the invocations and responses. The motets use three different melodies: only *Apostolus Andreas* and Willaert's *Simile est regnum* use the common litany tone found in the three chansons.²⁷ There is also the potential change of intention in including the litany melody: Martin Picker, after Julie Cumming and Maria Rika Maniates, has suggested that the chansons are 'mocking conventional piety',²⁸ whereas the later motets seem to employ the litany with complete sincerity. Nevertheless, a loose linear connection between these two groups of works might be proposed, and it centres geographically in northern Italy. As mentioned earlier, Japart was active in Ferrara as well as Milan, but most significant is Isaac's long association with the Medici household in Florence. Lowinsky argued that the Vallicelliana manuscript was copied in Florence in part on account of the extensive Florentine connections in the texts of the motets.²⁹ Both Verdelot and

²⁴ 'A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript from the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 3/3 (1950): 173-232; for dating of the manuscript, see 195-6.

²⁵ See Lowinsky, op. cit., 212.

²⁶ See edition in *Philippe Verdelot: Opera omnia* (Volume II), ed. Anne-Marie Bragard, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 28 (American Institute of Musicology, 1973), 36-41.

²⁷ Arcadelt's motet is the only one *not* to use a chant melody, in this case the motive *mi-fa-re-fa-mi*, though it is not all that dissimilar to the melody used in Le Brung's motet mentioned below.

²⁸ Picker, 'Henricus Isaac and *Fortuna desperata*', op. cit., 238; see also Cumming, 'The Goddess Fortuna Revisited', *Current Musicology* 30 (1980), 17, and Maniates, 'Quodlibet Revisum', *Acta musicologica* 38 (1966), 174.

²⁹ 'A Newly Discovered Motet Manuscript', op. cit., esp. 191-2.

Arcadelt were living in Florence during or close to the time of the manuscript's copying, whereas Willaert was living in Ferrara and Venice. Because the way these motets employ the litany is quite opposed to its treatment in the earlier chansons, a direct compositional link is unlikely, but it does seem likely that the idea of using the litany as a *cantus firmus* came indirectly from these earlier pieces.

Lowinsky mentioned the unusual variety of compositional techniques used in the manuscript ('*canon, cantus firmus, ostinato*, melodic paraphrase of Gregorian melodies, and works freely conceived'), and he uses the term '*ostinato*' with respect to the tenors of many of the motets, including those listed above.³⁰ While it is certainly not unusual to find motets which use these compositional procedures at this point or even much later into the sixteenth century, it is surprising to find so many copied into the same set of partbooks. Several of these techniques imply some sort of polytextuality. The four motets which use tenors based on the litany are part of this emphasis on the more modern structuring techniques exhibited in this manuscript and centred primarily in Italy and in the mid-sixteenth century.

In the decades following the copying of the Vallicelliana manuscript, composers from all around Italy began to use the Litany of Saints as an *ostinato cantus firmus*, presumably considering it a convenient method of grounding the prayers offered in the longer motet texts and/or a simple and useful musical structuring device. A number of similar works appear in other manuscripts and prints from around the same time and into the end of the century:

³⁰ Ibid., 175 and 187 (quote at 175). '*Ostinato*' tends to be used as a separate technique from '*cantus firmus*'; the use of the liturgical melody '*Da pacem, Domine*' in the tenor is classified as a '*cantus firmus*' and not as an '*ostinato*', despite the repetitions (see p. 175).

Table 2.18. Motets with litany cantus firmi after I-Rv S1 35-40

Le Brung	<i>Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris/Sancte Paule</i>	<i>I-Pc A17</i> <i>I-Rvat CS 46</i> <i>RISM 1534</i> ¹⁰
Gombert	<i>Veni dilecta mea/Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis</i>	<i>RISM 1541</i> ³
Ruffo	<i>O doctor optime/Sancte Hieronyme, ora pro nobis</i>	<i>I-TVcap 4</i> <i>Il primo libro de motetti a cinque voci de l'egregio Vincentio Ruffo... (Milan, Senato, 1542)</i>
Villiers	<i>Stephanus cum totum volitet/Sancte Stephane ora pro nobis</i>	<i>RISM 1542</i> ⁵
Certon	<i>Diligeat autem eum Jesus/Sancte Johannes ora pro nobis</i>	<i>RISM 1544</i> ⁶
Morales	<i>Andreas Christi famulus dignus dei/sancte Andrea ora pro nobis</i> ³¹	
Crecquillon	<i>Ave stella matutina/Sancta Maria ora pro nobis</i> ³²	
Clemens	<i>Tota pulchra es amica mea/Sancta Margaretha ora pro nobis</i> ³³	<i>RISM 1555</i> ⁶
Vaet	<i>Qui operatus es Petro/Sancte Petre ora pro nobis</i> ³⁴	
Cristo	<i>Inter natos mulierum/Sancte Johannes ora pro nobis</i> ³⁵	
Caussin	<i>Regina celi/Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis</i>	
Regnard	<i>Lux de celo/Sancte Piate, ora pro nobis</i>	
Hollander	<i>Saulus cum iter facerat/Sancte Paule, ora pro nobis</i>	
Utendal	<i>Cantantibus organis/Sancta Cecilia ora pro nobis</i>	
Utendal	<i>Postquam completi sunt/Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis</i> ³⁶	

2.5.3. *Da Pacem, Domine*

The earliest composition I have found that uses *Da pacem, Domine* as a cantus firmus is

Johannes Martini's *Salve regina/Da pacem*, surviving in the Leopold Codex (D-Mbs Mus.

³¹ See Cristóbal de Morales: *Opera omnia*, Volume 8, ed. H. Anglès, *Monumentos de la música española* 34 (Rome: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1970), 36-7 and 157-65.

³² See Thomas Crecquillon: *Opera omnia*, Volume 6, ed. Mary Tiffany Ferer and Barton Hudson, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 63 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1996).

³³ See Clemens non Papa: *Opera omnia*, Volume 16, ed. K. P. Bernet Kempers, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 4 (American Institute of Musicology, 1968).

³⁴ See Jacobus Vaet: *Motetten*, Volume 3, ed. Milton Steinhard, *Denkmaler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 103 (Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1963).

³⁵ See *Music by Pedro de Cristo (c. 1550-1618): an edition of the motets from Coimbra*, *Biblioteca Geral da Universidade MM33*, ed. Owen Rees (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998).

³⁶ These last five motets were cited by Pack, op. cit., 293-7, though without any source information. I have not yet been able to track all of them down.

ms. 3154) and in *D-D Mus. ms. 1/D/505*.³⁷ It is unlike those which follow in a number of respects, most notably that this particular cantus firmus appears only once and only in the first section of the composition, and all of the remaining voices are paraphrasing an additional liturgical melody, that of the *Salve regina*. Four of the subsequent sections of the piece also carry additional liturgical cantus firmi, each of them different.³⁸ While *Da pacem* is found in the tenor voice, these other cantus firmi are in the bassus and altus voices. A comparable piece is another setting of *Salve regina* in the Leopold Codex, this one by ‘Ar. Fer.’ (the composition is mentioned in section 2.4.1).³⁹ The antiphon setting is again divided into numerous sections following the text of the *Salve regina*, except that here there are several different vernacular cantus firmi, all found in the superius voice.

Despite the variety of liturgical contexts from which the cantus firmi in Martini’s motet were taken, they seem to have been chosen at least in part for textual reasons. The overall semantic effect of the cantus firmi emphasizes the connections between Mary and Christ, especially at his Passion, and the connections between the misery of the cross and our current sorrows. *Da pacem* fits into this picture as one of several textually relevant short cantus firmi, not for contextualization with a more specific event or situation, as is seen later.

The next surviving motets to use *Da pacem* as a cantus firmus appear in CS 15:

Table 2.19. Motets with cantus firmus *Da pacem* in CS 15, with additional sources

Compère	<i>Quis numerare queat/Da pacem</i> ⁴⁰	<i>RISM 1502</i> ¹
Weerbeke	<i>Dulcis amica dei digna/Da pacem</i> ⁴¹	<i>RISM 1508</i> ¹

³⁷ See *Der Kodex des Magister Nicolaus Leopold*, op. cit., vol. 81 pp. 11-24; commentary in vol. 83 pp. 369-370.

³⁸ These other cantus firmi were taken from *Vexilla regis prodeunt*, the hymn for Vespers for the Saturday after Passion Sunday; *Vos amici mei*, an antiphon for the common of apostles and evangelists; *Gloria, laus et honor*, the refrain for the hymn for the Palm Sunday procession; and *Veni sancte spiritus*, a Pentecost sequence. See the commentary in *Der Kodex des Magister Nicolaus Leopold*, op. cit., 369-370, for more information.

³⁹ Edition in *Der Kodex des Magister Nicolaus Leopold*, op. cit., EdM 81, 41-52; commentary in EdM 83, 370.

⁴⁰ See Ludwig Finscher, ed., *Loyset Compère: Opera omnia*, op. cit., vol. 3.

⁴¹ See Agnese Pavanello, ed. in collaboration with Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, *Gaspar van Weerbeke: Collected Works*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 106, Vol. 4: Motets (American Institute of Musicology, 2010).

The texts of both of these motets makes it clear that ‘peace’ is meant to refer not only to the spiritual but also to the worldly, leaving open the possibility for application of these motets to specific historical contexts. M. Jennifer Bloxam, slightly amending Ludwig Finscher’s earlier hypothesis, has proposed that Compère’s motet was written to celebrate one of many treaties signed between French and Italian forces during the First Italian War (from 1494), most probably that between Charles VIII and Pope Alexander VI from January 1495.⁴² Weerbeke’s motet text begins as an elaborated version of the *Salve regina*, sharing words and phrases such as ‘Ad te... suspiramus’, ‘lacrimarum valle’, ‘oculos’, ‘misericordie matrem’, and ‘advocatam’. It would seem that Weerbeke, in addition to Martini, found the textual resonances between the two antiphons (*Salve regina* and *Da pacem*) worth exploiting through their simultaneous sounding in music. In the second section, the motet text includes the word ‘pax’ or ‘pacem’ three times, it refers to Mary as the one who ‘brought peace to the world’, and it refers elsewhere to ‘enemies of the Holy Church’.⁴³ Weerbeke’s motet has few specific details concerning what ‘peace’ this might be, but both motets are clearly referring to an earthly peace, whether a specific treaty or the generalized concept.

Weerbeke’s motet also provides a useful demonstration that even ‘occasional’ pieces were meant to be reused as the occasion demands. The Cappella Sistina manuscript gives the opening of the *secunda pars* as follows:

Rogamus te piissima virgo pro N. papa nostro [...]

(We beseech thee, most holy Virgin, for our pope N. [...])

Regardless of whether there was an ‘original’ context for which this motet was composed, in including this ‘N.’, the scribe was making it abundantly clear that the motet was meant to be reused for successive popes. The only fact that this sentence does specify is that the motet

⁴² See Finscher, *Loyset Compère: Opera omnia*, op. cit., vol. 2 and Bloxam, “‘La Contenance Italienne’”, op. cit., 72-3. As Finscher pointed out and Bloxam reiterated, the two sources for the motet mention alternately ‘itali’ and ‘galle’ at the opening of the third section.

⁴³ Translations of the Latin ‘mundo pacem contulisti’ and ‘ecclesie sanctae inimicos’.

was designed to be sung for the current pope, not for any other temporal ruler. This makes sense both as the composer spent much of his life as a member of the papal choir, and as the manuscript was copied in Rome for use by the Cappella Sistina.⁴⁴ In Petrucci's 1508 print, however, not only is the name specified, but it is not a pope for whom the musicians are directed to sing: the new words read '*pro leonardo duce nostro*'. This 'leonardo' is surely Leonardo Loredan, doge of Venice from 1501 to his death in 1521, and the fact that the Venetian printer made this insertion can come as no surprise: relations between the republic and the papacy were anything but cheery in the buildup to the League of Cambrai (concluded at the end of 1508) and the papal interdict against all citizens of the republic (in 1509). Seeing the print version of the motet alone might lead one to conclude that it had been composed specifically with the case of Venice in mind, whereas the earlier manuscript suggests that the original intention was quite different if not deliberately flexible. The Venetian print proves, however, that a motet might be used to fulfill a much different purpose than was originally intended.

Isaac's *Optime divino date/Da pacem/Sacerdos et pontifex*, the next motet to appear with the cantus firmus, has more explicit textual allusions to a specific peace.⁴⁵ As Albert Dunning has shown, the motet appears to be referring to events shortly after the election of Leo X as pope, when the Imperial Chancellor, Cardinal Matthäus Lang, went to Rome as representative of Maximilian I.⁴⁶ The motet appears to be a unique case, employing as it does a second cantus firmus (*Sacerdos et pontifex*) and ending with all voices joining in singing the self-reflecting words '*Hec pia Caesarei cantores vota frequentant, Amen*' ('the singers of Caesar repeat these holy vows'). In at least one respect, however, this motet shares an unusual feature with the two in CS 15: while the *Da pacem* melody is found primarily in long

⁴⁴ Cf. Richard Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries*, Renaissance Manuscript Studies 5 (Neuhausen: American Institute of Musicology, 1996), especially 65.

⁴⁵ The motet appears in *RISM* 1520⁴ and 1538³.

⁴⁶ *Vier Staatsmotetten des 16. Jahrhunderts von Heinrich Isaac, Antoine Bruhier, Jachet di Mantua, Johannes de Cleve*, ed. Dunning, *Chorwerk* 120 (Wolfenbüttel: Mösel Verlag, 1977), iii-v.

notes in the tenor, most of the other voices also paraphrase the opening. The motets by Compère and Weerbeke use the beginning of the chant as a melodic motif found in most (if not all) of the non-tenor voices. In Isaac's motet, it appears in long notes in the discantus and altus, against which a rhythmically active counter-melody is invariably sung.⁴⁷ That this melody appears in the two upper voices emphasizes the fact that both cantus firmi begin with the same three notes (g-f-g), which may indeed have been additional motivation for the combination. At least in the altus, however, the melody being sung in advance of the entrance of the two tenors is clearly that of *Da pacem*, not *Sacerdos et pontifex*. Paraphrasing the melody of the tenor in other voices is not unusual of motets in this period, but it is much more common among motets where the tenor text is the same (or at least begins the same) as the text of the other voices. All three of these motets were composed within twenty years of each other and have some Roman connections.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, this peculiar connection between these three motets with the *Da pacem* cantus firmus may be purely coincidental: it is much rarer for this to happen in the later motets.

Like the previously discussed repertory of motets with cantus firmi from the Litany of Saints, another important source for *Da pacem* as a cantus firmus is the Vallicelliana manuscript. There are three such motets to be found therein:

⁴⁷ This occurs at the opening between the discantus and altus and immediately after between the altus and bassus. The counter-melody appears again in the bassus with the entrance of the tenor at the 21st breve.

⁴⁸ Dunning, op. cit., iv, suggests that at least a portion of the Imperial chapel would have travelled with Cardinal Lang on his trip to Rome, for which Isaac's motet was written; it is not implausible to suggest that Isaac might have been there and could have even composed the motet while in Rome. As mentioned, both of the other motets were copied in Rome. Compère was probably accompanying Charles VIII on his journey to Rome in 1495 as a member of his chapel, and this may relate to the fact that he was the most well represented composer in CS 15 besides Du Fay; see Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts*, op. cit., 16.

Table 2.20. Motets with cantus firmus *Da pacem* in I-Rv S1 35-40

Lheritier	<i>Miserere mei, domine/Da pacem</i> ⁴⁹
Verdelot	<i>Congregati sunt inimici nostri/Da pacem</i> ⁵⁰
Conseil/Festa?	<i>Dominator celorum/Da pacem</i> ⁵¹

As mentioned, none of them appear to paraphrase the *Da pacem* melody in any non-tenor voices; the only one which appears to use a pre-existing melody is Lheritier's *Miserere mei*, which uses a similar motive to that found in numerous motets with the same text.⁵² Lheritier's motet is also the only one to bear a seeming connection to one of the earlier motets: like Compère's *Quis numerare queat*, the cantus firmus melody is composed in canon with itself. Even so, the canons are worked out quite differently, Compère quoting the entire melody in breves, while Lheritier largely alternates between longs and breves.

A number of additional motets are found in prints and manuscripts dating from around mid-century onwards:

Table 2.21. Later motets with cantus firmus *Da pacem*

Danckerts/ Maistre Jhan?	<i>Tua est potencia/Da pacem</i>	<i>RISM</i> 1540 ⁷ <i>I-TVcap</i> 30
Werrecore	<i>Congregati sunt inimici nostri/Da pacem</i>	<i>RISM</i> 1540 ⁷ <i>I-TVcap</i> 4 <i>I-TVcap</i> 30
Barré	<i>Congregati sunt inimici nostri/Da pacem</i>	
Alberti	<i>Domine exaudi orationem nostra/Da pacem</i>	<i>I-BGc</i> MS 1209 D
Crecquillon	<i>Congregati sunt inimici nostri/Da pacem</i> ⁵³	
	<i>Protector nostri aspice/Da pacem</i>	<i>I-PCd</i> s.s.
Manchicourt	<i>Sustinuimus pacem/Da pacem</i> ⁵⁴	
Festa	<i>O altitudo divitiarum/Da pacem</i> ⁵⁵	

⁴⁹ *Johannis Lheritier: Opera omnia*, ed. Leeman L. Perkins, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 48 (American Institute of Musicology, 1969), edition 171-182 (in Part II) and commentary LVIII (in Part I).

⁵⁰ Found in a number of other manuscripts and prints; for edition, see *Verdelot: Opera omnia* (Vol. 2), op. cit., 88-93.

⁵¹ While it is elsewhere attributed to Conseil, Albert Seay finds the Vallicelliana ascription to Festa more convincing; see *Costanzo Festa: Opera omnia* (Vol. V), ed. Seay, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 25 (American Institute of Musicology, 1979), XVIII.

⁵² See, for example, Pack, op. cit., 280.

⁵³ Found in a number of prints and manuscripts from 1555; see *Thomasii Crequillonis: Opera omnia* (Vol. V), ed. Barton Hudson, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 63 (American Institute of Musicology, 1990), XLIII-XLIV.

⁵⁴ See *Pierre de Manchicourt: Opera omnia* (Vol. 7), ed. John D. Wicks, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 55 (American Institute of Musicology, 1999), edition 11-19, commentary XVI.

⁵⁵ See *Festa: Opera omnia* (Vol. V), op. cit., edition 148-156, commentary XIX.

Barton Hudson mentions that Crecquillon's composition is one of at least nine sixteenth-century motets with the text *Congregati sunt inimici nostri*, and that it shares the *Da pacem* cantus firmus in common with that by Verdelot mentioned above.⁵⁶ As this list makes clear, however, it was a more common combination than Hudson gives it credit for, with additional motets by Werrecore and Barré. Surely this particular Matins responsory was chosen in part for its war-related text, beseeching God to destroy and scatter our enemies, but equally important is the fact that the responsory has the same ending as the *Da pacem* antiphon: 'quia non est alius qui pugnet pro nobis nisi tu deus noster'. (This textual correspondence should come as little surprise, as both of these chants would have been used liturgically at Matins in October when the two books of Maccabees were read.)⁵⁷ Compositionally, the effect is obvious: without any extra planning, the tenor voice will end up singing the same text as the other voices by the end. In Verdelot's motet, the entire responsory text is found in the *prima pars* against the first cursus of the *Da pacem melody*. In the second section of the motet, the responsory verse is used, leading into a repeat of the end of the responsory, 'ut cognoscant quia non est alius...'; this coincides with the same words at the end of the second tenor cursus. The *secunda pars* of Crecquillon's motet sets a different text which happens to be yet another Matins responsory 'De Machabaeas', *Tua est potentia*. This text ends as *Da pacem* begins, with the words 'da pacem, Domine, in diebus nostris'. The motet is brought back to where it started in a second sense as well: the use of this text coincides with a paraphrase of the antiphon *Da pacem melody*.⁵⁸ This is not the only time that these two texts coincide: the motet listed above by Danckerts uses *Da pacem* as the tenor for his setting of this other responsory, *Tua est potentia*.

⁵⁶ *Crecquillonis: Opera omnia* (Vol. V), op. cit., XLIV.

⁵⁷ Nevertheless, as appropriate as these texts may be, they do not closely correspond to any particular bit of the two books of Maccabees, as far as I am aware. For these liturgical details, I thank Raymond Davis (personal correspondence).

⁵⁸ This happens twice in the *secunda pars*, from breve 22 of the second section (in Hudson's edition, b. 103) and again from breve 54 (b. 135).

Only four of the motets with *Da pacem, Domine* as cantus firmus are ostinato-tenor motets: those by Barré, Danckerts, Lheritier, and Manchicourt.⁵⁹ These four examples use the motive provided by the first three or six words of the antiphon, ‘Da pacem, domine, in diebus nostris’. The remaining eleven motets use the complete antiphon as a cantus firmus, most of the time repeating the melody, resulting in two or more tenor cursus. Whether or not the ostinato-tenor technique is employed makes no particular difference from a textual standpoint: the same sorts of texts are used in conjunction with *Da pacem*. Also, whether ostinato or not, these motets follow the trends mentioned at the outset of this chapter: cantus firmi tend to be shorter, usually with some sort of repetitive device (either by section of the motet or as an ostinato). The connection to the main text tends to be unambiguous, frequently involving some amount of textual overlap. Finally, the main means of manipulating the compositional combination of text and cantus firmus is to assure that any textual overlap is emphasized by having all voices sing that text simultaneously; this is frequently assured by the textual structure itself and does not require any additional maneuvering.

*

From this point on, cantus firmi continue to be used, but both their textual and contextual significance continues to decrease. Prominent examples of this are the ‘cantus firmus’ motets of Orlando di Lasso, most of which do not derive from any pre-existing melody, plainchant or otherwise.⁶⁰ By the late sixteenth century, there is no doubt that the cantus firmus, as a compositional technique, was becoming dated. Once the textual and contextual significance of the technique is minimized, its primary concern has to do with musical structure. But musical structure can be engineered in any number of ways, as the variety within fifteenth- and sixteenth-century cantus-firmus techniques alone can attest.

⁵⁹ Pack, op. cit., 296.

⁶⁰ For more about these, see James Haar, ‘Lasso as Historicist: The Cantus-Firmus Motets’, in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 265-85.

PART THREE

Interpretation and Exegesis

3.1. Analysis, Polytextuality, and Exegesis

A musical setting of a particular text is more than just a disinterested rendering of the words: the decision to use music places a certain value judgment on the chosen text, regardless of whether that is the value judgment of the composer or of a patron. Analysis of a musical setting may be able to shed some light on the intended meaning and, in particular, on how the text was supposed to have been interpreted. For example, a long and ambitious motet would suggest that the text chosen was important enough to the composer or to a patron for significant musical resources to be expended upon it. Particularly significant words within the text might be given special treatment: long melismas, a change of mensuration, or imitative treatment, for example. It may be impossible to prove that specific compositional decisions were made because of the text or specific words within the text, but frequently the connections are too compelling to be ignored.¹ In the case of liturgical or other pre-existent texts, any notable variants provide a particularly acute insight into the intention of the composition: the composer felt it worth violating the propriety of the original text to portray a slightly modified meaning.

¹ One example was raised by Magnus Williamson in 'Piety and Prejudice in John Browne's Compositions', paper delivered at the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Royal Holloway, 5-8 July 2010. Williamson argued that some of the texts used by John Browne are particularly rhetorically charged, and the musical settings emphasize their anti-semitic rhetoric.

The use of more than one text within a single musical composition can also provide insight into compositional intention. Polytextuality is not a new phenomenon in fifteenth-century music, but it continues to raise a number of questions: why were these two (or more) texts chosen to be placed alongside each other? How might this placement influence the way that texts were meant to be read? And, once chosen, how did the composer manipulate the musical setting to highlight connections between the texts? Sometimes the relationship between the texts seems obvious—they are connected liturgically, they are about the same saint, or they use the same type of language—but regardless, the presence of one text will affect the way that the reader approaches the other.

In the chapters that follow, these questions are applied to a few specific contexts. The Song of Songs is one of the more prevalent sources and inspirations for the texts of Marian motets. After surveying its interpretation and use within the liturgy, chapter 3.2 focuses on two motets which use *Song* texts paired with non-*Song* liturgical cantus firmi, as well as two motets which use more generic Marian texts. The first two motets demonstrate how cantus firmi can emphasize or minimize the Marian connotations of the *Song* texts; the latter two show how cantus firmi can be used to epitomize and underline the Marian praise discussed at length in the other text(s). Chapter 3.3 analyzes two motets which use a cantus firmus based on the tenor of a vernacular song. In both cases, I show that aspects of the song text and melody were integrated into the text and polyphonic texture of the motet. The final chapter addresses the conflicting Christological and Marian resonances in vernacular song, in masses and motets based on these songs, and in motets in general. I suggest that the line between Christological and Marian devotion is frequently quite vague: the language used in songs could be applied either to Christ or to Mary in a sacred context, and different motets took advantage of certain resonances or even of the ambiguity. Furthermore, when Christ and Mary are discussed in simultaneously sung texts, they could alternatively clarify their differences or highlight their similarities. All of these chapters show the possibilities that

polytextual motets offered to a skilled composer around 1500: in placing two or more texts in a single musical work, a composer could advocate a particular liturgical or biblical exegesis, exemplify the act of devotion within a devotional object, redefine a 'secular' song in a sacred context (or subtly mock the sacred by drawing worldly parallels), or clarify or obfuscate theological meanings.

3.2. The Virgin Mary and the Song of Songs

3.2.1. Interpreting the Song of Songs in Polytextual Motets

Among the most prevalent varieties of polytextual motets in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries are those directed towards the Virgin Mary, seeking her intercession. Marian texts used in motets are quite varied, including hymn texts new and old, sequences, tropes, and antiphons, as well as those which quote or are clearly inspired by the Song of Songs. To understand the profusion of musical settings of *Song* texts, it is helpful briefly to consider the history of *Song* interpretation and use.

Most modern books on *Song* interpretation begin by discussing (if only briefly) the context of its composition.² The historical reading is considered to be primary, and any alternative interpretations must derive from it. In the Middle Ages, however, scriptural scholars ‘simply assumed allegory as the best interpretative tool’.³ This tradition was shaped significantly in the third century by Origen of Alexandria, who claims that ‘the appellations of Bride and Bridegroom denote either the Church in her relation to Christ, or the soul in her union with the Word of God.’⁴ These allegorical and tropological interpretations were designed respectively to enforce beliefs and encourage moral behavior.⁵ Commentaries by Honorius Augustodunensis and Rupert of Deutz in the twelfth century applied the *Song*

² Ann W. Astell, for example, asks whether it is a ‘libidinous outpouring’ or a ‘prophetic utterance’. *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 25.

³ E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 4.

⁴ Origen, *The Song of Songs: Commentary and Homilies*, translated and annotated by R. P. Lawson (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1957), 58.

⁵ See Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved*, 13-14.

allegorically to the specific case of the Virgin Mary.⁶ Rachel Fulton argues, however, that the Marian interpretation originated in the ninth century when *Song* texts were used in Marian liturgy to make up for the lack of explicit details in the Gospels concerning Mary's life. The association of the Bride with the Virgin Mary was not merely allegorical but also interpreted historically, and the *Song* was used as source material for a biography of the Virgin.⁷ In particular, a series of Assumption antiphons were created using verses from the Song of Songs.⁸

When *Song* texts are used in motets, a Marian interpretation is generally assumed. This is most evident when the texts are found in their liturgical form: the antiphons frequently have subtle differences from the original biblical texts which make evident the reference to the Virgin.⁹ Even without Marian interpolations, the use of liturgical texts would have carried the implications of its liturgical context, especially when supported by a cantus firmus. Furthermore, as became evident in the tradition of *Song* commentaries by the twelfth century, Marian interpretation is not limited to these purely liturgical texts, but came to be applied to the entire text of the Song of Songs. In most *Song*-inspired polytextual motets, the Marian lens through which they were meant to be read is self-evident, whether or not one of the many liturgical texts is used. The anonymous *Tota pulchra es/Salve* in *GB-Lbl* Royal 8.G.VII is a straightforward example: the intended interpretation of the jumbled collection of *Song*

⁶ See Honorius Augustodunensis, *The Seal of Blessed Mary* (Originally *Sigillum sanctae Mariae*), trans. Amelia Carr (Toronto: Peregrina Publishing Co., 1991) and Rupert of Deutz, *In cantica canticorum de incarnatione Domini commentariorum*, available online at <http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/02m/1120-1129,_Rupertus_Tuitiensis_Abbas,_In_Cantica_Canticorum_De_Incarnatione_Domini_Commentariorum,_MLT.pdf>.

⁷ Rachel Fulton, 'The Virgin Mary and the Song of Songs in the High Middle Ages', PhD dissertation, Columbia University (1994). See also Fulton, 'Mimetic Devotion, Marian Exegesis, and the Historical Sense of the Song of Songs', *Viator* 27 (1996): 86-116, and "'Quae est ista quae ascendit sicut aurora consurgens?': The Song of Songs as the *Historia* for the Office of the Assumption,' *Mediaeval Studies* 60 (1998): 55-122.

⁸ See Jürg Stenzl, *Der Klang des Hohes Lied: Vertonungen des Canticum Canticorum vom 9. bis zum Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Würzburg: Verlag Königshausen & Neumann GmbH, 2008), 41-4.

⁹ The Assumption antiphon 'Virgo prudentissima' takes its text from Song 6:9. The first two words are new, however: instead of asking who it is ('quae est ista quae progreditur...'), it directly addresses the 'most prudent virgin'. Similarly, 'Ista est speciosa' is loosely taken from Song 2:13, 2:2, and 6:8, though these verses are modified to support a Marian reading. Instead of the queens and concubines praising the beloved, the daughters of Jerusalem are praising the appearance of the queen, i.e. Mary.

texts is clarified by the presence of a repeating canon on the first four notes of the *Salve regina*. Nevertheless, in some cases, the nature of the Song of Songs can lead to ambiguity, and alternative interpretations link motets to weddings or marriages.¹⁰

3.2.2. An Anonymous *Song* Motet in CS 15

O pulcherrima mulierum/Gyrum celi circuivi survives only in *I-Rvat* CS 15, copied in the final decade of the fifteenth century, where it is given no attribution. Its texts appear to be quite unrelated: three out of four voices sing a compilation of many brief phrases from the Song of Songs, mostly chapters 2 and 5; the fourth sings a responsory *de Sapientia* with its verse, both taken from Ecclesiasticus 24:7-11. The *Song* text seems to be a dialogue between the bride and bridegroom. In the text from Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom speaks of her boundless power.

Sean Gallagher has convincingly suggested the motet was by Antoine Busnoys. In the manuscript it is followed by two of the composer's more securely attributable works (*Anima mea/Stirps Jesse* and *Gaude celestis*), and there are some notational and rhythmic idiosyncrasies which were common only in the music of Busnoys.¹¹ Taking a view of the motet alongside *Anima mea/Stirps Jesse*, Gallagher argues that both can be understood in the context of the wedding of Margaret of York and Charles the Bold in 1468, expanding on Mary Natvig's earlier theory regarding *Anima mea*.¹² In order to explain the incongruous

¹⁰ Sean Gallagher has recently brought to light an example in the visual arts where the Song of Songs was used with reference to a marriage ceremony, in two of the ten tableaux celebrating the 1468 marriage of Margaret of York and Charles the Bold, as described by Olivier de La Marche; see 'Busnoys, Burgundy, and the *Song of Songs*', op. cit., 414-5. Nevertheless, in most cases, 'Medieval Christian culture did not show any concern for the genre of the Song of Songs in its original context, as Hebrew love poetry.' Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved*, 10.

¹¹ 'Busnoys, Burgundy, and the *Song of Songs*', 418-9. An edition of this motet is included as an appendix to the article (422-9). Gallagher applies the use of notational practice as a tool for attribution as discussed in Rob Wegman's 'Mensural Intertextuality in the Sacred Music of Antoine Busnoys' (in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. Paula Higgins, Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1999, 175-214).

¹² Gallagher considers *Anima mea/Stirps Jesse* generically as a descendant of the English *Song* motet with an added cantus firmus ('a continental twist'), thus appropriate as a representation of such a marriage. In addition, he shows that the *Song* has been used elsewhere in celebrating this marriage, particularly in two of ten tableaux displayed for Margaret's entry into Bruges. Ibid., 414-7. See also Natvig, 'The Latin-texted Works of Antoine Busnois' (PhD diss., University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music, 1991), 279-301.

confluence of texts in *O pulcherrima/Gyrum celi*, he again points to the marriage: ‘if one readily associated the *pulcherrima mulierum* addressed in the main text with Margaret of York, then one could hardly have avoided seeing in this imperious figure of Wisdom a symbolic representation of the bellicose and ambitious Charles.’¹³

Plausible as this interpretation might be, it ignores all potential liturgical or devotional contexts and how such a context might have influenced a reading of the work. The texts in both motets do not mention a specific person or event, and by searching for a single compositional occasion, it is easy to ignore that it could have been performed and interpreted in a number of liturgical, devotional, and occasional contexts. Indeed, both of these Busnoys motets were copied in the motet section of Cappella Sistina 15, suggesting that their original performance context extended beyond the specific occasion proposed for their use to the more general context of liturgical use in the Sistine Chapel thirty years later.¹⁴

Analyzing Busnoys’s *Anima mea/Stirps Jesse* with an emphasis on the relationship of its two liturgical texts, Paula Higgins related the motet to an alternative occasion: the rumors around the time of the Dauphine Margaret of Scotland’s death in 1446.¹⁵ Rothenberg acknowledges the theories proposed by Natvig and Higgins, but suggests that both of these texts were ‘liturgical mainstays’ with connections to the liturgy of the Assumption.¹⁶ Indeed, a further connection between these two texts was discovered by M. Jennifer Bloxam: in first vespers for the Assumption in the Parisian Rite (commonly celebrated in both courts where Busnoys worked), *Anima mea*, as the last psalm antiphon, would have been immediately followed by the responsory *Stirps Jesse*.¹⁷ Rothenberg argues that the texts would have been interpreted with respect to the Assumption, even when the direct liturgical connection of the

¹³ Ibid., 420.

¹⁴ See Rothenberg, ‘Marian Feasts, Seasons, and Songs’, op. cit., 276-7. Rothenberg argues that, since most of the motets in CS 15 are Marian, they would have been used for Salve services.

¹⁵ See Higgins, ‘Love and Death in the Fifteenth-Century Motet’, op. cit., 142–68.

¹⁶ Rothenberg, ‘Marian Feasts, Seasons, and Songs’, 274-6.

¹⁷ Bloxam, ‘On the Origins, Contexts, and Implications of Busnoys’s Plainsong Cantus Firmi’, op. cit., 75-6; cited in Rothenberg, ‘Marian Feasts, Seasons, and Songs’, 278.

texts is removed, as in Rome: ‘the eroticism of the Song of Songs is reinterpreted as Marian love for her son, who grew out of her like a flower out of a branch’.¹⁸ An alternative look at the newly attributed Busnoys motet, *O pulcherrima/Gyrum celi*, may provide some support for the type of argument that Rothenberg puts forth. Considering the motet in a non-marital context leads to different conclusions about the relationship of its two texts.

The responsory *Gyrum celi circuivi sola*, as Gallagher emphasizes, is noteworthy for its opposition to the main *Song* text. He specifically cites the portion ‘in omni gente et in omni populo primum tenui’: ‘in every nation and in every people, I have held the chief rule.’¹⁹ Another motet which utilizes *Song* language is the anonymous, five-voice *Ista est speciosa/Christum regem* found in *D-Mbs Mus. MS 3154* (the Leopold Codex), also presumably copied in the second half of the fifteenth century.²⁰ The main text of this motet, which is a trope on the antiphon *Ista est speciosa*, addresses Mary with the words ‘sola tu tenes primum’, ‘you alone hold the chief place’ or ‘rule’.²¹

Table 3.1. *Gyrum celi*: scriptural original, liturgical responsory, and motet versions

Ecclesiasticus 24: 7-11	
[7] Ego in altissimis habitavi, et thronus meus in columna nubis.	I dwelt in the highest places, and my throne is in a pillar of a cloud.
[8] Gyrum cæli circuivi sola, et profundum abyssi penetravi, in fluctibus maris ambulavi,	I alone have travelled around the circuit of heaven, and have penetrated into the bottom of the deep, and have walked in the waves of the sea,
[9] et in omni terra steti: et in omni populo,	And have stood in all the earth: and in every people,
[10] et in omni gente primum habui:	And in every nation I have had the chief rule:
[11] et omnium excellentium et humilium corda virtute calcavi [...]	And by my power I have trodden under my feet the hearts of all the high and low [...]

¹⁸ Rothenberg, ‘Marian Feasts, Seasons, and Songs’, 278.
¹⁹ Translation of this line is from *ibid.*, 420, itself after that of Leo Franc Holford-Strevens in the liner notes to the Binchois Consort, *The Marriage of England and Burgundy*, op. cit.
²⁰ An edition of this motet is in *Der Kodex des Magister Nicolaus Leopold*, op. cit.
²¹ As the notes to the edition state, the antiphon can be found in *Antiphonale Pataviense* (Vienna, 1519), available in facsimile in *Das Erbe deutscher Musik* 88, ed. Karlheinz Schlager (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1985), fol. 273r.

Responsory

Gyrum celi circuivi *sola*
et in fluctibus maris ambulavi;
in omni gente et in omni populo primatum
tenui.
Superborum et sublimium colla propria
virtute calcavi.
[V.] Ego in altissimis habito et thronus
meus in columpna nubis.

Cantus firmus to *O pulcherrima*

[1ma pars] Girum celi circuivi sola
et in fluctibus maris ambulavi;
in omni gente et in omni populo primatum
tenui.
[2da pars] Superborum et sublimium colla
propria virtute calcavi. Et ego in altissimis
habito.
[3ia pars] Et tronus meus in nubibus celi.

Motet text from *Ista est speciosa*

[...]
Sola tu tenes primatum
O Maria fac me gratum
[...]

I alone have travelled around the circuit of
heaven
And I have walked in the waves of the sea;
In every nation and in every people I have
held the chief rule.
By my power I have trodden under my feet
the hearts of the proud and lofty.
I dwell in the highest places, and my throne
is in a pillar of a cloud.

I alone have travelled around the circuit of
heaven
And I have walked in the waves of the sea;
In every nation and in every people I have
held the chief rule.
By my power I have trodden under my feet
the hearts of the proud and lofty.
And I dwell in the highest places,
And my throne is in the clouds of heaven.²²

You alone hold the chief rule,
O Mary, make me pleasing.

Not only does the combination of the final two words of this line explicitly hearken to the words of Wisdom, but the emphasis placed on ‘sola’, which corresponds to the opening line of the responsory, suggests that this part of the trope was written with the responsory ‘Gyrum celi’ in mind.²³ If the same or similar language can be applied to explicitly Marian prayers, parallels between Mary and the figure of Wisdom must have been well established.²⁴

²² Translation of the motet version after that of Leofranc Holford-Strevens in the liner notes to the Binchois Consort, *A Marriage of England and Burgundy*, op. cit.

²³ The text from this motet is closer to the responsory text than to the biblical text from which the responsory derives. The wording of Ecclesiasticus in the Vulgate is different than that of the responsory: ‘primatum habui’ instead of ‘primatum tenui’. The only other biblical instance of this phrase that I have found is Collosians 1:18, where Christ is described as ‘in omnibus [...] primatum tenens’: holding the first place in all things. It is possible that this motet text was influenced by the passage instead of the responsory, but a Marian reading of a liturgical text seems more plausible than a direct transfer of a biblical phrase from Christ to Mary. Another potential liturgical source of the text is the antiphon *Alleluia, sola tenes principatum*, for the alleluiaic office for Septuagesima; this was pointed out to me by Raymond Davis (personal communication, 23 May 2013).

²⁴ Another textual parallel occurs in the poem of Angelo Poliziano, ‘O virgo prudentissima,’ later set to music by Josquin des Prez. The sixth stanza (third stanza in Josquin’s setting) draws out the meaning of the Marian title, ‘stella maris’: she ‘who amidst the rocks, amidst the dark whirlwinds, shows us the haven of safety.’²⁴

Further evidence for such identification of Mary with Wisdom is found in the liturgy of the Assumption, where the standard epistle throughout the history of the feast (up to 1950) was Ecclesiasticus 24:11-13, 15-20, the portion which immediately follows the responsory ‘Gyrum celi’.²⁵ The *Sigillum sanctae Mariae* of Honorius Augustodunensis is known primarily as one of the first commentaries to read the Song of Songs in a Marian light, but its full purpose is to explain the reasons for including various texts in the liturgy of the Assumption.²⁶ The majority of the *Sigillum* is dedicated to a line-by-line *Song* exposition, but this follows a discussion of the Gospel text on Mary and Martha (Luke 10:38-42) and the epistle. Using the text for the liturgy of the Assumption carries certain implications: after stating that ‘Christ is the Wisdom of God’, Honorius almost immediately shifts to the figure of the Virgin Mary: in his explanations, Wisdom’s ‘I’ in most every case refers to Mary, not Christ.²⁷ When ‘Gyrum celi’ is placed in context against lines from the Song of Songs, given such associations it is difficult *not* to see the Marian reading of both texts as primary.

In the music, two passages in particular highlight aspects of text through imitation and changes of mensuration. Structurally, the piece alternates between more or less loosely imitative duets and non-imitative four-voice texture. The first exception to this rule occurs in the *secunda pars*, when the three non-cantus firmus voices engage in five bars of imitation at the unison and octave, each entrance offset by two breves.

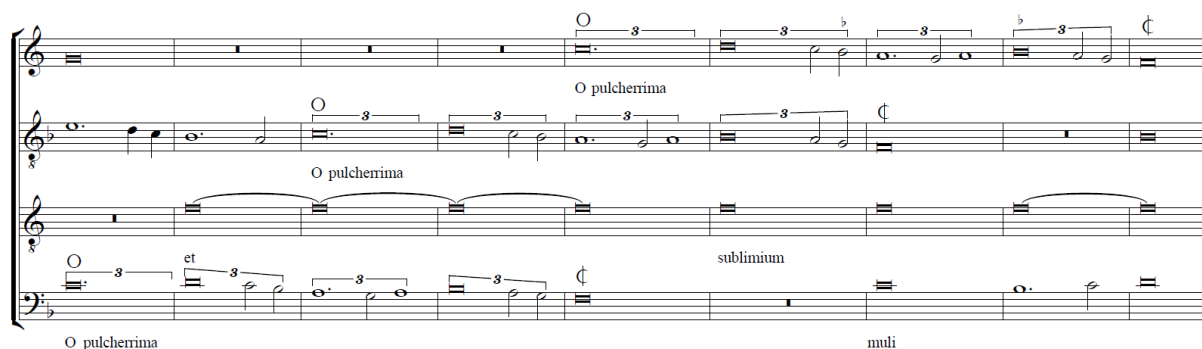
Such imagery is reminiscent of ‘in fluctibus maris ambulavi’ from the responsory: ‘I have walked in the floods of the sea.’

²⁵ One of the few variants uses a later portion of the same chapter (23-28) as the Assumption Epistle; this is used from the sixteenth century onwards as the lesson for the Vigil of the Assumption. Cf. Walter Howard Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy III: The Roman Epistle-Lectionary*, Alcuin Club Collections no. XXXII (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), 16 and 105. Rothenberg, ‘Angels, Archangels, and a Woman in Distress’, op. cit., 556, also notes that this passage forms the epistle for the Assumption and argues that ‘this passage is to be read allegorically, with Mary taking on Wisdom’s persona.’

²⁶ *The Seal of Blessed Mary*, 50-3.

²⁷ Quoting the passage ‘And so I was established in Sion’, Honorius explains ‘Sion is [...] the Church, in which the mother of God is established’. Similarly, for ‘And in the holy city likewise I rested’, ‘The holy city is the supernal homeland, [...] in which the perpetual virgin now rests’. This continues for the remainder of Honorius’s exegesis of this text. See *ibid.*, 50-3.

Figure 3.1. *O pulcherrima/Gyrum celi*, breves 108-116²⁸



This instance is further marked by the use of proportional coloration, creating a brief triplet section. Mensuration signs symbolizing *tempus perfectum* are also notated in these three voices, though the signs are both redundant and misleading.²⁹ The text here is ‘O pulcherrima’, a repeat of the opening words of the motet, and the circle sign is probably no more than a visual pun on the first word.³⁰ Both through musical means and notational idiosyncrasies, deliberate emphasis is placed on these words. Moreover, the composer has established a means of emphasis to be used later in the motet.

The second instance begins at bar 186, where all four voices engage in the same type of imitation: at the octave or unison, entrances offset by two perfect breves.³¹ This imitation is enhanced once again by a change of mensuration, here to O/3 in all voices. It appears to highlight the simultaneous occurrence of the phrase ‘Et ego’ in both the main *Song* text and the responsory verse.

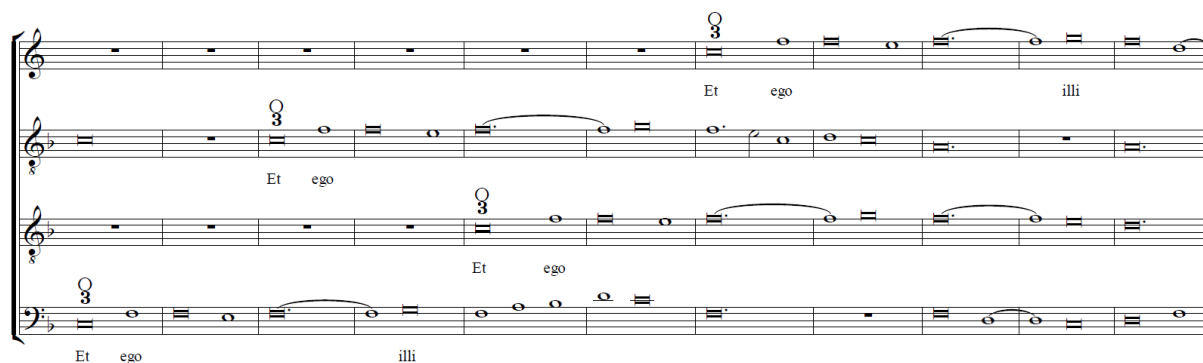
²⁸ This and the second music example from this motet are largely retypeset from Gallagher, ‘Busnoys, Burgundy, and the *Song of Songs*’, op. cit., 422-9, following his bar numbers.

²⁹ If there were an actual change of mensuration, *tempus perfectum* would suggest, at minimum, a slowing down of tempo. However, a perfect breve is here equivalent to an imperfect breve of cut C, making it significantly faster than the perfect time at the opening of the motet.

³⁰ Owen Rees suggested this, personal correspondence, 2 June 2010.

³¹ Imitation in all voices occurs earlier in the motet, at the beginning of the *secunda pars*. However, the entrances are separated such that it is heard as two identical imitative duets.

Figure 3.2. *O pulcherrima/Gyrum celi*, breves 185-95



Since the tenor is a *cantus firmus*, the melodic material which forms the basis of this imitation derives from the chant. While this occurs in the middle of the second section of the motet, it is nonetheless brought to the fore in the manuscript by its placement at the top of a new page and two large calligraphic initials for the ‘E’ of ‘Et’.³² Thus the simultaneity of the texts does not need to be sung to be made evident. On the surface, it might appear that this is superficial play upon an arbitrary correspondence between the texts. However, a closer look at the construction of the texts proves that the textual correspondence was deliberately manufactured, perhaps to make a specific point concerning the relation between the texts.

The main text, as mentioned above, is a rather chopped-up collection of well-known *Song* verses, though there is a certain level of continuity. The portion of the text in the first section of the motet (‘*O pulcherrima...facies tua decora*’) has the bridegroom as narrator speaking of his desire to find his beloved. The *secunda pars* is a dialogue between the daughters of Jerusalem and the bride (‘*Quo abiit...inter lilia*’): the daughters ask the bride whither her beloved has gone, the bride answers them, and then she affirms her mutual attachment to her beloved.³³ The third section of the motet is quite brief and corresponds to the text ‘*Dilectus meus invenietis*’. The phrase does not work grammatically (presumably ‘*dilectus meus*’ should be vocative), nor does it have an obvious correlation to a specific *Song*

³² See fols. 237v and 238r. The other two voices are named on each folio, so below the ‘E’s are similarly large initials ‘T’ and ‘B’. The ‘Bassus’ on fol. 238r is previously labelled ‘Contra’ on fols. 236r and 237r, though as the clefs are the same, this was probably just a small scribal oversight.

³³ While it is made up of three separate verse sections, the whole of this section is similar to the passage 5:17-6:2. The middle verse (6:1) is replaced by an earlier verse (2:9) which gives the bridegroom’s location during his speech in the *prima pars*.

verse, but seems to provide a hopeful resolution to the first two sections, wherein both lovers express their desire to find each other. The verse which seems unnecessary to the sense of this tripartite structure and detracts from its symmetrical form is ‘dilectus meus...inter lilia’, which includes the phrase ‘et ego’. Given the forced nature of this phrase, it is likely that it was included for a specific purpose, as we shall see.

Table 3.2. *O pulcherrima mulierum*: Text and translation³⁴

O pulcherrima mulierum ³⁵ surge amica mea, Formosa mea, ³⁶ veni ostende michi faciem tuam vox enim tua dulcis et facies tua decora. ³⁷	O most beautiful among women, Arise my love, my beauty, Come, show me your face, For your voice is sweet, and your face lovely.
Quo abiit dilectus tuus o pulcherrima mulierum? ³⁸ en ipse stat post parietem prospiciens per fenestras respiciens per cancellos; ³⁹ dilectus meus michi et ego illi qui pascitur inter lilia. ⁴⁰	To where has your beloved gone O most beautiful among women? Behold he stands behind the wall Looking [forwards] through the windows Looking [backwards] through the lattices; My beloved [belongs] to me And I to him who feeds among the lilies.
Dilectus meus invenietis.	My beloved, you will find.

The responsory ‘Gyrum celi’ is more obviously forced at this point (see above, table 3.1). As already mentioned, it is included alongside its proper verse, which immediately precedes the responsory text in Ecclesiasticus. There are a couple of common variations in the standard text;⁴¹ the rendering in this motet has the most common wording except in two cases, where otherwise unknown variations are introduced. The last two words were modified from ‘columna nubis’ to ‘nubibus celi’: the speaker’s throne is in the clouds of heaven, not in a pillar of a cloud. The former phrase, in addition to its use in Ecclesiasticus, is found

³⁴ Translation after that of Leofranc Holford-Strevens in the liner notes to the Binchois Consort, *A Marriage of England and Burgundy*, op. cit.

³⁵ *Song* 5:9 or 5:17 (cf. also 1:7).

³⁶ *Song* 2:10 or 2:13.

³⁷ *Song* 2:14.

³⁸ *Song* 5:17.

³⁹ *Song* 2:9.

⁴⁰ *Song* 2:16 (=6:2).

⁴¹ As shown in Table 3.1, the responsory changes ‘primatum habui’ to ‘primatum tenui’. In different versions of the responsory, ‘habitavi’ or even ‘inhabitavi’ is found instead of ‘habito’.

frequently in the Old Testament to signify the presence of the Lord on earth.⁴² The phrase to which is it changed occurs first in the Book of Daniel, which prophesies the coming of the Son of Man ‘with the clouds of heaven’; this is quoted in two of the Gospels.⁴³ There is a subtle difference of meaning. In the original language, Wisdom’s throne is in the presence of God, or, interpreting the metaphor, God acts on earth with wisdom. The new language lacks the symbolism of the old, and thus the phrase becomes decidedly less metaphorical: it simply refers to an imagined throne in heaven. Wisdom is a personified ideal or quality of God, and the original metaphorical language is appropriate; the modified responsory is more appropriate to an actual person, and the most obvious candidates would be Christ or the Virgin Mary.

The second variation is the addition of the single word, ‘et’, at the beginning of the responsory verse.⁴⁴ There is no change in meaning, but now the motet could be manipulated so that all voices sing ‘et ego’ more or less simultaneously. It strongly suggests that the musical passage was deliberately constructed and points to a potential level of meaning behind its construction. There are two ways of interpreting this passage: first, as two different ‘ego’s simultaneously asserting themselves, and this is consistent with Gallagher’s interpretation of each text as representing a different historical person. However, the second interpretation is simpler and more convincing, since all four voices are unified in text and music: namely, an identification of the ‘ego’ in both texts as the same person.⁴⁵ Indeed, the bride in the Song of Songs (who is the ‘ego’ in this portion of the main text) can be quite

⁴² Cf Exodus 13:21, 22; 14:19; 33:9, 10; Numbers 12:5; 14:14; Deuteronomy 31:15; Nehemiah 9:12; and Psalm 98: 7.

⁴³ Daniel 7:13; cf. Matthew 24:30; 26:64; and Mark 14:62 (see also 13:26).

⁴⁴ The *CANTUS* database yields 95 hits for this responsory verse, as well as 62 addition hits for the same text as an antiphon. There are no results for any corresponding text beginning with ‘et’. *CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant*, op. cit. (accessed 15 November 2010). As would be expected, René Jean Hesbert’s *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii* (Rome: Herder, 1963-79) similarly has no record for this verse beginning with ‘et’.

⁴⁵ There are not too many examples where the placement of similar pieces of text results in the identification of the characters of each text, but one such occurrence was demonstrated recently by Anna Zayaruznaya in Philippe de Vitry’s *Cum statua/Hugo* (‘The composite tenor of Vitry’s *Cum statua/Hugo*’, paper delivered at the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Royal Holloway, University of London, 5-8 July 2010). Simultaneous text setting of ‘que cum primo’ in the triplum and ‘tu cum prima’ in the motetus suggests that the statue is used as a metaphor for the despised Hugo.

easily identified with the narrator of the Wisdom responsory in the person of the Virgin Mary.

If the motet had been heard in the context of the wedding of Charles and Margaret, it is not implausible that its texts might have been interpreted as Gallagher suggests. However, whether performed in that context or not, a Marian reading of both texts would have been the simplest and most evident interpretation. As Rothenberg points out in the case of *Anima mea/Stirps Jesse*, the copying of the motet into the Cappella Sistina manuscript (the only surviving source for *O pulcherrima*) points to a performance tradition wherein any supposed ‘original’ context is lost. Even if Busnoys composed this motet with a single occasion in mind, he did not ignore the liturgical and devotional meanings by which the piece continued to be useful long afterwards. Finally, the fact that the texts seem radically different is not evidence against a Marian interpretation. Marian texts generally tend to exult in the paradox, for Mary was at the same time virgin, mother, and bride; at once the perfect servant of God yet also the most powerful intercessor to God on one’s behalf.

3.2.3. *Ista est speciosa/Christum regem*

In most polytextual motets with *Song* language, the use of liturgical texts leaves little room for speculation as to its supposed intended occasion. Nevertheless, there is significant variation in the approaches which concern the simultaneous sounding of different texts. In one example, the anonymous *Ista est speciosa/Christum regem* mentioned above, there is no obvious overall theme to the textual juxtaposition but, rather, seemingly unrelated texts are lined up to emphasize certain individual similarities.

In the motet, there is a curious mixture of language directed towards the Virgin and language praising Christ. The *tenor primus* uses the antiphon *Ista est speciosa* as a double cursus cantus firmus, and a troped form of this antiphon forms the motet text. In addition there are excerpts of three additional liturgical melodies found in the *tenor secundus* and

bassus: the invitatory *Christum regem adoremus*, and, in the second section of the motet, the invitatory psalm *Venite exultemus domino* and a small portion of the hymn *Te deum*. The main text explicitly addresses ‘Maria’, and the antiphon cantus firmus would also have been interpreted as Marian in intent. The antiphon derives from the Song of Songs (‘speciosa’ from 2:13, ‘inter filias’ from 2:2, and the rest from 6:8), praising the unnamed ‘ista’ for her beauty and calling her the ‘most blessed’. The text is a variation on the structure of a traditional Marian prayer: first, praising her various attributes, then asking for her intercession.⁴⁶ The *Song* language serves the first purpose. In addition to what is taken from the antiphon, the remainder of *Song* 2:2 (‘sicut lilium inter spinas sic amica mea inter filias’) is paraphrased in lines 2-4 of the text, such that it conforms to the rhyme scheme. The fifth line, as discussed above, continues this praise with language derived from the Wisdom responsory, preceding an extensive petition for Mary’s aid.

These Marian texts are directly juxtaposed against the invitatory, the invitatory psalm, and the *Te deum*, which use similar language in the first person plural to praise ‘Christum’, ‘deum’, or ‘dominum’. The texts are related liturgically and would have all been used at Matins on the feast of Corpus Christi. Nevertheless, these particular textual fragments seem to have been included at least in part on account of textual and musical similarities. The *Te deum* chant used here closely resembles the psalm formula used for *Venite exultemus*, which facilitates their use as a single cantus firmus. After the first two lines of the *Te deum*, the text skips straight to a line found much later, emphasizing Christ the king: ‘Tu rex glorie Christe’. This resonates with the opening of the invitatory, ‘Cristum regem’, and contrasts with the portrayal of Mary, Queen of Heaven, found in the troped text.

Simultaneous placement of the different texts against each other was consciously considered by the composer, as certain instances prove. In particular, the antiphon cantus firmus ‘Ista est speciosa’ is manipulated against the troped text such that common words

⁴⁶ The most obvious and prevalent example is the ‘Ave Maria’.

occur simultaneously. At the beginning, the upper voice/contralto duet anticipates the chant melody in semibreves, such that the tenor's entrance in bar eight (with the same text) might appear as imitation of the opening melody instead of a liturgical cantus firmus.⁴⁷ This illusion is continued when the cantus firmus next returns with the text 'inter filias' at the exact point that the troped text has the same words (see bars 20-4).⁴⁸ Only the first half of the antiphon is used for the cantus firmus, and it is then repeated in the *secunda pars*. The troped text alludes to the rest of the antiphon with the words 'Et beatissimam', 'Regine', and 'laudant'. The first of these opens the *secunda pars* quoting the chant, mimicking the opening of the *prima pars* with an upper voice/contralto imitative duet. The troped text ends with the final words of the cantus firmus, 'filie syon', even though they occur in an earlier portion of the antiphon. Signifying this final simultaneous appearance of the troped text and antiphon cantus firmus, the upper voice quotes the same chant as the tenor (see bars 172-180).

If the cantus firmus 'Ista est speciosa' was so deliberately placed against the main text, it seems likely that the other cantus firmi would have also been placed with care concerning simultaneous textual sound and related linguistic meanings. An example of this occurs towards the end of the *prima pars*, where 'Erga Christum tuum natum' in the main text occurs simultaneously with 'qui se manducantibus dat spiritus' in the tenor secundus, creating a momentary concordance of object (Christ).⁴⁹ While the speaker of the main text goes on to ask Mary not to desert him, the invitatory promises Christ's gift of the spirit. The actions of Christ and Mary remain distinct: Mary is the prime intercessor, while Christ is ultimate agent of our salvation. The prayers in this motet are all directed towards Mary, who is praised for her beauty; Christ is praised as the king and savior. There is nevertheless a level

⁴⁷ Bar numbers are taken from *Der Kodex des Magister Nicolaus Leopold*, op. cit., where each bar is equivalent to one breve.

⁴⁸ This observation was also made by Wolfgang Stephan in *Die burgundische-niederländische Motette zur Zeit Ockeghems*, op. cit., 44-5.

⁴⁹ Translated, they mean 'Towards Christ your son', and 'who gives [the fatness] of the spirit to those who eat him.' The final word 'pinguedinem' is left out of the musical setting, even though it is grammatically necessary.

of interconnectedness which is emphasized by the careful setting of these texts in proximity to each other.

Perhaps the most striking contrast of meanings between the main text and the tenor secundus is that between ‘Sola tu tenes primatum’ and ‘dominantem gentibus’, he who has dominion over the nations. The first of these may have derived from the Ecclesiasticus verse found in the responsory *Gyrum celi*: ‘in omni gente et in omni populo primatum tenui.’ The phrase from the invitatory may not have come directly from this verse, but the connection between these two texts was not lost on the composer. ‘Dominantem’ and ‘primatum’ are sung more or less simultaneously in the text underlay (see bars 28-31), emphasizing a similarity of meaning, if not also that of textual sound. The two respective texts are directed towards two different persons, yet instead of stressing their inherent differences, linguistic parallels point instead towards their similarities. Here, the power of Mary is directly related to the power of Christ: whereas this power ultimately belongs to Christ, Mary is necessary both for his incarnation and, seemingly, for our salvation.

3.2.4. Two Motets on the Cantus Firmus *Beata mater*

In the majority of polytextual motets, there is an overall motivation for the textual juxtaposition, in addition to the momentary textual parallels as seen above. In a pair of related motets with the tenor *Beata mater*, the upper-voice texts are modified from their original form, thus giving insight into this motivation. The revised texts, when set to music with this tenor, emphasize certain shared resonances.

Ave rosa speciosa/Beata mater, an anonymous motet in the Chigi codex, was first discussed by Edward F. Houghton, who proposed authorship by Johannes Regis on account of its placement in Chigi within a group of motets attributable to him. He also pointed to stylistic details, including the treatment of the cantus firmi, the presence of the *l’homme armé*

melody, mensural structure, and the use of dissonance.⁵⁰ These arguments were discredited by Heinz-Jürgen Winkler, who finds the analysis far too general to limit attribution to Regis, and by Sean Gallagher, who further demonstrates that the rhythmic and rhythmic-melodic patterns are in opposition to Regis's compositional style.⁵¹ A more plausible candidate might be Loyset Compère, a composer who Winkler suggests on account of his use of similar tenor canons in *Sola caret monstris/Fera pessima* and *Quis numerare queat/Da pacem*.⁵² A possible counter-argument concerns the *l'homme armé* cantus firmus: the version in the bass of *Ave rosa/Beata mater* contains a variant almost completely avoided in Compère's mass.⁵³ Edgar H. Sparks, in his book on cantus firmus technique, does not mention any of these three motets, but does point to another early example of such tenor canons: Guillaume Faugues's *Missa l'homme armé*, which incidentally uses the same variant of the cantus firmus.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, in the case of Faugues, a lack of surviving motets limits the prospect for further attributive analysis.

⁵⁰ 'A "New" Motet by Johannes Regis'. *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 33 (1983): 49-56.

⁵¹ Winkler, *Die Tenormotetten von Johannes Regis*, op. cit., vol. i, 15; and Gallagher, 'Models of varietas: Studies in Style and Attribution in the Motets of Johannes Regis and his Contemporaries' (PhD Thesis, Harvard University, 1998), 269-83. A modern edition of the motet is found in Winkler, vol. ii, 112-35; another is found online in the *CMME Project* (computerized mensural music editing, <<http://www.cmme.org>>), directed by Theodor Dumitrescu, edition also by Theodor Dumitrescu, available at <<http://www.cmme.org/?page=database&view=pieces&id=156>> (accessed 15 November 2010).

⁵² Winkler, *Die Tenormotetten*, op. cit., 15. These three canons are all fairly simple: largely note-by-note, with the standard note value of a breve, perfect and/or imperfect. The first part of the 'Fera pessima' canon is a bit of an exception, where very little overlap between the two canonic voices allows shorter note values. In all three motets, the full text of the canon is repeated in all sections of the motet, though the 'Beata mater' canon is the only one where the music is repeated as well.

⁵³ The motet bass in bars 102-105 follows the melody g-f-f-g-e-d. The cantus firmus in the mass almost always follows the melodic form e-e-d-d-e-e-b (see for example the tenor in bars 21-23). Fabrice Fitch (March 2014) pointed me to the exception: in the third Agnus dei, the tenor has d-d-c-c-d-b-a, and the contratenor (in a fugal canon) repeats this up a step. The treatment of the *l'homme armé* cantus firmus in the motet is quite irregular (in stark contrast to the 'beata mater' tenor canon), so it is possible that this is not a variant but a deviation. This variant is found in other *l'homme armé* masses such as those of Guillaume Faugues and Mattheus Pipelare: it is likely that the composer had this different version of the cantus firmus in mind.

⁵⁴ Sparks points to sections in the *l'homme armé* masses of Du Fay, Basiron, and Regis as having occasional tenor canons; the Faugues, however, has full cantus firmus canon throughout. He also mentions the tenor canon in Busnoys *Regina caeli* II as being related to the Faugues, but it is more free and complex. There are also occasionally cantus firmus canons in the works of later composers Obrecht and Josquin. See *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet*, op. cit., especially 173, 214-7, 274-6, 279, 304-6, 370, 380-1, 384-92.

Houghton has recently identified the source of the upper voices' text: the sequence *Ave mundi spes Maria*, without the first two strophes.⁵⁵ Why the most identifiable parts of the text would be left out is unclear, but Houghton suggests that it is precisely in order to disassociate it from that context. Indeed, there is no reference to the sequence chant, while two quite different cantus firmi permeate the musical texture throughout.⁵⁶ Most apparent is the tenor antiphon *Beata mater*, sung in canon at the fifth. In addition, one of the Bassus voices is frequently sung to the *l'homme armé* melody, though it is never given the French text. Instead, it is underlaid alternatively with parts of the Marian antiphon *Ave regina celorum* (as in breves 6-25) and sections of the other two texts used in this motet. In the *prima pars*, after the first two phrases of the *Ave regina celorum*, a third phrase hailing the virgin is added, 'Ave virgo sanctissima', mirroring the structure of the upper voices' text.⁵⁷ After including selections of the *Beata mater* text, the 'intercede pro nobis' of the tenor is replaced in the bassus with 'semper exora', another reference to the antiphon *Ave regina celorum*.

Table 3.3. Texts of *Ave rosa speciosa* with translations⁵⁸

Ave rosa speciosa	Hail, beautiful rose,
ave Jesse virgula	hail, shoot of Jesse,
Cuius fructus nostri luctus	whose fruit loosened the bonds of our sorrow.
relaxavit vincula.	
Ave cuius viscera	Hail, whose womb,
Contra mortis federa	against the treaties of death,
Eduxerunt filium.	brought forth a son.
Ave carens simili	Hail, without equal,
Mundo diu flebili	who restored joy to a world so long in grief.
Reparasti gaudium	
Ave virginum lucerna	Hail, lamp of virgins,

⁵⁵ A later strophe is incomplete as well, for which Houghton suggests there was scribal confusion, as the top voice at this point sings the *Beata mater* cantus firmus. The text could quite easily be filled in for the other two voices singing here. See 'The Anonymous Motets of the Chigi Codex', in *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn*, ed. M. Jennifer Bloxam, Gioia Filocamo, and Leo Franc Holford-Strevens (Brepols: Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, 2009), 435-7.

⁵⁶ See *ibid.*, 436-7.

⁵⁷ This phrase is not uncommon, see, for example, numbers 2244 and 23993 in Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, op. cit.

⁵⁸ Translation of the sequence is taken from Willem Elders, ed., *Motets on non-biblical texts 3: De beata Maria virgine 1*, New Josquin Edition 23 (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2006), Notes pp. 129-30.

Per quam fulsit lux superna
His quos umbra tenuit
Ave virgo de qua nasci
Et de cuius lacte pasci
Rex celorum voluit.

Ave gemma celi luminarium
Ave sancti spiritus sacrarium
O quam mirabilis
Et quam laudabilis⁵⁹
Hec est virginitas
In qua per spiritum
[facta paracletum
Fulsit fecunditas]⁶⁰
O quam sancta quam serena
Quam benigna quam amena
Esse virgo creditur.
Per quam servitus fruitur⁶¹
Porta celi aperitur
Et libertas redditur
O castitatis lilium
Tuum precare filium
Qui salus est humilium
[Ne nos pro nostro vitio
In flebili iudicio
Subjiciat supplicio.]
Sed nos tua sancta prece
Mundans a peccatis fece
Collocet me lucis domo
Amen dicat omnis homo
Amen.

Tenor:

Beata mater et innupta virgo
gloriosa regina mundi intercede
pro nobis ad dominum. Amen.

from the Bassus [primus]:

Ave regina celorum
Ave domina angelorum.

Ave virgo sanctissima.

through which a celestial light shines for those
whom the shadow holds.
Hail, virgin from whom the king of the heavens
desired to be born, and of whose milk he desired to
be fed.

Hail, gem, heavenly chandelier,
hail, shrine of the holy spirit.
O how wonderful
and how praiseworthy
is this virginity,
in which through [the deeds of] the spirit [paraclete,
fertility shines.]

O how holy, how serene,
how kind, how pleasant,
is this virgin held to be,
through whom our bondage ends,
the gate of heaven is opened,
and freedom is restored.
O lily of purity,
beseech your son,
who is the salvation of the lowly,
[that by your supplication he might not throw us for
our sins into lamentable judgment.]

But that by your holy prayer,
we might be cleansed from the dregs of sins,
that he might place me in his home of light,
that every man might say Amen.

Blessed mother and unwed virgin, glorious queen of
the world, intercede for us to the lord. Amen.

Hail, queen of the heavens,
Hail, mistress of the angels.

Hail, most holy virgin.

⁵⁹ In the *secunda pars*, the top voice stops singing the main text after 'celi luminarium'.

⁶⁰ These lines are left out of the score, but there is space for them to be sung in the first bassus and contra voices. Houghton suggests that the scribe and/or singers were confused due to the top voice singing the words and melody of 'Beata mater' at this point.

⁶¹ This is presumably a scribal error for 'finitur'.

One temptation in dealing with polytextual music is to assume that one of the texts is primary, while the others provide context by which that text can be interpreted. In the case of chanson masses, the mass text is liturgically necessary, whereas any tenor text or cantus firmus melody can help to contextualize the liturgical occasion. In tenor motets, it is often the case that the tenor text is subordinate to the longer, more elaborate text found in all the other voices, at least insofar as meaning is concerned. In a number of polytextual motets, for example, the tenor line is merely a repeated litany, asking for the prayers of the saint who is more properly extolled in the other voices. Yet *Ave rosa speciosa/Beata mater* demonstrates that not all cases are so simple. The importance of the elaborate text of the upper voices is in some ways undermined, while the tenor cantus firmus, *Beata mater*, is brought to the fore, thus reestablishing the means by which we are able to comprehend its intent.

As pointed out, the sequence text has been deprived of its most distinguishing characteristics, such that musicologists who might have easily recognized the opening words or melody have been long confused as to the identity of the text. The original text is further obscured by the unusual additions to the bass line, as discussed above, which parallel the sequence text more than the antiphon. To say, as Houghton does, that the text becomes decontextualized is true at a minimum; this also leaves room for the antiphon text to take more of a leading role. Both the text and melody of *Beata mater* are prevalent throughout the motet. The tenor is sung in canon at the fifth, thus present in two of the six voices throughout, and it is heard immediately at the opening of the motet.⁶² The antiphon is given further prominence when its text is partially repeated in the bassus in both sections, and when it is sung completely as a cantus firmus in the top voice in the *secunda pars*. As such, even when the two tenor lines in canon are silent, the antiphon is nevertheless most of the time being

⁶² In all five polytextual motets securely attributed to Regis, for example, the entrance of the second text is delayed. See *Celcitonantis/Abrahae fit promissio*, *Clangat plebs flores/Sicut lilium*, *Lauda Sion Salvatorem/Ego sum panis*, *Lux sollemnis adest/Repleti sunt omnes*, and *O admirabile commercium/Verbum caro*, for which editions are available in Regis, *Opera omnia*, op. cit., vol. 2. Even the Josquin *O virgo prudentissima/Beata mater*, which is probably modelled on this motet, delays the entrance of the tenor canon.

sung and heard. With the seeming confusion of the sequence text—incomplete, interrupted by the antiphon cantus firmus, and supplemented with additional exclamations from the *Ave regina celorum*—the reiterated meaning of the antiphon is particularly clear.

Beata mater is a fairly standard Marian antiphon which emphasizes three separate identities of the Virgin Mary, as mother, virgin, and Queen. On the surface, any parallel between the antiphon and the sequence is incomplete: the latter text praises Mary the virgin and mother, but there is no reference to her as queen, nor any mention of the Assumption.⁶³ The sequence is timid neither in praising her virginity ('O how wonderful and how praiseworthy') nor in portraying the salvific role of the virgin, 'through whom our bondage ends, the gate of heaven is opened, and freedom is restored'.⁶⁴ Other sections clarify, however, that this salvation is tied to her son, making references to her motherhood: 'Hail, whose womb, against the treaties of death, brought forth a son'.⁶⁵ The integration of the third text into an already bitextual work begins to make sense in that it proclaims Mary as the Queen of heaven, in the same manner in which *Ave rosa speciosa* hails her as the 'virgin from whom the king of the heavens desired to be born'.⁶⁶ The opening of the sequence which is left out has little to do with these three themes, and its inclusion would have helped to obscure any parallel between the texts, instead emphasizing an extensive litany of Marian superlatives.⁶⁷

This textual parallel is far from perfect, limited by the largely fixed nature of these liturgical texts. The sequence and the antiphon both address Mary and consider her various attributes or identities, but the same could be said about most Marian texts. What is

⁶³ A possible unrelated parallel between these two texts is that neither names the Blessed Virgin to whom they are addressed, though the sequence does this in the opening lines which have been left out.

⁶⁴ 'O quam mirabilis et quam laudabilis hec est virginitas', and 'Per quam servitus fruitur [scribal error for finitur], porta celi aperitur, et libertas redditur.' See also Willem Elders's translation of the sequence in *Motets on non-biblical texts* 3 (New Josquin Edition 23), op. cit, Notes pp. 129-30.

⁶⁵ 'Ave cuius viscera contra mortis federa eduxerunt filium.'

⁶⁶ 'Ave virgo de qua nasci [...] rex celorum voluit.' It is possible that *Ave regina celorum* was deemed an especially appropriate textual source as it also praises the Virgin Mary as 'speciosa' (though that phrase is not included in the text of the motet).

⁶⁷ The sequence begins 'Hail Mary, hope of the world, hail gentle one, hail loving one, hail, full of grace' ('Ave mundi spes Maria, ave mitis, ave pia, ave plena gratia').

convincing about a parallel based around these three Marian themes is that the idiosyncrasies of this motet make it apparent. The antiphon is so straightforward that emphasizing it through repetitions of its text and melody bring out these three elements. The sequence is modified such that these themes in particular are brought out. The final piece of evidence is the *l'homme armé* cantus firmus, occurring in the bass voice with the added bits of text. It is possible that the *l'homme armé* melody was used to provide occasional context. For example, the motet may have had some connection to the Order of the Golden Fleece. William F. Prizer proposes that the Chigi *l'homme armé* masses might have been used for the mass liturgies surrounding the official meeting of the order in 1501, suitable as the order consisted entirely of knights.⁶⁸ While the connection of the Chigi codex to this particular meeting is largely speculative, *Ave rosa speciosa* would have fitted into one of the Marian services (Vespers or mass) held at the meeting. However, a simpler explanation involves the textual context: as it first coincides with the text 'Ave regina celorum', the composer may have been attributing a certain earthy, temporal power to Mary, the Queen of heaven, who is referred to in *Beata mater* as 'regina mundi'.⁶⁹

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As has been previously discovered, *Ave rosa speciosa/Beata mater* is quite closely related in its use of the tenor cantus firmus to Josquin's *O Virgo prudentissima/Beata mater*.⁷⁰ The

⁶⁸ William F. Prizer, 'Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries: Philip the Fair and the Order of the Golden Fleece', *Early Music History* 5 (1985), 128-9.

⁶⁹ Most of the speculation concerning the origins of the *l'homme armé* mass tradition involve the cantus firmus as a symbol of temporal power. See Prizer, 'Music and Ceremonial', op. cit., esp. 128-9; Michael Long, 'Arma virumque cano: Echoes of a Golden Age', in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. Paula Higgins (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1999), 133-54; and Flynn Warmington, 'The Ceremony of the Armed Man: The Sword, the Altar, and the L'homme armé Mass', also in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context*, 89-130. Other scholars posit Christological implications of the cantus firmus: see Craig Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior*, op. cit., 164-205, and Andrew Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass: Medieval Context to Modern Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), chapter 5, pp. 98-134. In the cases of Mass settings, the cantus firmus is presumably used not in order to alter the meaning of the Mass text, but with respect to the context in which the Mass is being said. In a motet such as this, it is possible that the cantus firmus was instead designed to effect one's interpretation of the texts.

⁷⁰ Houghton, 'A "New" Motet', 56-7. A connection between the chant in both motets had previously been discovered by Willem Elders; see 'Plainchant in the Motets, Hymns, and Magnificat of Josquin des Prez', in *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky with Bonnie J. Blackburn (London 1976), 530. A modern edition is available in the *New Josquin Edition* 24 (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2007), 63-75.

similarities of the chant used in both motets as well as the canonic structure suggest that the Josquin motet was modelled after *Ave rosa/Beata mater*.⁷¹ Other aspects tend to depart from the model set by the earlier motet. In the *secunda pars*, the antiphon is repeated, but the canon is recomposed with diminution. The main text of the Josquin is a newly written hymn by Angelo Poliziano, ‘O Virgo prudentissima’.⁷² The opening reflects the melody of the Assumption antiphon ‘Virgo prudentissima’, while the earlier motet hides its connection to the sequence from which its text was taken.⁷³ The musical style is, in contrast to the anonymous work, filled with imitation, frequent repetition, and overlapping duets. Despite this, a textual analysis reveals that the priorities of the composer concerning the treatment of the hymn text against the tenor were similar to those of the composer of *Ave rosa/Beata mater*.

The Poliziano text was sent in 1491 to Antonio Alabanzi, the prior general of the Servite Order (Ordo Servorum Mariae), as one of two hymns.⁷⁴ The letter accompanying the hymns makes it clear that Alabanzi had requested them previously.⁷⁵ It appears that Poliziano wrote them simply to fulfill this request and not to further his humanist agenda: they lack both classical meter and any obvious humanist themes. Particularly suited to the Servite friars, who have a particular devotion to the Virgin Mary, ‘O Virgo prudentissima’ is a carefully structured, 10-stanza prayer in accentual-syllabic meter.⁷⁶ The first six stanzas

⁷¹ Both canons are at the fifth and entrances are separated by two breves. In bars 1-7 in *Ave rosa/Beata mater*, for example, the canon is identical to that of bars 33-9 in the Josquin.

⁷² See NJE 24, op. cit., commentary pp. 130-1.

⁷³ The similarities of text and music only last for the duration of these two words. The melody quoted is incidentally, and perhaps not accidentally, quite similar to the opening melody of the ‘Beata mater’ antiphon.

⁷⁴ See Howard Mayer Brown, ‘Notes Towards a Definition of Personal Style: Conflicting Attributions and the Six-Part Motets of Josquin and Mouton’, in *Proceedings of the International Josquin Symposium, Utrecht 1986*, ed. Willem Elders (Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1991), 190.

⁷⁵ See Isidoro Del Lungo, *Florentia: uomini e cose del Quattrocento* (Firenze: G. Barbèra, 1897), 201-3. The relevant portion of the letter states: ‘Now I have sent you hymns for the Blessed Virgin: if only I might have written them as successfully as they were a pleasure for me to write! But I hope that they will be of such a nature to be wholly pleasing to you, as much now as you had hoped them to please you when you asked me to write them.’ Originally in Latin: ‘Hymnos in Beatam Virginem misi iam tibi: quos utinam tam feliciter scripserim, quam scripsi libenter. Sed spero tibi tantum, qualescumque sint, omnino placituros, quantum placituros eos iam tu sperasti, cum me rogasti ut componerem.’

⁷⁶ Stephanie P. Schlagel claims without further discussion that this is a humanist text ‘composed in classical hexameters’. See ‘The *Liber selectarum cantionum* and the “German Josquin Renaissance”’, *The Journal of Musicology* 19/4 (2002): 580.

address the Virgin, outlining the moments of Mary's experience and Marian qualities most important for man's salvation, beginning with the Annunciation and the humility which 'seizes God's love', followed by the paradox of Mary as both bride and mother, through which salvation was made possible, and ending with a description of Mary as Queen, in which capacity she acts as help of sinners.⁷⁷ The final four stanzas petition Mary to hear the prayer of the faithful, protect them from evil, and grant them perseverance in holiness through her intercession. It is likely that the seventh and final stanzas are referring to the Servites as 'your humble servants praying' and the 'faithful ones who visit your temple', though it is vague enough to refer equally effectively to anyone asking for the Virgin Mary's intercession.

In his analysis of the motet, Howard Mayer Brown is quick to notice the modification and reordering of the text, suggesting that Josquin himself made the decisions concerning these emendations and the use of the canonic tenor cantus firmus, 'beata mater'.⁷⁸ For Brown, 'Josquin enhanced the rhetorical emphasis of the poem: he made of it an even stronger, more personal, and more dramatic plea to the Virgin Mary for her help than Poliziano appears to have intended.'⁷⁹ Among the modifications is the deletion of four out of ten of the stanzas: the second, concerning Mary's humility and virtue, the fifth, which explains her coronation with language from the Book of Revelation, and the final two, which ask for perseverance and Mary's heavenly aid. Of the remaining stanzas, 'Tu stella maris' is placed before 'Per te de tetro carcere'. Whereas Poliziano's ordering of these stanzas made sense chronologically (the harrowing of Hell happened at the Resurrection, while Mary 'shows us the haven of safety' in the present), this modification emphasizes the link between Mary's help and the salvation of all. The 'enhanced rhetorical emphasis' which Brown observes is largely a result

⁷⁷ The fourth stanza more specifically refers to the harrowing of hell ('the ancient forefathers leave their horrific prison'), but not without reference to our own salvation ('the gate of the heavenly palace is being opened to us'). Mary is described as Queen in the fifth stanza using language from Rev 12:1. The sixth stanza describes Mary as help of sinners through a depiction of the traditional epithet, 'stella maris'.

⁷⁸ Brown, 'Notes', op. cit., 190.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 190.

of leaving out the final two stanzas: the plea at the end is less cluttered and places a proportionally greater emphasis on the fervent prayer of Mary's servants on earth.

Table 3.4. Josquin, *O virgo prudentissima*, text and translation⁸⁰

O virgo prudentissima Quam coelo missus Gabriel Supremi regis nuntius Plenam testatur gratia.	O most prudent Virgin, whom Gabriel, sent from heaven as the messenger of the Highest King, proclaims "full of grace".
Te sponsam factor omnium Te matrem dei filius. Te vocat habitaculum Suum beatus spiritus.	The creator of all calls you his bride, the Son of God calls you his mother, the Holy Spirit calls you his dwelling-place.
Tu stella maris diceris Quae nobis inter scopulos Inter obscures turbines Portum salutis indicas.	You are called the star of the sea, who amidst the rocks, amidst the dark whirlwinds, shows us the haven of safety.
Per te de tetro carcere Antiqui patres exeunt. Per te nobis astriferae Pandantur aulae limina.	Through you the ancient forefathers leave their horrific prison. Through you the gate of the heavenly palace is being opened to us.
<i>[Secunda pars]</i> Audi virgo puerpera Et sola mater integra. Audi precantes quesumus Tuos Maria servulos: <i>Beata mater et innupta virgo,</i>	Hear, O Virgin that bore child and the only mother intact; Hear, we beseech thee, O Mary, your humble servants praying: <i>Blessed mother and unwed virgin,</i>
Repelle mentis tenebras. Disrumpe cordis glaciem. <i>Gloriosa regina mundi,</i> Nos sub tuum praesidium Confugientes protege. <i>Intercede pro nobis ad Dominum. Alleluja.</i>	Drive away the darkness of our minds, Break the ice of our hearts. <i>Glorious queen of the world,</i> Keep us safe who seek refuge under your protection. <i>Intercede for us to the Lord. Alleluja.</i>

The purpose of the modification of the text is further shown in its closely coordinated relationship with the tenor, 'Beata mater'. Whereas in *Ave rosa speciosa/Beata mater* the modifications allow the sequence text to more closely parallel the tenor, Josquin seems to have been less concerned with overall similarities than with localized resonances. Of the four

⁸⁰ Translation based on that of Willem Elders in NJE 24, op. cit., 131-2. He also includes the original Poliziano text (130-1).

stanzas which make up the first section of the motet, the two halves of the cantus firmus are placed alongside the second and fourth. ‘Beata mater [...] regina mundi’ is heard simultaneously with the stanza beginning ‘Te sponsam factor omnium’, both of which emphasize the paradoxical identities of the Virgin and her relationship with God.⁸¹ The antiphon’s plea for intercession comes at the same time as the stanza ‘Per te de tetro carcere’, which clarifies the power of her intercession.

The interaction between the two texts, hymn and antiphon, reaches a climax in the *secunda pars*. On three separate occasions, the hymn is interrupted by the cantus firmus, heard simultaneously in all six voices. Concerning this section, Brown argues: ‘The poet’s appeal to the Virgin to intervene for us are thus made palpable, as the chant overwhelms Poliziano’s poem.’⁸² Stephanie P. Schlagel takes the argument a step further:

the interaction of the chant material with the freely composed setting of Poliziano’s poem is integral to the work’s musico-poetic conception. Here the musical structure (encompassing canon, repetition, and rhythmic compression of a pre-composed melody) and poetic content function in tandem to dramatize and amplify the meaning of both the liturgical chant and the humanistic poem.⁸³

The first stanza, ‘Audi virgo puerpera’, is followed by all voices singing ‘Beata mater et innupta virgo’.

⁸¹ These identities do not line up perfectly, but for Josquin that does not seem to matter. If he had wanted to emphasize the three specific qualities of the antiphon, he certainly would not have deleted the stanza concerning her coronation.

⁸² ‘Notes’, op. cit., 193.

⁸³ ‘The *Liber selectarum cantionum*’, 583.

Figure 3.3. Josquin, *O virgo prudentissima/Beata mater*, breves 141-52⁸⁴

The image displays a musical score for Josquin's 'O virgo prudentissima/Beata mater', specifically breves 141-52. The score is arranged in two systems, each containing six staves. The first system covers measures 141-146, and the second system covers measures 147-152. The lyrics are in Latin and are written below the staves. The music is in a single melodic line, with the lyrics 'Be - a - ta ma - ter et in - nup - ta, et in - nup - ta vir - go, Re -' repeated across the staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and bar lines.

There is a direct connection, as both texts praise Mary as both ‘virgo’ and ‘mater’. In addition, as the comments of Brown and Schlagel suggest, the interpolation of the antiphon text with imitation of the cantus firmus in all voices is a direct physical manifestation of the ‘humble servants praying’ as described in the hymn. In a vocal performance of the hymn alone, the action of the singers reflects the words of the text: ‘praying’ is associated with the singing, and the ‘servants’ with the singers. The interruption of the antiphon extends this

⁸⁴ Largely retypeset from *New Josquin Edition* 24, op. cit., 63-75.

metaphor, adding the liturgical contextualization inherent in the text and cantus firmus. At the end, all voices join with the final portion of the cantus firmus, ‘intercede pro nobis ad Dominum’. Once again, it makes the act of prayer present in a liturgical form, mimicking the prayer of the hymn.

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As these few analyses show, perhaps most noteworthy among these motets is the variation of approach to textual juxtaposition. It is difficult to generalize about how polytextuality acts within these works, as analysis only serves to emphasize their individuality.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, it is this same individuality which points to some unifying characteristics. All of the motets discussed here use very creative means musically and textually to bring out certain shared resonances in the texts. As mentioned above, there is most often a single motivation which governs the means by which the texts were set. The simultaneously sounding texts are not necessarily widely different or opposing, nor did the composers always cleverly reconcile opposing aspects.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the composers encouraged creative interpretation of the different texts they used through the simple fact of polytextuality, and they set for themselves the task of justifying their chosen juxtapositions within a musical setting. As the motets discussed here begin to show, the musical aspect in defining or highlighting the relationships between multiple texts is often fundamental. Whereas composers chose different texts and cantus firmi primarily for textual reasons, the musical setting gave them the ability to emphasize, hide, or indeed create new textual connections, and in doing so to define the manner by which they were meant to relate.

⁸⁵ Jürg Stenzl, who discussed *Song* settings until around 1500 in his book *Der Klang des Hohen Liedes*, op. cit., believes that the late polytextual *Song* settings can only be discussed as individual phenomena, as in the case of the exceptional *Permanente vierge/Pulchra es/Sancta Dei genitrix*, anonymous in F-Dm 517 though possibly by Ockeghem (personal conversation, 28 October 2010).

⁸⁶ This seems to be as Maria R. Maniates would have it. See ‘Combinative Techniques’, op. cit., especially chapter 1 (Introduction).

3.3. Motets Based On/Incorporating Songs

3.3.1. Compère's *Omnium bonorum plena*

Loyset Compère's *Omnium bonorum plena* survives in two late fifteenth-century manuscript sources, Trent 91, 33v-35r, and *I-Rvat* San Pietro B80, 27v-30r. The former was copied by Johannes Wiser in Trent in the 1470s, and Craig Wright has argued based on watermark evidence that the folios which bear Compère's motet were copied between 1472 and 1474.¹ The latter is the earliest of the surviving Vatican manuscripts of polyphony, most of which was copied in Rome c. 1474-5.² The two different versions are in some respects remarkably similar, while other aspects diverge substantially. Adelyn Peck Leverett has listed the note variants, arguing that there cannot be a direct relationship between these two manuscripts, but suggesting 'a common model not far in the background'.³ Joshua Rifkin has recently taken up the idea of a 'common model', suggesting that Compère's motet, along with Busnoys's *In hydraulis* which follows it in Trent 91 and Du Fay's *Ave regina celorum* which precedes it in the Vatican manuscript, 'formed a single small collection that a singer carried with him on his way from the north to Rome.'⁴

¹ 'Paper evidence and the dating of Trent 91', *Music and Letters* 76/4 (1995), especially Table V on p. 504. See also n. 12 on p. 489: "'Omnium bonorum plena" and "In hydraulis" were the last two compositions to be entered in gathering III (ff. 25-36) [...]. The location of these works might suggest that they are late entries, except that there is nothing to distinguish them palaeographically from their immediate context.'

² See Christopher Reynolds, 'The origins of San Pietro B 80 and the development of a Roman sacred repertory', *Early Music History* 1 (1981), especially 280-81. See also idem., ed., *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, San Pietro B 80, Renaissance Music in Facsimile* 23 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1986), especially Introduction, v-viii.

³ 'A paleographical and repertorial study of the manuscript Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, 91 (1378)' (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1990), vol. 1, p. 116; for the chart of variants, see vol. 2, pp. 72-3.

⁴ 'Compère, "Des Pres," and the Choirmasters of Cambria: *Omnium bonorum plena* Reconsidered', *Acta Musicologica* 81/1 (2009): 55-73, quote at 69.

Most of the extensive academic discussion of this piece has concerned the group of musicians listed in the second half of the text, any special occasion which may have brought this group together, and the identity of the musician listed as ‘Des Pres’. Arguments concerning all three of these topics have come full circle: despite the wide range of evidence brought into view, we know little more than we did 50 years ago when Charles Hamm called into question the identity of ‘Des Pres’.⁵ David Fallows has been at the centre of the discussion, first suggesting that the motet was composed for the veneration by Louis XI and Charles the Bold of the newly acquired icon of Notre Dame de Grâce at the Cathedral of Cambrai in 1468,⁶ then supporting Gerald Montagna’s theory that it was for the dedication of the Cathedral of Cambrai in July 1472,⁷ and finally proposing that ‘Des Pres’ might be Josquin after all.⁸ Rob C. Wegman has subsequently suggested that the occasion for this motet might be ‘a professional meeting among ‘master song composers’ at Cambrai in the years around 1470, involving communal veneration of the Virgin [...] and no doubt a festive dinner’.⁹ Rifkin, however, in addition to arguing strongly against identifying ‘Des Pres’ with Josquin, calls into question the fact which was assumed by all previous scholars and formed the basis for most theories about the motet’s origin: that nearly all of the musicians mentioned in the text had connections to Cambrai.¹⁰ It remains possible that the motet could have been first performed at an event such as the dedication of the Cathedral of Cambrai, but the surviving evidence is tenuous at best. Wegman’s theory remains the most plausible, though the location of the first performance no longer needs to have been Cambrai.

⁵ ‘The Manuscript San Pietro B80’, *Revue belge de Musicologie* 14 (1960), especially 47-9.

⁶ Dufay, op. cit., 77-8.

⁷ ‘Josquin and Trent 91: Thoughts on *Omnium bonorum plena* and his activities in the 1470s’, in *Manoscritti di polifonia nel quattrocento europeo: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Trento – Castello del Buonconsiglio, 18-19 ottobre 2002*, ed. Marco Gozzi (Trent: Provincia autonoma di Trento, Soprintendenza per i Beni librari e archivistici, 2004), 206. See also Montagna, ‘Caron, Hayne, Compère: A Transmission Reassessment’, *Early Music History* 7 (1987), 110-112.

⁸ Fallows, ‘Josquin and Trent 91’, op. cit., 207-8.

⁹ ‘From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450-1500’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49/3 (1996), 473-5, quoted at 474. Wegman reiterates this belief in ‘Ockeghem, Brumel, Josquin: new documents in Troyes’, *Early Music* 36/2 (2008), 212.

¹⁰ ‘*Omnium bonorum plena* Reconsidered’, op. cit., especially 57-65.

Less work has been done on the remainder of the text, the music, the cantus firmus taken from Hayne van Ghizeghem's *De tous biens plaine*, and the notation. Most recently, David Rothenberg has written on the motet's several references to the Annunciation, the connections between the Latin text and the vernacular song which serves as cantus firmus, and some of the quotations of the song which appear in voices other than the tenor.¹¹ In what follows, I will revisit the references to the Annunciation and their significance in a 'musicians' motet', the textual significance of *De tous biens plaine*, and the incorporation of the song into the motet texture. The Annunciation language is present in the motet not just to connect the motet to a particular feast, but also to provide a parallel between Gabriel's 'angelic voice' and those of the singers. The cantus firmus construction highlights this parallelism, both between the two sections of the motet and between the motet and the chanson: Compère prioritizes maintaining the image of the chanson tenor in both full cursus of the motet tenor, resulting in some notational idiosyncrasies. Musical aspects of all three voices from the chanson are used in the motet, and each voice of the motet is replete with various melodic and rhythmic quotations. The more complete and exact citations, when they appear in voices other than the tenor, are further marked with coloration, highlighting the importance of the song to the motet's musical and textual construction.

3.3.1.1. Singing (of) the Annunciation

The first half of the text of Compère's motet explicitly references the Annunciation, and it draws on various textual aspects from the song to emphasize its particular appropriateness to the feast. As is well known, the newly written Latin text begins with a translation of the opening words of its chanson cantus firmus, *De tous biens plaine*, or 'full of all good things'. As Rothenberg has pointed out, this echoes the angelic greeting 'Hail, full of grace'.¹² The

¹¹ *The Flower of Paradise*, op. cit., 163-172.

¹² *The Flower of Paradise*, op. cit., 163-172. Murray Steib previously mentioned this connection to the Annunciation, particularly insofar as the line in the fourth stanza seems related to an Annunciation antiphon. It

third and fourth stanzas clearly reference the Annunciation, expressing both the greeting of the angel and Mary's response.

Table 3.5. Compère, *Omnium bonorum plena*, third and fourth stanzas: text and translation

Nullus tibi comparari potest certe nec equari, cui voce angelica dictum est Ave Maria.	Surely no one is able to compare with you, nor to equal you, to whom, with angelic voice, it was declared: 'Hail, Mary'.
Turbata parum fuisti, sed consulta respondisti, ecce ancilla Domini sicut refers fiat mihi.	You were not disturbed, but having been consulted, you responded: 'Behold the handmaiden of the Lord: let it be done to me as you report.'

While Mary's response is paraphrased in full, the only text given to the angel is 'Ave Maria'. It is the singers who pick up this song of praise in full in the second section, and this song to the Virgin is represented most clearly not by plainchant but by Hayne's chanson.¹³

The second stanza includes two curious biblical references. The first and third lines are a recontextualization of Psalm 44:10, 'Astitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato circumdata varietate'. Bede quotes this verse in his *Explanatio* of the Book of Revelation, in which the 'queen' is taken to refer to the Church.¹⁴ Here, however, it is Mary standing at the right hand of the Father in gilded vestments:

Table 3.6. Compère, *Omnium bonorum plena*, second stanza: text and translation

Assistens a dextris Patris, celi terre plasmatoris, in vestitu deaurato nullius manu formato.	Standing at the right hand of the Father, the maker of heaven and earth, in gilded vestments formed by no hand.

is unclear whether the writer of the text (Compère, if Ludwig Finscher is correct) was quoting this particular antiphon or more simply paraphrasing Luke 1:38 and other pieces of the preceding, well-known Annunciation passage. See 'Loyset Compère and His Recently Rediscovered *Missa De tous biens plaine*', *Journal of Musicology* 11/4 (1993), 450, and Finscher, ed., *Loyset Compère: Opera Omnia*, op. cit., vol. 4, III (see also the edition, 32-8).

¹³ An example where plainchant is used to represent the praise of the singers is Josquin's *O virgo prudentissima/Beata mater*; see section 3.2.4. Another parallel example might be Josquin's *Illibata Dei virgo nutrix*, where a climax is reached when all voices (including cantus firmus) sing 'la mi la' (Ma-ri-a). In both of these cases, the Latin text is directly referential to the cantus firmus. This is also the case in Compère's motet in the opening words of each section as well as the musical quotations throughout (discussed below).

¹⁴ Edward Marshall, trans., *The Explanation of the Apocalypse by Venerable Bede* (Oxford: James Parker and co., 1878), at Book 1, Chapter VII, verse 5.

The final line of the stanza is reminiscent of 2 Corinthians 5:1, '[...] domum non manufactum, eternam in celis', referring to an eternal heavenly home not made by hand. This stanza appears to stand out amidst the Annunciation language and the more typical Marian praise found in the first and sixth stanzas. Nevertheless, if the opening lines reflect the angel's 'Ave gratia plena', this can equally be seen as a gloss on the words which follow them, 'dominus tecum': here Mary is standing next to God the Father in heaven.

The third and final exclamation of the angel in Luke 1:28 is 'benedicta tu in mulieribus', and the third stanza of Compère's motet begins by developing this idea: 'surely no one is able to compare with you, nor to equal you.' The absence of explicit language relating to the Annunciation before the end of this stanza is clearer in this context: up to this point, the singers have been embodying Gabriel's exclamations. Only thereafter, in the fourth stanza, do we hear of Mary's response, both the manner in which she received the words of the angel and the words with which she replies.

Table 3.7. Compère, *Omnium bonorum plena*, first four stanzas as extended trope on the Annunciation

Omnium bonorum plena, virgo parensque serena, que sedes super sidera, pulchra prudensque decora.	Ave gratia plena
Assistens a dextris Patris, celi terre plasmatoris, in vestitu deaurato nullius manu formato.	Dominus tecum
Nullus tibi comparari potest certe nec equari, cui voce angelica dictum est Ave Maria.	Benedicta tu in mulieribus.
Turbata parum fuisti, sed consulta respondisti, ecce ancilla Domini sicut refers fiat mihi.	[Mary's response]

Compère used the Annunciation language in the first half to relate the 'angelic voice' of the angel Gabriel to those of the musicians mentioned in the second half. The same

greeting ‘Omnium bonorum plena’ opens the *secunda pars*, but now it represents the sung prayer of those singing. Its connection to the cantus firmus is underlined with long opening duets based on musical material from the song (discussed below, section 3.3.1.3). That the two sections of the motet were meant to be read as parallel to each other is highlighted by the fact that they both have the same amount of text (six four-line stanzas) and a similar musical length. The connection is finally confirmed by the climactic ending of the second section on the text ‘Virgo vale, semper Gabrielis Ave’ (Farewell, virgin, ever Gabriel’s ‘Ave’).¹⁵ In the context of this parallel, the hope would have been that Mary’s response to the singers would be the same as that which she gave to the angel Gabriel.¹⁶

While the two sections of the text highlight the parallel between Gabriel’s exclamation and the praise of the singers respectively, there is a transformation of roles when the motet is performed. The singers take up and elaborate on the words of Gabriel from the outset; in the second section, they ask for Mary’s prayers. ‘Omnium bonorum plena’ is immediately followed by ‘peccatorum medicina’ (‘comfort of sinners’), and Mary is asked to ‘pour forth prayers to your Son for the salvation of those who sing’.¹⁷ The importance of the singing is made clear even in the first section: while Gabriel is not named, he is nevertheless said to have spoken ‘with angelic voice’. The second section is replete with words relating to music and singing: ‘canencium’, ‘musicae’, ‘cantorum’, ‘cantilenarum’, ‘cimbaliis’, and ‘canentibus’. The text is inseparable from its musical context, and the musical context brings to life the sentiments to which the text refers.

Given the use of the Annunciation as the topic for the first half and as an analogy for the second, the connection to the vernacular chanson becomes more evident.¹⁸ In addition to

¹⁵ The translation of this portion of the motet is taken from Rifkin, op. cit., 56-7.

¹⁶ Rothenberg also mentions that the singers take on the ‘ave’ of the angel; see *The Flower of Paradise*, op. cit., 164-6.

¹⁷ The translation of portions of the second section of the text is taken from Rifkin, op. cit., 56-57.

¹⁸ There are a number of other compositions which use the text and/or melody of *De tous biens plaine* alongside an additional Latin or French text; see Barton Hudson, ed., *Hayne van Ghizeghem: Opera omnia, Corpus mensurabilis musicae* 74 (American Institute of Musicology, 1977), XXXIX-XLI and Fallows, *A catalogue of polyphonic songs, 1415-1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 129-30. So far as I am aware, this is the

the correspondence of the first few words of Latin and song texts, they are closely related in the use of ‘expressive register’. The song narrator is a ‘subservient lover’: he praises the beloved excessively, and he compares her to a ‘goddess’ while he is the ‘servant’. The Latin text includes similar praise in the sacred realm: the Virgin Mary sits ‘above the stars’, is ‘beautiful, graceful’, and ‘stands at the right hand of the Father’. In addition, the sorts of praise given by the chanson narrator are particularly applicable to the Annunciation. The opening stanza of the chanson may have been the model for the fourth stanza of the Latin text:

Table 3.8. *De tous biens plaine* as model for *Omnium bonorum plena*?

De tous biens plaine est ma maistresse Chascun lui doit tribut d'honneur; Car assouvye est en valeur Autant que jamais fut deesse.	Full of every virtue is my mistress. Everybody pays her homage, for she is as full of worth as ever any goddess was. ¹⁹
Nullus tibi comparari potest certe nec equari, cui voces angelica dictum est Ave Maria.	Surely no one is able to compare to you, nor to equal you, to whom the angelic voices said, ‘Hail, Mary’.

In both cases, the beloved is seen as the pinnacle, and everyone, even the angelic voices, do her homage.

3.3.1.2. Tenor Cantus Firmus: Issues Relating to Homography

As if to highlight the parallels between the first and second sections, the tenor of Compère’s motet has only two complete cursus of the chanson melody:²⁰

only piece which uses the chanson in an Annunciation context, and there is no clearly discernible pattern for its use.

¹⁹ The translation of the chanson text is by David Munrow in the liner notes to *The Art of the Netherlands*, performed by The Early Music Consort of London, dir. David Munrow (EMI SLS 5049, 1976).

²⁰ The second ‘cursus’ comes in a duet at the beginning of the *secunda pars*, though it departs from the melody of the chanson before it reaches the end of the first phrase.

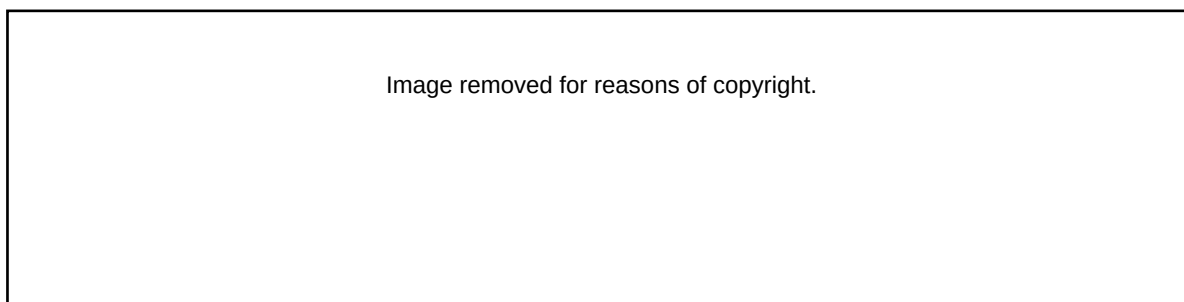
Figure 3.4. Compère, *Omnium bonorum plena*, beginning of first and third tenor cursus, *I-Rvat* S.P. B80, ff. 27v and 29v

Images removed for reasons of copyright.

Both complete cursus are visually identical, with the exception of some ligatures and some notes being split for the sake of the text. Because they are sung in different mensurations (perfect and imperfect cut time), however, the realized version of each is slightly different.

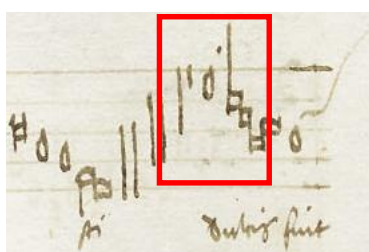
Chanson tenors are not always immediately transferable to different mensurations. At one point only, the composer uses notation which is strictly incorrect in order to maintain the consistency of the image. As seen above, the mensuration of the *secunda pars* is the same as that of the chanson, but the *prima pars* converts the chanson tenor into perfect time. At the entrance of the third tenor phrase, either the notation has to be changed by the addition of a second semibreve rest, or the first note has to be incorrectly altered—incorrect because it is a semibreve followed by another semibreve. The San Pietro B80 reading appears to have had two semibreve rests, but the second is smudged, demonstrating at a minimum confusion about the notation, and potentially suggesting that the scribe thought the second semibreve was a mistake.

Figure 3.5. Compère, *Omnium bonorum plena*, smudged rest in the third phrase of the first tenor cursus, *I-Rvat S.P.* B80, f. 28v



In Trent 91, on the other hand, the notation is clarified by the addition of a dot of perfection:

Figure 3.6. Compère, *Omnium bonorum plena*, dot of perfection in the third phrase of the first tenor cursus, Tr 91, f. 33v²¹



As these images show, Compère adds five long rests before the beginning of this phrase, and these rests were not originally in the chanson tenor. But the semibreve rest is in the original, and it is distinctive to the phrase: the composer must have included the semibreve rest as part of the replication of the image and—in the *secunda pars*—sound of the original.

If the reading in Trent 91 is what the composer intended, then there is a notational idiosyncrasy inherent in the composition: the dot is, irregularly, present not just to signify alteration, but in fact to *cause* it.²² The counterpoint of this version is just as acceptable as that of the version with an extra semibreve rest, and this solution alone maintains homographic integrity. However, it is notationally incorrect:

²¹ Image © Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trento, used with permission.

²² Ludwig Finscher, in his edition, suggests that the Trent reading is the superior one; see *Loyset Compère: opera omnia*, vol. 4, p. III. However, in this case and another, he refuses to alter tenor semibreves, adding an extra semibreve rest even when both manuscripts are in agreement; see p. 34, b. 72, and p. 35, b. 99.

Figure 3.7. Compère, *Omnium bonorum plena*, breves 71-73



Whether or not the composer intended this idiosyncrasy, the Trent scribe almost certainly meant for the first semibreve to be altered. The ligatures appear to have been designed to take this 'error' into account: whereas the cursus in imperfect time transcribes the first three notes of this phrase as individual semibreves, the cursus in perfect time transcribes it as a single semibreve followed by a semibreve ligature.²³ The ligature (together with the dot) visually separates the first semibreve from the group that follows, and if the singer was not paying attention, he might not even have realized that the notation is problematic. To highlight this entrance, the upper voice and bassus have signa, both of which are placed on the note at the beginning of the perfection, even though they could have been placed at or closer to the third beat of the perfection. In this case, the composer's desire to make a homographic tenor, even a somewhat problematic one, seems to have outweighed any desire for strict notational correctness. Furthermore, these two manuscript copies represent the scribes trying to make sense of the error and either correcting it or trying to clarify it notationally to the singers.

3.3.1.3. Notational Image and Song Quotation

Rifkin notes that the similarities in manuscript presentation include the placement of ligatures and the use of coloration.²⁴ Perhaps equally striking is the complete correspondence of

²³ This is consistent in both manuscripts.

²⁴ '*Omnium bonorum plena* Reconsidered', op. cit., 67.

mensuration and proportional signs, even when unnecessary or intentionally arcane. If in these respects the two manuscript copies preserve remarkably similar readings, in other respects they are quite different. Most immediately apparent is the change of format: it is given two openings in Trent 91, one for each section, whereas in San Pietro B 80 the scribe takes up three openings, the section break taking place in the middle of the second. Also significant are the differences of text underlay: both Ludwig Finscher and Leverett have observed that it is substantially more reliable in Trent 91.²⁵ In light of these elements of disagreement, it seems significant that some notational elements are rendered identically in both manuscripts. In fact, much of the notation seems specifically designed to highlight the quotations of the chanson within the motet. While paraphrases of the song permeate the full texture of the motet, in a couple of cases, important quotations are highlighted through the use of coloration.

As discussed above, the tenor has two complete and exact cursus of the chanson melody, in perfect and imperfect time, respectively. It is divided up into four sections, with extra rests before each section, following the phrase structure of the chanson and the textual structure of the rondeau:

²⁵ CMM 15/4, p. iii, and Leverett, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 117. Further evidence in support of the Trent 91 underlay is found in the relation of the textual structure to the musical structure. In the first section according to the Trent version, the entrances of the four different sections of the cantus firmus coincide with the first line of the third to sixth stanzas of text. The second section once again has a text of six stanzas, and the cantus firmus entrances line up with the opening of the third and fourth stanzas, even if the final two are somewhat less exact.

Figure 3.8. Hayne von Ghizeghem, *De tous biens plaine*²⁶

The musical score is presented in four systems, each with three staves (Soprano, Tenor, and Bass). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 2/4. The lyrics are in French.

System 1 (Measures 1-7): Labeled with a box 'A' above the first measure. The Soprano staff has the lyrics: "De tous biens plai - - ne est ma mais - tres -". The Tenor staff has the lyrics: "De tous biens". The Bass staff has the lyrics: "De tous biens".

System 2 (Measures 8-14): The Soprano staff continues the melody with a fermata over measures 10-11. The Tenor and Bass staves provide harmonic support.

System 3 (Measures 15-20): Labeled with a box 'B' above the first measure. The Soprano staff has the lyrics: "se, Chas - cun luy doit tri - but d'hon - neur,". The Tenor and Bass staves continue the harmonic accompaniment.

System 4 (Measures 21-26): The Soprano staff continues the melody. The Tenor and Bass staves provide harmonic support.

²⁶ Re-typeset from CMM 74, pp.14-15; the editorial accidentals are my own.

27 C
Car as sou vye

33
est en va

40 D
leur Au tant que ja

47
mais fut dé es

54
se.

Material from the song is used throughout the motet, starting in the first measure. All quotations from the song are mapped out in the analyzed score below. As a shortcut to the

analyzed score, the following chart plots the occurrence both of the tenor cantus firmus and instances of melodic paraphrase alongside the progression of the text through the motet. The voice in parentheses is that of the motet; bar numbers on the left signify the beginning of each quotation.

Table 3.9. *Compère, Omnium bonorum plena*, full text alongside song quotations

1	Omnium bonorum plena,	Discantus A (Sup)
7	virgo parensque serena, que sedes super sidera, pulchra prudensque decora.	Discantus B (Sup)
12	Assistens a dextris Patris,	Discantus C (Contra) / Tenor C (Bassus)
17	celi terre plasmatoris, in vestitu deaurato nullius manu formato.	Discantus A (Contra) / Tenor A (Bassus)
28	Nullus tibi comparari potest certe nec equari, cui voces angelica dictum est Ave Maria.	Tenor A cf (Tenor)
51	Turbata parum fuisti,	Tenor B cf (Tenor)
63	sed consulta respondisti, ecce ancilla Domini sicut refers fiat mihi.	Tenor B (Contra)
72	Dulcis fuit responsio data celesti nuntio, per quam statim concepisti	Tenor C cf (Tenor)
91	natum Dei et portasti	Discantus D (Sup) / Tenor D (Contra)
94	illum nec non peperisti et post partum permansisti virgo pura et nitida, virgoque immaculata.	Tenor D cf (Tenor)
109	[2da pars] Omnium bonorum plena peccatorum medicina, cuius proprium orare	Tenor A (Tenor)
130	est atque preces fundare,	Tenor A middle (Tenor/Bass)
141	pro miseris peccantibus a deo recedentibus,	Tenor A middle (Contra)
158	funde preces ad filium pro salute canencium.	Discantus A (Sup) / Tenor A (Contra)
175	Et primo pro G Du Fay	Tenor A cf (Tenor)

	pro quo me mater exaudi, luna totius musicae, atque cantorum lumine.	
200	Pro Jo Dussart, Busnoys, Caron, magistris cantilenarum	Tenor B cf (Tenor)
223	Georget de Brelles, Tinctoris, cimbali tui honoris,	Tenor C cf (Tenor)
238	ac Okeghen, Des Pres, Corbet, Hemart, Faugues et Molinet, atque Regis omnibusque canentibus simul et me	Discantus A (Sup)
244	Loyset Compère orante pro magistris puramente,	Tenor D cf (Tenor) through end
250	quorum memor virgo vale semper Gabrielis Ave. Amen.	Discantus D (Sup) / Contra D (bassus)

Of particular note is the connection of the opening music of the chanson with the text ‘Omnium bonorum plena’ at the opening of both sections of the motet. In the first instance, Compère paraphrased the opening of the chanson’s upper-voice melody in the upper voice of the motet. When seen next to the original melody, the connection is clear, but the addition of extra notes as part of an imitative duet with the contratenor hides its identity. At the start of the B section in bar 7, however, the melody and rhythm is almost identical to the song. Here as is frequently the case elsewhere, when a rhythmic quotation of the song is found outside the two complete tenor cursus, the breve of the song is converted into a semibreve in the motet, which fits naturally in the perfect time/minor prolation of the *prima pars*. At the beginning of the second section (b. 109), the composer paraphrased the opening of the chanson tenor in the motet tenor. Both melodies call to mind the opening text of the chanson and its correspondence to the Latin text being sung at that moment, but the use of two different melodies creates variety as well as concealing to some extent the compositional subtlety involved.

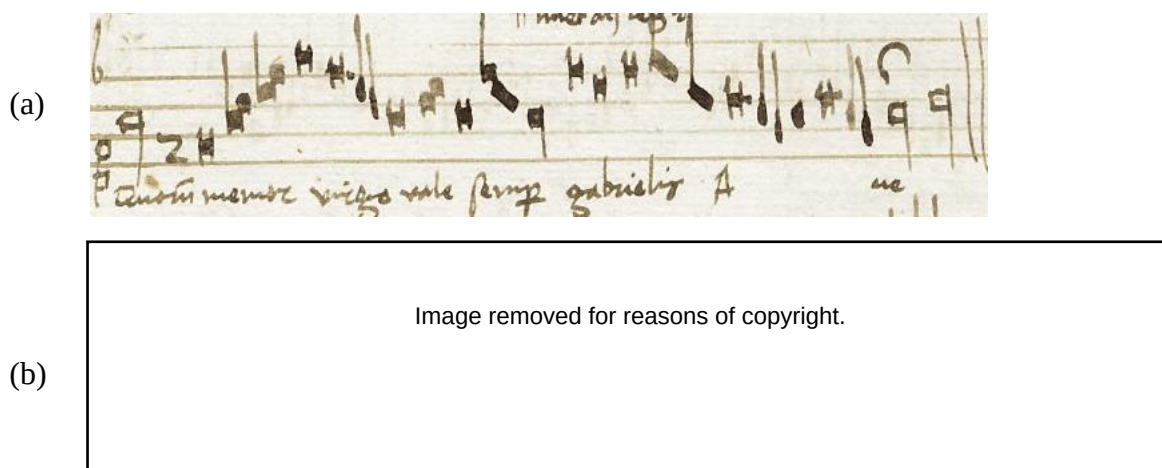
What the chart above does not make apparent is the compositional creativity involved in applying the various pieces of melodic material to the texture of the newly composed

motet. This can best be demonstrated with reference to the extensive duets which comprise more than half the length of the motet. Compère's favorite technique for spinning out the duets is imitation at the fifth below, offset by a minim (see bb. 2-5, 10-11, 44-49, 85-90, 121-7, and 134-8) or a semibreve (bb. 146-153, 162-5, 167-9, and 238-42). After experimenting with other varieties of imitation (at the fourth above or below and at the octave above or below), the composer invariably falls back to his favorite method of imitation, one which permeates the musical texture of the motet. Occasionally, there is imitation of the musical material from the song (bb. 7-9, 200-204, 238-42), but more commonly the imitative sequences lead the motet away from any quotations (bb. 44-49, 85-90, 118-127, 130-8). Given the prevalence of imitation, the opening of the second section (b. 109) is unique in that an instrumental-like line in the bassus was composed against a long-note melodic quotation in the tenor. The homophonic four-voice texture which coincides with the naming of many of the musicians provides a striking aural contrast when following such extensive duets.

Particularly noteworthy among the quotations and paraphrases are those sections where two or more of the melodies from the chanson are used simultaneously. This happens three times in the *prima pars*, briefly at bb. 12-14 and 91-4 and more extensively at 17-22, each time as a duet. In the *secunda pars*, there are two such occasions, and both coincide with a proportional or mensuration change. The first instance is the proportional coloration in the upper voice and contratenor at 'funde preces ad filium' (bb. 158-167). The superius and contratenor sing the upper-voice and tenor melodies from the opening of the chanson. Imitation starting in bar 162 leads both voices away from the chanson melodies, but they both return to finish the phrase at 173. The second instance is at the very end, where the tenor completes the final phrase of the cantus firmus. The superius joins in at b. 249 singing the final phrase of the chanson's upper voice. Shortly after this point, at b. 251, the motet bassus quotes from the contra of the chanson, making it the only instance in the motet where all chanson voices are quoted simultaneously. The beginning of the quotation in the superius

coincides exactly with the sign ‘2’, signifying that the notes proceed twice as fast. The coloration used here seems to signify the portion of the melodic line to which the diminution applies. The longs at the end are left void, making them equivalent to those in the other voices.

Figure 3.9. Compère, *Omnium bonorum plena*, coloration in the superius: (a) Tr 91, f. 34v²⁷ and (b) S.P. B80, f. 29v



To be clear, the sign and the coloration are not necessary: the notes could have been written simply as half of their corresponding value (semibreves instead of breves, etc.) without any proportional change. That both scribes nevertheless copied the same sign and used the same coloration suggests that this was more than just a meaningless notational trick, and in fact, it signifies the presence of the song melody.²⁸ The final cadence of the motet is an extension beyond the ending of the chanson: the final longs are void because they are not part of the quotation. In this context, the use of proportional coloration in the previous section also makes sense, as it is one of the few sections with clear quotations in more than one voice.

There is one further change of mensuration in the motet: towards the end of the *secunda pars*, at b. 238, a duet in the upper voice and contratenor shifts from duple to triple using two different signs: ‘3’ in the upper voice and ‘O’ in the contratenor.²⁹ They both

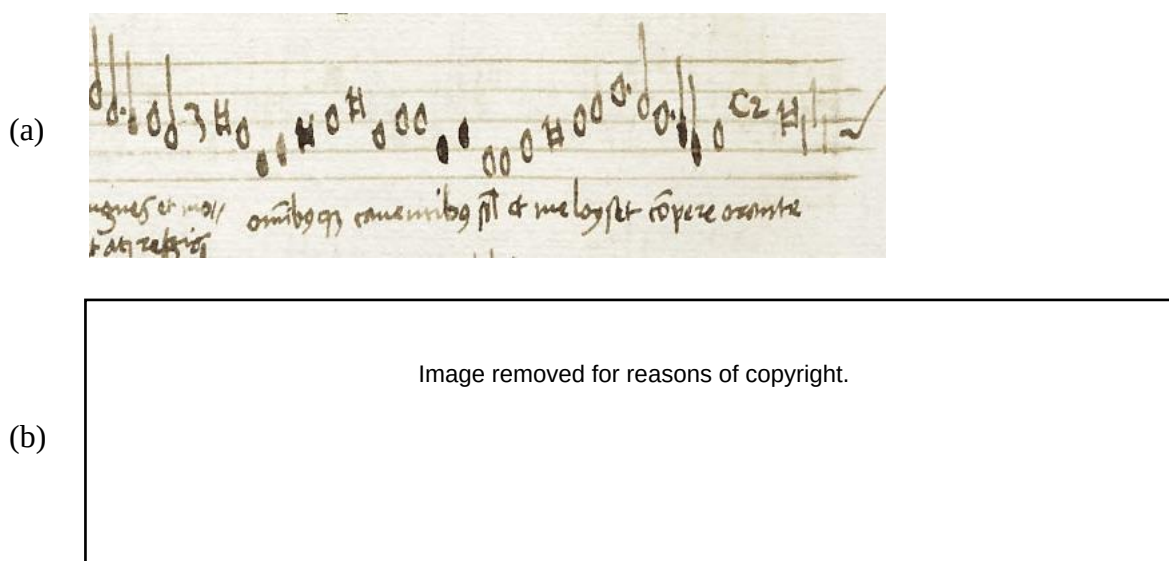
²⁷ Image © Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trento, used with permission

²⁸ This was first suggested to me by Margaret Bent (personal communication, June 2012).

²⁹ Tinctoris complains about the use of the latter sign, especially when the notes which follow use coloration. Compère, in any case, is not guilty of the compounded offence. See Albert Seay, ‘The *Proportionale Musices* of Johannes Tinctoris’, *The Journal of Music Theory* 1/1 (1957), 41-42.

signify a sesquialtera proportion change: two semibreves of the previous C mensuration are equal in duration to three in this new section. Imperfection coloration is used for a couple of notes in the upper voice to clarify that the second breve must be imperfect and the semibreve which precedes it is not to be altered. There are two other coloured semibreves later in the phrase in order to complete the perfection, though this bears no effect on imperfection or alteration:

Figure 3.10. Compère, *Omnium bonorum plena*, mensuration change in superius: (a) Tr 91, f. 34v³⁰ and (b) S.P. B80, f. 29v



This section loosely paraphrases the upper-voice melody from the beginning of the chanson in imitation between the two voices. Proportional coloration is avoided so as to make the other two instances of coloration stand out as complete quotations. Nevertheless, Compère may have wished to highlight the singing of his name in the text through the subtle use of notational signs.

As discussed previously, *De tous biens plaine* was chosen as the basis for this motet at least in part because of its textual resonances with the Annunciation. But the motet is not simply for the Annunciation: it is for the singers, for whose singing the Annunciation serves as a metaphor. The notation also makes this apparent, for the image, accessible only to the

³⁰ Image © Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trento, used with permission.

singers, contains meaning that is not present in the sound. The chanson embodies their singing, and in the motet, the chanson becomes a realization of their sung praise of the Virgin. In the final phrase especially, with the chanson for the first time present in the full texture of the motet, the composer created the final link between the chanson, the musicians' singing, and 'Gabriel's Ave'.

Figure 3.11. **Compère, *Omnium bonorum plena*, edition with song quotations indicated**

[See overleaf.]

Omnium bonorum plena

with quotations from *De tous biens plaine* on small staves

Loyset Compère

Trent 91 - 33v/34r
SP B 80 - 27v/28r

Song melody: Discantus A

*Imitation, 5th below

Contra

Tenor

Bassus

O - - mni - um bo - no - rum ple -

O - mni - - - um bo - no - rum

4

(...)

- na, vir - - go pa - rens - que se - re - -

C

ple - na, vir - - go pa - rens - que - se - re -

7

Discantus B

*Imit., 4th below

- na, que se - des su - per si - de - ra,

C

na, que se - des su - per si - de -

9

*Imit., 5th below

- pul - - chra pru - - dens - - que -

C

ra, pul - chra pru - - - dens - -

11

de - co - ra.

Discantus C

C

que de - co - ra. As - si - - -

B

As - - - - si - -

Tenor C

14

*Imit., 4th above

stens a dex - tris Pa - tris ce - li ter - - -

B

stens a dex - tris Pa - tris ce - li ter - - -

17

Discantus A

*Imit., 8ve above

- re plas - - ma - to - ris, in -

B

- - re plas - ma - to - ris, in -

Tenor A

19

in ve - - sti - - tu de - -

B

ve - - - - sti - - tu de -

21

nul - li - - -

C

8 au - ra - - to - - - nul - - -

B

8 au - ra - - - - - - - to

24

- li - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

C

8 - li - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

26

- us - - - ma - nu for - ma - - - to. - - -

C

8 us ma - - nu for - - ma - to. - - -

T

8 De tous biens plaine (Tenor A)

B

8 Nu - - -

nul - li - us ma - - nu for - ma - to. - - -

29

*Tr: Sb+m *Tr: Dotted sb

Nul - lus - - ti - - bi - - - com - pa -

C

8 Nul - lus ti - - - bi com - pa -

T

8 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

B

8 Nu - lus ti - - - bi

33

ra - - - - - ri po -

C - ra - - - ri po - - - - test

T com - - pa - ra - ti, po - test

B com - - pa - ra - - - ri

36

test cer - - - te nec e - -

C cer - - - te nec e - - -

T cer - - - te nec e - - -

B po - - test cer - te nec e -

39

qua - - - ri, cu - -

C qua - - - ri, cu - - i

T qua - - - ri,

B qua - - - - - - - - -

42

- i vo - ce an - ge - li - ca di - ctum est

C vo - ce an - ge - li - ca di - ctum

T

B *SP: rest

ri,

*Imit., 5th below

45

A - - - ve Ma - ri -

est A - - - ve Ma - ri -

48

a. Tur -

a. Tur -

*Tr: missing B rest Tenor B Tur -

Tur -

52

ba - ta pa - - rum fu - i -

- ba - - ta pa - rum fu - i -

ba - - ta pa - - rum fu - -

ba - - ta pa - rum fu - i - -

55

sti, sed con - sul - - ta re -

- sti, sed con - sul - - ta re - spon -

i - - - - -

sti, sed con - - - sul - - ta

58 SP: 28v/29r

spōn - di - - - sti,

C

di - - - sti,

*SP: minim

T

sti,

B

re - spon - - di - - - sti,

61

re - spon - di - - -

C

re - spon - di - - -

T

re - spon - di - - -

B

63 Tenor B

sti, ec - ce an - ci - la Do - - - mi - ni

C

*SP: 1 G sb

sti, ec - ce an - ci - la Do - mi - ni si -

B

66

si - cut re - fers fi - - - at

C

- cut re - - - fers fi - - at

B

68

mi - - -

C

mi - - -

B

71

Dul - cis. fu - it re -

hi. Dul - - cis.

Tenor C

Dul - - cis.

*SP: dotted sb

hi. Dul - cis.

74

spou - - si - - o da -

fu - it re - spon - - si -

fu - - it re - spon - - si -

fu - it re - spon - - si -

77

ta ce - le - sti

o da - - - ta ce - le -

o da - - - ta ce -

o da - ta ce - -

80

nun -

sti

le - - - sti

le - - - sti nun - -

83

*Imit., 5th below

- ti - - - o, per quam

nun - ti - o, per quam

- ti - - - o,



86

*SP: g

sta - tim con - ce - pi - sti

sta - tim con - ce - pi -



88

na - - - - - tum De - - -

-sti na - - - - - tum De - - -

*SP:

sti na - - - - - tum De - - -



Discantus D

i et por - ta -

*Imit., 8ve above

Tenor D

i et por - ta -

i

93

sti il - lum nec

sti il - lum nec non

Tenor D
il - lum nec

il - lum nec non



96

non pe - pe - ri - sti et

pe - pe - ri - sti

non...

pe - pe - ri - sti, et post



99

post par - tum per - man -

et post par - tum

vir - go

par - tum per - man - si - sti,

101 Cf. bb. 86-87

S: si - - - sti vir - go - - - pu - ra -

C: per - man - si - sti vir - - - go pu -

T: pu - - - - - ra - - - et

B: vir - go pu - ra - - -



103

S: - et - ni - - ti - da, vir - go -

C: ra et ni - ti - - da, - vir - - -

T: ni - - - - - ti - da, vir - - - go -

B: - et ni - ti - da, - vir - go - - -



106

S: que im - ma - - - cu - la - -

C: go - que - im - - - ma - - - cu -

T: que im - ma - - cu - la - - -

B: que im - ma - cu - la - - -

*T and B notated as breves

108 Tr: 34v/35r

ta.

la - ta.

Tenor A

ta. O - mni - um bo -

- ta. O - mni - um bo - no - rum

*SP:

111

- - no - rum ple - - na pec -

ple - na pec - ca - - to - rum me - di - ci -

116 (...)

- ca - to - - - rum me - - di -

*SP: 2 sbs *Imit., 8ve below

120

- ci - - na, cu - ius pro - pri - um o -

na, cu - ius pro - pri - um

*Imit., 5th below

124

ra - - - - -

o - ra - - - - -

153

ce - den - ti - - - bus,

re - ce - - - den - ti - - - bus,

158

Discantus A

fun - de pre - - ces ad fi - - li - -

fun - de pre - ces ad fi - li - um

Tenor A

161

um

*Imit., 5th below

163

pro sa - lu - - te ca -

pro sa - lu - - te ca -

(...)

165

nen - ti - - -

nen - ti - - -

*Imit., 5th below

Continuing from above

S
um. _____

C
um. _____

Continuing from above

174

S
Et pri - mo pro G Du - fa -

C
Et pri - mo pro G Du - fa - y

T
Et pri - mo pro G Du - fa -

B
Et pri - mo pro G Du - fa -

181

S
y pro quo me ma - - -

C
pro quo me ma - ter ex - au - - -

T
y pro quo me ma - -

B
y pro quo me ma - ter ex -

186

S
te ex - au - - - di, _____

C
- di, lu - - na to - ti - us _____

T
ter ex - au - - - di, _____

B
au - di, lu - - na to - ti - us _____

192

C

B

mu - si - ce, at - que can - to -

mu - si - ce, at - que can - to -

197

C

T

B

rum lu - mi - ne.

rum lu - mi - - - - -

Tenor B
Pro Jo Dus -

202 *Imit., 8ve above

C

T

B

Pro Jo Dus - sart, Bus - noys,

sart, Bus - noys, Ca - - - -

ne,

208

C

T

B

Ca - - - - ron,

ma - gi - stris can - ti - le -

ron,

ma - gi - stris can - ti -

214

S
Geor - get de Brel -

C
-na - rum de Brel -

B
le - - na - - rum

218

S
les, cim - ba -

C
les, Tin - - cto - - ris, cim - ba -

B
Geor - - get, Tin - - cto - ris,

222

S
- - lis tu - i ho - no - - -

C
lis

T
tu - i ho - no - -

Tenor C

227

*SP: G breve

S
ris, ac O - ke - ghen, Des Pres, Cor - bet, He - mart, Fau -

C
Ac O - ke - ghen, Des Pres Cor - bet, He -

T
ris, ac O - ke - ghen, Des Pres, Cor - bet, He - mart, Fau -

B
Ac O - ke - ghen, Des - Pres, Cor - bet, He - mart, Fau -

233

S
gues, et Mo - li - net, at - que Re -

C
8
mart, Fau - gues, et Mo - li - net, at - que Re -

T
8
- gues,

B
gues, et Mo - li - net,

238 Discantus A

S
gis, o - mni - bus - que ca - nen - ti - bus

C
8
gis o - mni - bus - que ca - nen - ti -

T

B

240 Discantus A (end)

S
si - mul et me Lo - y - set Com - père o -

C
8
bus si - mul et me Lo - y - set Com - père

T

B

242

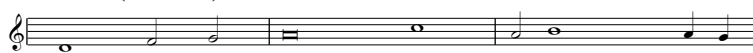
S
ran - te

C
8
o - ran - te pro ma - gi - stris pu - ra - men -

T
8
Tenor D
pro ma - gi - stris pu - ra - men -

B
pro ma - gi - stris pu - ra - men -

Discantus D (middle to end)



*Notated in twice the note value with coloration

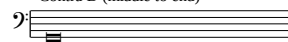
qu o - - rum me - - mor vir - -

te, qu o - rum me - mor vir - go

te, qu o - rum me - -

te, qu o - - rum

Contra D (middle to end)



252

-go va - le sem - - per Ga - bri -

va - le sem - per Ga - bri - e -

mor vir - go va - le sem - per

me - mor vir - go va - - le sem - per

257

S e - - lis A - - ve. A - men.

A lis A - - ve. A - - men.

T Ga - bri - e - lis A - ve. A - men.

B Ga - bri - e - lis A - - ve. A - men.

P Ga - bri - e - lis A - - ve. A - men.

*SP: only 1 long

3.3.2. *Humilium decus/Sancta Maria, succurre miseris/Cent mille escus*

Humilium decus/Sancta Maria succurre miseris/Cent mille escus, another anonymous motet in *I-Rvat* Cappella Sistina 15, sets three texts: pre-existing French chanson and Latin antiphon texts as cantus firmi alongside an otherwise unknown Latin metrical text. The texts are related in subtle ways, signifying at a minimum that the two cantus firmi were chosen with the new text in mind. In all likelihood, ‘*Humilium decus*’ was written as a counterpart to the pre-existing texts for the composition of this motet: ‘*decus*’ may have been a verbal pun on the French ‘*escus*’.³¹ In any case, the first word of the Latin text, composed in dactylic hexameters, introduces the concept of lowliness or humility, the ideal of which is found in the Virgin Mary. The antiphon, which also addresses Mary, focuses instead on the various sorts of people who require her aid: the wretched, the faint-hearted, and the sorrowful. The chanson text (of which only the incipit is found in the manuscript) has an opposing perspective, that of a lowly courtier who desires riches.³²

³¹ This was suggested to me by Margaret Bent (personal communication, January 2013).

³² See full text and translation of the chanson in *A Florentine Chansonier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent*, ed. Howard Mayer Brown, *Monuments of Renaissance Music* 7 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 240-1.

Table 3.10. *Humilium decus*, texts and translations

Humilium decus a celorum cardine missum, Dum domini memoras te ancillam virgo Maria. Aure capis verbum quod casta concipis alvo, ³³ Et factum caro gestas virginitate manente ³⁴ Et pariens tu perseveras inviolata, Nomen habens matris cum virginitatis honore.	The honour of the lowly is sent from the pole of heaven when you, Virgin Mary, call yourself ‘Handmaid of the Lord’. Through your ear you receive the Word, which you conceive in your chaste womb, and you carry the Word-flesh, your virginity remaining, and giving birth, you persist to be inviolate, bearing the name of mother with the grace of virginity.
Simile ducas ad iubar altum quo super astra Clares haud petimus, cunctis prelata beatis, Leta vides natum dulci quem lacte aluisti, Sed votis pia nostris condescende precamur Obtineas nobis viciorum rumpere funes Liberi ut ethereas valeamus tendere sedes. Amen. ³⁵	We do not at all seek that you bring us to a similar great splendor, that by which you outshine the stars, you who are set before all the blessed, who joyfully behold the son whom you suckled with sweet milk; but deign, we pray, to hear our pious prayers and to break the cords of our vices, that, as free persons, we may be able to head for the celestial thrones. Amen.
Sancta Maria, succurre miseris, juva pusillanimes, refove flebiles, ora pro populo, interveni pro clero, intercede pro devoto femineo sexu. ³⁶	Holy Mary, help the lowly, assist the faint- hearted, comfort the sorrowful, pray for the people, plead for the clergy, intercede for the devoted of the feminine sex.

If most Marian prayers and devotions can be divided into praise and petitions, the sacred tenor, ‘Sancta Maria, succurre miseris,’ is noteworthy in its one-sidedness: Mary is given only a single distinction, that of being holy (‘Sancta’).³⁷ The remainder is a series of short petitions for different groups of people, with special emphasis on the weak and suffering. To a large extent, the role of praise is filled in the motet by the metrical text, ‘Humilium decus’. While parts of the *secunda pars* emphasizes Mary’s glory in heaven (that ‘great splendour, by which you outshine the stars, you who are offered as a model for all the

³³ “Aure capis verbum... concipis” seems to be based on the third stanza of the hymn *Quem terra, pontus, aethera*: “quod aure virgo concipit”.

³⁴ “Virginitate manente” seems to suggest a phrase from the Preface for the Mass for feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary: “virginitatis gloria permanente”.

³⁵ Text and translation of this text based on those of Lionel Wickham; see liner notes to The Clerks’ Group, dir. Edward Wickham, *Ockeghem: Missa Prolationum*, op. cit.

³⁶ Some versions of this antiphon do not end here. The *tenor primo* (which carries this *cantus firmus*) continues with the main text, ‘Obtineas nobis...Amen.’

³⁷ Liturgically the antiphon was used for the whole gamut of Marian feasts, most frequently the Assumption. The antiphon has various possible endings which extend beyond ‘femineo sexu’, often elucidating the feast which is being celebrated; see, for example, *Liber Usualis* (Tournai: Desclée, 1950), 1255-6. In this motet, the *cantus firmus* ends at ‘femineo sexu’, thus seemingly robbing it of any connection to a specific liturgical feast. The first tenor continues untexted, first in imitation of the *chanson cantus firmus* at bar 150, then freely to the end.

blessed, you who joyfully behold the son whom you suckled with sweet milk'), the first half of the text highlights moments in her life surrounding the birth of Christ. What is unique about this portion of the text ('Aure capis...honore') is not so much its emphasis on Mary's virginity as the fact that this virginity is reiterated at every step: the Annunciation, conception, pregnancy, and giving birth. Surely if she is a virgin at the moment of conception, it would not be an additional leap of faith to apply this virginity through the point of Christ's birth, and as such, the text at first appears contrived. Some of the words, however, suggest meanings beyond physical virginity. 'Tu perseveras inviolata', while most obviously meaning that she remains physically inviolate, also suggests perseverance and a more general moral purity. In all of the various sufferings and weakness associated with childbirth, then, Mary remains both physically and morally untouched by sin.

The opening words suggest that Mary's example can be an inspiration for the lowly, and the scenes taken from Mary's life as described thereafter parallel the difficulties of those mentioned in the antiphon. The lowly can meditate upon her carrying the child in her womb; the faint-hearted can consider how she persevered through child-birth. The most direct parallels between these texts end here, but the general idea, that the faithful can use Mary's experiences to give them strength in their own hardship, can be applied on a much broader scale. In all cases, Mary prevailed over sin, remaining pure, so despite their difficulties, the faithful can do the same. The way in which the texts line up through the music proves that the correspondences mentioned above are not merely coincidental. The motet begins with the 'Humilium decus' text alone in order to set up the parallel which is to follow. The arrival of 'Aure capis' in all five other voices is conspicuous in both its imitation at the unison and the first instances of cadences of b-flat, setting up the entry of 'Sancta Maria' which immediately follows. The antiphon cantus firmus reaches 'Succurre miseris' (help the lowly) shortly after the other voices begin 'et factum caro gestas' (and you carried him who was made flesh). Similarly, 'juva pusillanimes' (assist the faint-hearted) occurs simultaneously to 'et pariens,

tu perseveras' (and giving birth, you persevered), both cases highlighting the connection between Mary's plight and our own.³⁸

The portion of the antiphon which is left for the *secunda pars* no longer prays specifically for the weak and suffering, but opens the petitions to the people, the clergy, and pious women. There is one additional direct correspondence between these two texts. The motet text at this point, 'leta vides natum dulci quem lacte aluisti', at first seems unnecessary if not out of place: it praises Mary in the midst of the rather long and detailed prayer which encompasses the *secunda pars*. However, the experience of 'beholding the Son' is one which would be quite familiar to clergy in the context of the mass, and indeed, this portion of text is sung simultaneously to 'interveni pro clero'. At the end, the motet text joins with the sacred tenor in asking for Mary's intercession, which becomes particularly meaningful as the singers represent the 'populo', and more specifically, the 'clero'.

When considering the text 'Humilium decus' with the vernacular cantus firmus 'Cent mille escus', it appears to be a relationship of opposition, that between a modest supplicant and a covetous courtier. However, in certain ways their language is remarkably similar. The vernacular voice makes its unreasonable demand for a specific sum of money with a level of ironic humility: 'I wouldn't wish for anything more'. The narrator of 'Humilium decus', in a similar fashion, puts his own humility on a pedestal, opening the motet with a reference to the 'honour of the lowly' and beginning the *secunda pars* by overtly *not* making a request seen as too ambitious. In one respect, they are indeed asking for the same thing: eternal paradise. Despite these subtle similarities, it is the opposition between the two texts which results in a

³⁸ The transmission of the 'Humilium decus' text in CS 15 is not identical in all voices, and occasionally the underlay does not line up even approximately. In the section bars 24-31 ('Et factum caro gestas'), both contratenors do not include the word 'gestas', but this must have been accidental and is easily rectifiable. The word 'gestas', which would be most associated with the pain of pregnancy, would be sung during the first tenor's phrase on 'succurre miseris' in all other voices. Thereafter, the underlay is a bit less straightforward, as is demonstrated by the large initials V and E on fols. 188v and 189r, for 'Virginitate manente' and 'Et pariens', both part of the same text sung simultaneously. Nevertheless, the text 'pariens tu perseveras' in the top voice, both contratenors, and the second tenor must occur somewhere in bars 33-40, where the first tenor has 'juva pusillanimes' (the bassus here is untexted).

particularly dramatic gesture. At the opening of the *secunda pars*, in contrast to the chanson courtier's not insignificant monetary request, the narrator of the new Latin text makes a point of not asking for more than he ought: 'We do not at all seek that you bring us to a similar great splendour, that by which you outshine the stars'. Indeed, there is ambiguity with the word 'simile'. The text compares the narrator's unsought splendour to the true glory of the Virgin Mary, whereas the musical context suggests that it could additionally refer to the coincidental imitation which opens the *secunda pars*. Given the context provided by the vernacular tenor, however, it could just as easily refer to the courtier's desired treasure.

The chanson melody is sung entirely in both sections of the motet, and here, it enters with the text 'quo super astra clares' alongside the incipit, 'Cent mille escus'. The sung text ('above the stars') seems to be an excuse for most voices (the top voice, both contratenors, and first tenor) to sing near the top of their register. The concurrence of this portion of the metrical text with the chanson melody and incipit points towards the connection suggested above: the splendour described in the metrical text is akin to courtier's hundred thousand crowns. The metrical text is constructed such that, up to this point, it is unclear whether or not the narrator is requesting this splendour beyond the stars for himself, and indeed, one listening might have assumed the answer to be yes.³⁹ This expectation, however, is undermined completely with the words 'haud petimus' (an emphatic 'we do not seek'), and the music mimics the dramatic effect of the text by changing to a much lower texture. Not insignificantly, the voice with the chanson melody, representing the forbidden fruit now refused, drops out as soon as the first voice singing 'haud' enters.

This vocal entry in the second tenor uses an identical musical gesture as is found in a presumably earlier motet, the previously discussed *O pulcherrima mulierum/Gyrum celi* (also found uniquely and anonymously in Cappella Sistina 15). As it occurs in the earlier motet,

³⁹ The dramatic effect might be better emulated with an alternative translation (slashes denoting how the text is divided musically): 'That you bring us to a similar great splendour, / that by which you outshine the stars, / we do not at all seek...'.

this figure is the first to be imitated in all of the voices except the cantus firmus, setting the repetition of the initial text, ‘O pulcherrima’. The imitation at the unison and octave results in parallel thirds (or tenths) between each pair of adjacent voices.⁴⁰ (See figure 3.1.) Despite the lack of proportional coloration in the present motet, the second tenor is melodically identical (transposed down a fourth) and rhythmically proportional, with the exception of the length of the first note. The top voice then begins the imitation at the octave (the first note having the correct proportional length), resulting in the same parallel tenths that occur in the earlier motet. Less immediately evident is that the bassus sings the second half of the figure (with the first note adjusted from *e* to *c*) alongside the second tenor, again producing the original parallel thirds. Finally, whereas in the earlier motet the tenor holds a prolonged *f* during the imitative passage, in *Humilium decus* the first contratenor and tenor combine to serve the same purpose on *c*’.

Figure 3.12. *Humilium decus*, breves 76-9

Given the similarities of the sections and the rhetorical importance of their locations within each motet, the composer of *Humilium decus* was probably familiar with the earlier motet. It may have been the subconscious inclusion of musical material known previously, or

⁴⁰ The motet *O pulcherrima/Gyrum celi* has a number of quite similar melodic figures throughout, though the imitation in this particular section makes it the most memorable version.

it is even possible that the composer was trying to making a specific reference to the earlier motet. The result of including such a musical parallel could be to reorient the previous phrase ('super astra clares') away from the plural narrators who (we now know) do not seek such glory, and towards that most beautiful of women, the Virgin Mary, who was given such glory by God. In other words, the rhetorical gesture of the text may be enhanced by two opposing musico-textual references, and their careful placement one after the other first seems to tempt listeners with visions of glory but then firmly redirect their attention to the only human upon whom such glory (and beauty) was rightly bestowed.

As to what this glory actually represents and why it remains unsought, a hint may be in the phrase 'super astra'. While it has been used to represent a certain heavenly glory, specifically in imagery for the Ascension, in the present context the narrator asks 'that we may be able to extend the celestial thrones' while explicitly not asking for the glory described previously.⁴¹ The only biblical occurrence of this phrase is in Isaiah 14:13, in the context of a prophecy against the king of Babylon. Addressing the king mockingly as 'lucifer' (14:12), it continues: 'qui dicebas in corde tuo in caelum conscendam super astra Dei exaltabo solium meum [...]' ('You said in your heart, "I will ascend to the heavens; I will raise my throne above the stars of God [...]"').⁴² This makes for an apt comparison to 'Humilium decus', where the narrator pledges to not commit the sin of Satan, desiring the glory belonging to God and, in this case, to Mary. In a text centred upon the lowliness of the Virgin Mary during her life, it is no surprise that the ultimate sin is pride.

⁴¹ Consider, for example, 'Quem credisti super astra ascendisse...' (Whom do you believe to have ascended above the stars...), a trope to the introit *Viri galilaei* from around 1000. See notes by Susan Hellauer for *1000: A Mass for the End of Time*, performed by Anonymous 4 (Harmonia Mundi HMU 907224).

⁴² Translation of the Vulgate from the New International Version.

3.4. Christ in Context with the Virgin Mary

As discussed in section 2.4, most of the vernacular cantus firmi used in motets and masses draw upon the textual similarities between Marian devotion and courtly love poetry. These motets tend to have Latin texts directed towards the Virgin, and both Latin and vernacular texts are frequently related in ‘expressive register’; a clear example is Josquin’s *Stabat mater* with the cantus firmus *Comme femme desconfortée*.¹ This is equally the case in a number of chansons with Latin cantus firmi, such as Compère’s *Plaine d’ennuy/Anima mea*.² Less commonly used are vernacular or Latin cantus firmi with apparently Christological implications. Anne Walters Robertson has argued, for instance, that Du Fay’s *Missa Se la face ay pale* takes advantage of the close relationship between the text of Du Fay’s ballade and devotional writings and practices directed to the face of Christ as Man of Sorrows, and its composition was prompted by the acquisition of the Holy Shroud by Duke Louis of Savoy in 1453.³ Craig Wright and Andrew Kirkman have argued in favor of Christological connotations in the extensive tradition of *L’homme armé* masses.⁴ David Rothenberg has argued that, whereas the cantus firmus *De tous biens plaine* is used with almost universally Marian implications (as in Compère’s *Omnium bonorum plena*), *D’ung aultre amer* is linked instead to Christ.⁵

¹ The phrase ‘expressive register’ is taken from Bloxam, ‘A Cultural Context’, op. cit., 25 and 26; see also section 2.4.3.

² This is also discussed briefly in section 2.4.2.

³ ‘The Man with the Pale Face, the Shroud, and Du Fay’s *Missa Se la face ay pale*’, *Journal of Musicology* 27/4 (2010), 377-434.

⁴ Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior*, op. cit., 164-205, and Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass*, op. cit., 98-134.

⁵ *The Flower of Paradise*, op. cit., chapter 5, pp. 159-192.

Further examination of some of these instances suggests that the line between Marian and Christological devotion is not quite so clear. In addition, a further number of motets combine musical and textual references to Mary and Christ, drawing from Latin liturgical sources. Some of these motets treat these Marian and Christological references as one might expect, clearly differentiating between worship of Christ as one person of the Trinity and intercession through the Virgin. At the other extreme, however, are a few motets that obscure this distinction, using language generally associated with Christ when referring to the Virgin, potentially blurring the distinction between Marian devotion and Christ-worship. Moreover, the prospect of a vernacular song such as *D'ung aultre amer* being used to refer to Christ raises an additional issue: Christ becomes associated with the (presumably) female beloved of the chanson, not the male lover. While the textual motivations behind such musical combinations are straightforward enough, these instances highlight the mutual love between Christ and the believer more than the worship of Christ as Lord.

3.4.1. Christological Resonances in Vernacular Song

3.4.1.1. *Se la face ay pale*

Du Fay's ballade and mass *Se la face ay pale* have been discussed by Robertson as having particular Christological application, but resonances of the Virgin Mary are perhaps just as present as are those of Christ. Drawing on a large accumulation of mystical literature and sacred poetry, Robertson creates a compelling case for associating Christ with the 'man with the pale face'. I am convinced by her arguments that the connection of Du Fay's mass to a wedding (whichever one) is suspect; instead, the vernacular song, placed in the sacred context of a polyphonic mass, is probably meant to be 'read in a sacred mode'.⁶ There are nevertheless two pieces of evidence, both discussed by Robertson, that might cause us to

⁶ Robertson, 'The Man with the Pale Face', op. cit., 388-402 (quote at 402). Robertson gives a useful list of music composed for weddings (381-387), and shows how some of the more recently proposed connections to weddings have since been questioned or disproven.

question whether Du Fay's mass should be limited in application to occasions of Christological devotion.

The first of these concerns the potential interpretation of the ballade. The evidence can be found in the poetry of Jean Molinet, specifically his *Oroison a Nostre Dame*, dating from around 1467. *Se la face ay pale* is one of thirty-six songs cited, each of which is reworked and applied to the poem's context of Marian devotion.⁷ Unlike the chanson *Je ne vis oncques*, the Marian application of which comes quite naturally, Robertson suggests that *Se la face ay pale* requires a great deal of reworking in order to be included here.⁸ Indeed, in the ballade in question, the male speaker does seem to reflect more on himself (with the 'pale face') than on his beloved. But Robertson completely dismisses Molinet's poem as 'no hermeneutic guide to the meaning of the song', in part because of the 'more than a decade' which separates the composition of Du Fay's mass from the writing of Molinet's poem.⁹ Unlike the mystical literature which Robertson believes to reflect more the essence of the ballade, the *Oroison* is the only extant specific literary reference to the ballade. If a Christological reading of the ballade might be plausible in certain contexts, a Marian reading is the only sacred interpretation for which there is contemporary evidence. Since Du Fay's mass predates the poem, he could not have been influenced by Molinet, but had Molinet been familiar with the mass, and had its Christological implications been as indisputable as Robertson suggests, it would seem unlikely that he would want to rework the ballade in this fashion.

⁷ These chanson citations have been discussed elsewhere in musicological literature. Robertson in particular points to Bloxam's "'I have never seen your equal": Agricola, the Virgin, and the Creed', op. cit., 391-407. David Fallows includes a list of all the songs cited in the *Oroison* as well as *Le debat du viel gendarme et du viel amoureux* in his short article 'Jean Molinet and the Lost Burgundian Court Chansonniers of the 1470s', in *Gestalt und Entstehung musicalischer Quellen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Martin Staehelin, *Wolfenbütteler Forschungen* 83/*Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance* III (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998), 35-42. David Rothenberg quotes the section of the *Oroison* following the citation of *Comme femme desconfortée* in his discussions of the Josquin *Stabat mater* and Isaac's *Angeli archangeli*; see *The Flower of Paradise*, op. cit., 211, and 'Angels, archangels, and a woman in distress', op. cit., 543-4.

⁸ Robertson, op. cit., 396-8; for the discussion of *Je ne vis oncques* which Robertson draws on, see Bloxam, "'I have never seen your equal'", op. cit., 393-4.

⁹ Robertson, op. cit., 398.

The second piece of evidence concerns the interpretation of Du Fay's mass.

Following her discussion of the iconography of Christ's face, Robertson includes a brief discussion of the only illumination surviving for the mass: an unclad woman standing on a dolphin, holding a sail and a rod, forming the initial K for Kyrie.¹⁰ In fact, as Adalbert Roth points out, it is not a rod but reins for the dolphin: when looking closely, it seems to go through the dolphin's mouth and out the other end.¹¹ Moreover, the scene portrayed here is also found in two other Kyrie initials, one later in the manuscript at the outset of Du Fay's *Missa Ecce ancilla domini*, and one in the contemporaneous Cappella Sistina 51, introducing the anonymous *Missa L'ardant désir*.¹² The lack of clothes suggests a classical reference; perhaps, as Robertson suggests, Amphitrite, being carried to Poseidon by Delphinus.¹³ Roth prefers this interpretation, suggesting that the dolphin is an 'essential attribute' for Amphitrite, despite its additional association with Fortune, Venus, and the other Nereids.¹⁴ Of the other Nereids, the most likely might be Galatea.¹⁵ In any case, the main reasons for discounting Fortune and Venus—lack of any other distinguishing characteristics or attributes—is equally true of the Amphitrite portrayed here.¹⁶

Just as problematic as the identity of the woman is the reason for including an image of Amphitrite or Fortune in the context of these three mass settings, if indeed there was a contextual reason for its inclusion. Assuming that she is Amphitrite, Roth suggests that it is consistent with Alejandro Planchart's proposal that the *Se la face ay pale* mass was composed for a wedding, and moreover, that this theory might be extended to the other two masses with

¹⁰ Ibid., 415-17 (image on 416).

¹¹ *Studien zum frühen Repertoire der päpstlichen Kapelle unter dem Pontifikat Sixtus' IV. (1471-1484): Die Chorbücher 14 und 51 des Fondo Cappella Sistina der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1991), 118-19.

¹² Folio numbers (CS 14, 27v and 76v; and CS 51, 90v) are listed in *ibid.*, 118; Roth also includes the two images in CS 14 as plates 27 and 35.

¹³ Robertson, *op. cit.*, 415.

¹⁴ Original: 'ein wesentliches Attribut'; see Roth, *op. cit.*, 118-24, quote at 123.

¹⁵ Personal correspondence with Lynton Boshoff, November 2013.

¹⁶ Richard Sherr seems to prefer Fortune to Amphitrite; see *Masses for the Sistine Chapel: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, Ms 14*, ed. Sherr, *Monuments of Renaissance Music* 13 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 11-13.

this illumination.¹⁷ But, as discussed in section 2.4 and following M. Jennifer Bloxam, basing a mass on a vernacular song of courtly love is more likely to point immediately to a Marian reading, and *Se la face ay pale* is no more likely than any other such song to be used in the context of a wedding. Robertson, on the other hand, suggests a different type of sacred symbolism: the dolphin could represent Christ.¹⁸ If Christ were the dolphin, the female character (whoever it might be) could symbolize either the Church or the soul being conveyed by Christ. Here, however, the details of the picture suggest problems: the woman is not only being carried by the dolphin but is *driving* the dolphin with the reins and her sail, surely not the sort of relationship appropriate to symbolize that between Christ and the Church. Moreover, neither of these interpretations takes account of the other mass settings for which this iconography is used. The most likely contextual connection between these three masses is the Virgin Mary: *Ecce ancilla Domini* concerns the Annunciation, and the two vernacular songs may have been used for their resonances with Marian devotion. If the image is portraying Amphitrite as queen of the sea, another potential metaphor to consider would be that of Mary as *stella maris*. In a sense, if the beloved in the vernacular song could represent the Blessed Virgin, there is no reason why a classical image could not be interpreted in the same light. Even so, it would seem unlikely that the image of an unclad woman could be used even metaphorically to refer to Mary.¹⁹

The two additional instances of K initials with this same iconography do not clarify the picture. Du Fay's mass uses two different liturgical cantus firmi, the antiphons *Ecce*

¹⁷ Roth, op. cit., 124. Planchart originally proposed the 1451 wedding of Carlotta of Savoy and Louis XI of France, later changing his mind (at David Fallows's instigation) to suggest Amadeus IX and Yolanda of France in 1452; see 'Guillaume Dufay's Masses: A View of the Manuscript Traditions', in *Papers read at the Dufay Quincentenary Conference, Brooklyn College, December 6-7, 1974*, ed. Allan W. Atlas (Brooklyn: Department of Music, School of the Performing Arts, Brooklyn College of the City University of New York, 1976), 38 and 'Fifteenth-Century Masses: Notes on Performance and Chronology', *Studi Musicali* 10 (1981): 5.

¹⁸ Robertson, op. cit., 415.

¹⁹ CS 14 uses explicitly Marian iconography for the illuminations introducing two other Marian Mass settings, Wreede's Kyrie and Gloria *de Beata Virgine* and Weerbeke's *Missa Ave regina celorum*. While this proves that the illuminations were used at least occasionally to explain the devotional content intended for the masses, it may cast further doubt on the idea that the illumination being discussed here had any Marian significance. See Sherr, op. cit., 11-13.

ancilla Domini and *Beata es, Maria*, for the feasts of the Annunciation and Visitation, respectively. The chanson cantus firmus of the anonymous *Missa L'ardant desire* in CS 51 does not help substantially: the tenor survives in two intabulations from the Buxheimer Orgelbuch, but no more than the incipit of the text exists in any source.²⁰ If anything might connect these three masses, it is not, as Roth suggests, the potential association with weddings, but rather the potential devotional associations with the Virgin Mary. Regardless of the conclusions that one might draw from the illuminations, it is hard to see how it might be interpreted in a manner consistent with a Christological reading of the mass. This is not to say that a Christological reading is implausible, only that it might not be so unambiguous. If the Savoyard context surrounding the shroud might have created an occasion for the mass's composition, an uninitiated musician from elsewhere might just as easily have assumed that the mass was composed for its Marian or other devotional resonances.

3.4.1.2. *D'ung aultre amer*

Just as with the ballade used for the tenor of Du Fay's mass, it is likely that *D'ung aultre amer* carried more ambiguous connotations than Rothenberg argues. The genders of the characters (narrator and beloved) in the song are not clearly stated, and, for Rothenberg, this helps to explain why it may have been treated differently in a sacred context, i.e. with Christological rather than Marian implications. Even so, he admits that gender in the song in its courtly context is clear: it was 'no doubt understood generally as praise of a lady'.²¹ Molinet confirms this when he uses the opening line of the song in praise of Marguerite of Austria. His poem *Collaudation a Madame Marguerite* opens as follows:

Fleur de noblesse, odorant marguerite,
Germe sacré de roial origine,
Manne du ciel, rainchel plain de merite,
Palme de paix juree et bien escripte,

²⁰ Rob C. Wegman, 'Another Mass by Busnoys?', *Music and Letters* 71/1 (1990), 7. Wegman gives a tentative yet confident attribution of the mass to Busnoys on the basis of internal stylistic and mensural evidence.

²¹ Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise*, op. cit., 179.

Du bien publicque exquisite medecine,
Fruict, foeulle, fleur, coulleur, plante et racine,
Chief d'oeuvre sont, mieux faire on ne porroit,
*D'ung aultre amer mon coeur s'abaisseroit.*²²

Not only is this chanson applied to a courtly lady, however: it appears as one of the 36 songs cited in the *Oroison*, beginning the fifth stanza as follows:

D'ung aultre aimer que vous, doulce Marie,
En verité mon coeur s'abuseroit;
Pourtant en vous, je me donne et marie,
A celle fin que mon ame esmarie
Puist obtenir en fin grace pour droit [...]

Bloxam and Rothenberg have used the contextualization provided by Molinet—both that of the Virgin Mary as in his *Oroison* and of courtly love as in his other poetry—to support a Marian reading of masses and motets with certain vernacular cantus firmi (*Je ne vis oncques* and *Comme femme desconfortée*, respectively).²³ As with *Se la face ay pale*, Molinet's contextualization does not prove that a Marian reading is the only one possible in a devotional context, but it might cause us to question whether the tradition of using *D'ung aultre amer* in masses and motets always drew only upon its supposed Christological resonances.

Rothenberg's argument concerning *D'ung aultre amer* is based on the potential Christological interpretations of a few works, which might then be expanded to apply to the remainder of the motets and masses which use the melody as a cantus firmus. His interpretations are mostly quite sensible, if not always as unambiguous as he suggests. However, as Molinet's quotations make clear, the difference of expression between *D'ung aultre amer* and other vernacular songs is minimal at best.²⁴ Any tendency towards Christological interpretations of the song when used in sacred contexts is explained in part by the nature of the Latin text with which it is paired.

²² Molinet, *Les Faictz et dictz*, ed. Noel Dupire (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1939), 265.

²³ See the citations above in note 7.

²⁴ Many other chanson texts also dwell more on the suffering, joy, or loyalty of the lover rather than any attributes of the beloved. Examples by Ockeghem include *Fors seulement*, *J'en ay dueil*, and *Ma bouche rit*.

In the three motets mentioned by Rothenberg, either a text directed towards Christ is imbued with language more commonly associated with the Virgin, or the composer plays with the disparity between the Marian expectations and its apparent Christological application. The first explanation applies to Josquin's *Tu solus qui facis mirabilia*. At the beginning of the *secunda pars*, portions of the French chanson are interspersed within the Latin text, suggesting it was meant to be interpreted as a single text:

Table 3.11. Josquin, *Tu solus qui facis mirabilia*, text excerpt with translation²⁵

D'ung aultre amer	To love another
Nobis esset fallatia;	Would be an error for us;
D'ung aultre amer	To love another
Magna esset stulticia	Would be great folly
et peccatum.	and sin.

As is made clear later, these sentiments are addressed to the 'king of kings', Christ.

Nevertheless, the Latin text is unusual in that the sort of language which is used in a prayer directed explicitly towards Christ strikingly resembles that of Marian prayers. Josquin's 'Ad te solum confugimus, in te solum confidimus' is reminiscent of 'ad te clamamus [...], ad te suspiramus' from the 'Salve regina', and in the second section the singers ask Christ to 'hear our sighs' ('Audi nostra suspiria'). This is an atypical way of describing prayers addressed towards Christ, whereas it would be perfectly normal when addressed to the Virgin. The similarities of this text to Marian prayers is confirmed by the fact that two sources transmit the piece with a partially altered text, the first half being redirected to Mary as 'O mater dei et hominis'. As this case demonstrates, if vernacular love songs can be used so effectively in sacred Marian contexts due to their textual resonances, they can also be used in other sacred contexts if the same textual resonances are present.

The anonymous *Regina celi* in *I-Rvat* CS 63 plays upon the expectation that a vernacular song in a Marian motet will resonate with the Marian theme. Rothenberg admits

²⁵ Text and translation from Bonnie J. Blackburn, ed., *Josquin des Prez: Motets on non-biblical texts: De domino Jesu Christo*, 2, *New Josquin Edition* 22 (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2003), Commentary, 43-44.

as much, but goes on to argue that the placement of the cantus firmus on the words ‘Resurrexit sicut dixit’ means that it was used with Christological intention.²⁶ This does seem likely, though it is not as obvious as he seems to suggest: there is no evidence that proves the cantus firmus was meant to resonate with the specific words with which it coincides rather than the general Marian theme of the Latin text. Rothenberg mentions three other examples where *Regina celi* (either the chant melody used as a cantus firmus for a chanson or the text as a basis for a motet) is used in conjunction with a vernacular text or melody: Ghiselin’s *Regina celi* with the cantus firmus *Comme femme desconfortée*, and two chansons, one each by Compère and Prioris, given the incipit *Royne du ciel* and with the Marian antiphon as the cantus firmus.²⁷ There is one further example of a *Regina celi* not mentioned by Rothenberg which uses a vernacular song, *Allez regretz*, as cantus firmus, discussed in greater detail below (section 3.4.2). In all of these cases, the vernacular song is used to resonate with Marian theme of the antiphon, as might be expected. If indeed the composer of the anonymous motet in CS 63 intended to take advantage of any Christological resonances in *D’ung aultre amer*, he would also have been aware of the more immediate Marian expectations that would result from using most any vernacular song alongside an antiphon such as *Regina celi*.

The third motet mentioned by Rothenberg for the apparent Christological significance in its use of the chanson *D’ung aultre amer* is Josquin’s *Victime paschali laudes*. The Latin text is the sequence for Easter, a Christocentric text with emphasis on the Resurrection. This motet uses two vernacular cantus firmi, *D’ung aultre amer* in the first section and *De tous biens plaine* in the second. While the Christological application of the first is unambiguous, the interpretation of the second is less immediately apparent. As in Josquin’s *Tu solus qui facis mirabilia*, the use of *D’ung aultre amer* seems to make the point that it would be

²⁶ *The Flower of Paradise*, op. cit., 181.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 181.

demeaning and dishonourable to love anyone other than the now-risen Christ. In the *secunda pars*, Mary Magdalene narrates her witness of the Resurrection:

Table 3.12. Josquin, *Victime paschali laudes*, text excerpt with translation²⁸

Dic nobis Maria, Quid vidisti in via? 'Sepulcrum Christi viventis et gloriam vidi resurgentis [...]'	Tell us, Mary, what sawest thou on thy way? 'I saw the tomb of the living Christ and His glory in resurrection [...]'

The 'Mary' to whom Christ appears in the Gospels is Mary Magdalene, but the ambiguity in the sequence text leaves open the possibility that this might also refer to Christ's mother.

Rothenberg reports that, according to medieval tradition, the resurrected Christ appeared first to his mother.²⁹ While the cantus firmus *D'ung aultre amer* appears right at the beginning of the first section, the entrance of *De tous biens plaine* appears after the Altus/Bassus duet at the beginning of the *secunda pars*. It is a nice rhetorical gesture differentiating the question ('Dic nobis Maria...') from Mary's answer ('Sepulcrum Christi viventis...'), but it also separates the direct mention of her name from the cantus firmus: the cantus firmus arrives at the moment when Mary begins to speak of the resurrected Christ. Rothenberg suggests that the cantus firmus is thus referring to Mary's nature as 'full of all good things'.³⁰ His interpretation implies that the cantus firmus is representing the speaker of the text (Mary) and not its immediate subject (the risen Christ), but this is only obvious if one assumes that *De tous biens plaine* could only be used to represent Mary, as it does in Compère's *Omnium bonorum plena*. Elizabeth Eva Leach has pointed out that the poetic voice of the chanson is that of a male lover describing his beloved; if Mary is taken to be associated with the beloved, 'full of all good things', then this is the inverse of the sequence text, where Mary is describing Christ.³¹ Leach suggests an alternative interpretation, with 'Mary appropriating the

²⁸ Text and translation from *New Josquin Edition* 22, op. cit., Commentary, 58-59.

²⁹ *The Flower of Paradise*, op. cit., 187-91.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 185.

³¹ See Review of David J. Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise*, op. cit., especially 602-3.

melody of her own beloved', singing praises of Christ as she announces his risen presence.³²

'Full of all good things' is an appropriate description for both Christ and Mary, and *De tous biens plaine* could have been used in this instance to highlight either or both readings.

If the line between Marian and Christological devotion is more blurred than in Rothenberg's account, this example contains intentional ambiguity. If *De tous biens plaine* more immediately signifies Mary (as it does in Compère's *Omnium bonorum plena*), Josquin plays with the disparity between the Marian expectations and its application in this context with both Marian and Christological implications. It is telling that the sequence *Victime paschali laudes* (like *Tu solus* discussed above) exists in a Marian contrafact version, *Virgini Marie laudes*, a fact which emphasizes the close proximity between Easter praise of Christ and that of the Virgin.³³

The other Latin-texted works to use the melody are Josquin's *Missa D'ung aultre amer*, an independent Sanctus also by Josquin, and two anonymous masses not mentioned by Rothenberg (one is found in *I-Rvat* S. Pietro B.80, Cappella Sistina 51, and *I-VEc* 755; the other is found in *D-Ju* 31.). With respect to the first, Rothenberg argues that the melody is used for its Christological significance due to its connection to the motet *Tu solus qui facis mirabilia*: the first section of the motet is used at the elevation, *in loco Benedictus*. The same is assumed of Josquin's Sanctus, as it is found in Petrucci's 1505 *Fragmenta Missarum* adjacent to a similar elevation motet, *Tu lumen*.³⁴ But this placement is more simply explained by liturgical proximity; one of the other Sanctus movements in the *Fragmenta* contains another such motet.³⁵ For Josquin's complete setting, besides the association with *Tu solus* there is no independent evidence to support a Christological reading of the cantus

³² Ibid., 602.

³³ Cf. Rothenberg, 'The Marian Symbolism of Spring', op. cit., 372-3.

³⁴ *The Flower of Paradise*, op. cit., 180-1.

³⁵ This is the *Sanctus de passione*, with the elevation motet *Honor et benedictio* taken from Josquin's cycle *Qui velatus facie fuisti*. In this case the motet is placed between the Sanctus and Benedictus, not necessarily to replace the Benedictus. See Barton Hudson, *New Josquin Edition*, 13 (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1999), Commentary pp. 97-8, as well as the discussion in Helmut Osthoff, *Josquin Desprez*, Vol. 2 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider Verlag, 1965), 80-1.

firmus. There is little in either the manuscript or musical evidence to suggest a specific reason for the choice of *D'ung aultre amer* as the musical basis of the two anonymous masses. All four manuscripts listed above have a significant quantity of masses, many if not most of which are based on vernacular song.³⁶

3.4.1.3. *Regina celi/Allez regretz*

As mentioned above, the anonymous *Regina celi* found in A-Wn Mus. Hs. 18825 provides another example in which a vernacular song is used in conjunction with a Marian antiphon such as *Regina celi* to play upon any Marian resonances in the text. In this case, the tenor cantus firmus is taken from the tenor of Hayne van Ghizeghem's chanson, *Allez regretz*.³⁷ The full melody of the antiphon is found in a much elaborated state in the top voice. Hayne's chanson is quoted twice in full in the tenor, each time following almost exactly the melody and rhythm of the original. What is different about the second cursus of the tenor is that it is sung without rests, notably resulting in a few sections of very odd syncopations:

³⁶ As discussed by David Fallows in *Josquin* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), p. 131 and n. 73, the Gloria of the *D'ung aultre amer* mass in Jena 31 is the same as that found in Josquin's complete *D'ung aultre amer* mass. According to Fallows, this was apparently first reported by Jürgen Heidrich in *Die deutschen Chorbücher aus der Hofkapella Friedrichs des Weisen* (Doctoral thesis, Göttingen University, 1993), 125-8, and later discussed in an unpublished article by Joshua Rifkin, 'Petrucci, Jena 31, and the Problem of the *Missa D'ung aultre amer*' (c. 2002). Nevertheless, it was missed in the New Josquin Edition (*Masses based on secular polyphonic songs 1*, ed. Thomas Noblitt, *NJE* 7 [1997]), in Fallows's own *A catalogue of polyphonic songs, 1415-1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 141, and again in Stanley Boorman's 2006 *Ottaviano Petrucci: Catalogue Raisonné*, op. cit., 862. It would appear that the mass in Jena 31 is the beginning of a compilation of different movements based on the same tune (only the Kyrie, Gloria, and beginning of the Credo were copied). That the scribe copied the mass in this way suggests that organization based on musical material was more important than authorship per se, though it says little about what might have inspired the composers to write mass movements based on this song or about what function the scribe intended for this particular mass compilation.

³⁷ Editions of the song *Allez regretz* are available in Martin Picker, ed., *The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria: MSS 228 and 11239 of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, Brussels (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965), 416-18, commentary 148-50, and Barton Hudson, ed., *Hayne van Ghizeghem: Opera omnia*, op. cit., 3-4, commentary XXXIV-XXXV. The 'variants' section in Hudson's commentary appears to be misprinted for this particular song.

Figure 3.13. *Regina celi/Allez regretz*, breves 91-102

91

D — de - - - um, al - le -

A

T um, al - le - - - - - lu - - ia,

B al - le - - - - -

95

D - lu - ia. —

A de - - - um

T

B

99

D

A al -

T al - - - le -

B - lu - - - ia

While the version of the tenor found in the Vienna manuscript is fully realized, it is certainly possible for this to have been written as a single homographic cursus with a short verbal

canon, indicating that the singer had to omit the rests during the repeat. In fact, this might provide a more effective interpretation than the Vienna realization. The only noteworthy variant between the first and second cursus seems to have been made to lessen the awkwardness of the syncopation, but it also results in a more grating dissonance against the bass on the breve tactus:³⁸

Figure 3.14. *Regina celi/Allez regretz*, excerpt from (a) first and (b) second cursus, A-Wn Mus. Hs. 18825, tenor ff. 13v and 14v³⁹

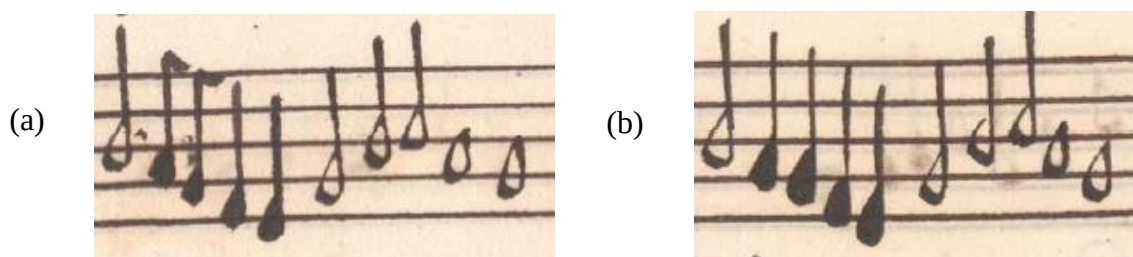


Figure 3.15. *Regina celi/Allez regretz*, breves 101-104: (a) as written, and (b) without the variant

(a)

³⁸ While most sources of the chanson sources preserve the version found in the first cursus of this motet, the variant which appears in the second cursus is found in *I-Bc MS Q. 17*; see Picker, ed., *The Chanson Albums*, op. cit., 148. There are two other instances in this motet where the same rhythm from the chanson (minim and two semiminims) is modified in the same way so as to avoid dissonance in at least one of the two tenor cursus; see bb. 34, 60, 89, and 114 in the edition in the appendix.

³⁹ Images courtesy of the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library, used with permission.

(b)

101

D

A

T

B

al - le - - -

al - - - le - - - lu - ia,

When the tenor is revised to follow the original melody of the chanson, as found in the first cursus, the dissonance is only in passing.

The motivation for the inclusion of the tenor melody from *Allez regretz* as the tenor cantus firmus for this motet is probably primarily musical: the second phrase of the song is strikingly similar to the second phrase of the antiphon melody. These phrases are sung in close proximity to each other, and the tenor is given the same portion of the antiphon text, ‘Quia quem meruisti’. When the antiphon melody appears in the top voice, it is effectively in imitation of the tenor melody.

Figure 3.16. *Regina celi/Allez regretz*, breves 20-31

20

D

A

T

B

le - lu - - - - - ia.

- - - - - re, al - - -

qui - a quem me - ru - i - - -

- - - - - ia.

24

D

Qui - a quem

A

-le - - - lu - - ia.

T

- - - - - sti

B

Qui - a quem me - ru -

28

D

qui - a

A

por - ta - - - - -

T

i - sti

B

While it appears that the melodic correspondence motivated the choice of cantus firmus, the song and antiphon are also textually compatible. As discussed previously, it is generally safe to assume a Marian reading of vernacular songs used in masses or motets, especially when the Latin text with which it is paired is directed toward Mary (see section 2.4.3). The expressive register of *Allez regretz* is not analogous to that of the *Regina celi* in the same way that *Comme femme desconfortée* resonates with the *Stabat mater*: the antiphon addresses Mary as Queen of Heaven, whereas the chanson text focuses on the suffering of the lover. If Marian texts occasionally highlight Mary's suffering to put it in context with our own, they do not always do so, and here the use of *Allez regretz* serves to emphasize the contrast between Mary and the lowly supplicant, full of regrets, grief, and torment. (As another

example, see the analysis of Weerbeke's *Stabat mater/Vidit speciosam* below in section 3.4.2.2.)

That the chanson cantus firmus is used here with respect to the overall Marian theme of the antiphon text rather than for any localized Christological significance is made clear by its placement through the motet. Unlike the anonymous *Regina celi* in *I-Rvat* CS 63, where the *D'ung aultre amer* melody is placed specifically at the text 'Resurrexit sicut dixit', in this motet, *Allez regretz* is found throughout. At the very opening, the bassus, altus, and discantus enter in imitation of the opening melody of the antiphon, and the tenor follows immediately with the same text underlay, 'Regina celi letare'.⁴⁰ The second tenor cursus starts on the words 'Resurrexit sicut dixit', but this too is unsurprising, as they begin the second half of the antiphon text. The lack of clear textual correspondence confirms what has already been suggested: that the musical correspondence is the primary motivation for the use of this particular song.

*

This particular example does not prove much about the generalized relationship between vernacular and liturgical texts when used in conjunction with one another, but it does once again point to the central position of Mary as a linguistic and symbolic link between the sacred and secular, the heavenly and the earthly. In all examples with the possible exception of the *Regina celi/D'ung aultre amer* in CS 63, vernacular songs were used alongside the *Regina celi* for their resonances with Marian devotion. Concerning the CS 63 motet, Rothenberg may not be wrong when he argues that *D'ung aultre amer* is used to highlight the Christological aspect of the Marian antiphon, but it is not as straightforward as he implies. In this case and elsewhere, Christological implications of using vernacular songs within masses and motets are less clear than might at first be assumed.

⁴⁰ Not unlike what is commonly found elsewhere, the French incipit is here placed beneath the opening words. Under the French words are those of the antiphon, and the Latin text continues to be used as underlay for the remainder of the motet.

3.4.2. Mary and/or Christ: Clarity or Ambiguity?

In Latin motet texts and liturgical cantus firmi, references to Mary and Christ are explicit and direct. Each text focuses on different aspects of devotion. For example, one might praise Mary for her role in salvation history (as Mother of God) or for her close relationship with mankind (as Hope of Sinners); one might sympathize with her suffering at the foot of the Cross (as in the *Stabat mater*); and almost all prayers seek her intercession. Christ is praised as God, feared as King and Judge, and loved and petitioned for his mercy. When references to the Virgin and Christ are mixed, the texts might highlight related or different aspects of Marian/Christological devotion, either clarifying the differences or blurring the boundaries between their roles. In all of the motets discussed in this section, my analysis focuses on the most obvious connections between motet texts and their cantus firmi, both textually and as emphasized in the musical composition. When a Christ-centred cantus firmus in a Marian motet highlights the Christological aspects of the Marian text, it tends to draw out the complementary roles of Mary and Christ (and thus their differences).⁴¹ When the Christ-worship in the cantus firmus is parallel to the motet text's praise of Mary, the motet emphasizes the devotional similarity between the two.

3.4.2.1. Adam von Fulda's *Sancta dei genitrix/Te laudamus*

An example of the former is Adam von Fulda's *Sancta dei genitrix/Te laudamus*, where a newly written Marian text is combined with the end of an antiphon for the feast of the Circumcision, *Quando natus es*.⁴² The choice of cantus firmus seems to be based on a textual correspondence: the phrase excerpted from the antiphon, 'Te laudamus, Deus noster', forms

⁴¹ Marian cantus firmi are less commonly found in more God-centred motets. One example is *Incomprehensibilia/Praeter rerum ordinem*, discussed above in section 2.3.1, where the motet text highlights three mysteries of faith, the Trinity, the incarnation, and the virgin birth. Nevertheless, the motet text ends with a prayer addressed to Mary, and the Marian sequence alludes to the incarnation and at least two persons of the Trinity. In this case, the texts discuss the same mysteries of faith from different orientations—that is, at least until the end when they are united in asking for Mary's intercession.

⁴² In fact, there are two Vespers antiphons for this same feast which end with the words 'Te laudamus, Deus noster' given a similar melody, the other one being *Germinavit radix Jesse*.

the beginning of the second section of the motet text.⁴³ In fact, while the motet text for the *prima pars* is addressed to the Holy Mother of God, the *secunda pars* addresses God directly, even though its primary concern remains praise of the Virgin.⁴⁴

Table 3.13. Fulda, *Sancta Dei genitrix/Te laudamus*, texts and translations

<i>Prima pars:</i> Sancta Dei genitrix, dulcis et decora, regum regem Dominum pro nobis exora.	Holy mother of God, sweet and graceful, pray for us to the Lord, the king of kings.
Tu salus singularis, fulgens tu stella maris, omnium spes et vita, ex te Christus est natus, omnis in quo beatus sit summe redimita.	You are our singular security, you, the shining star of the sea, the hope and life of all, from you Christ was born, in whom each one highly blessed might be redeemed.
<i>Secunda pars:</i> Te laudamus, Deus noster, e coelis quia salutem emittis ob virginis virtutem. Nam ut servos liberos faceres factus es homo.	We praise you, our God, for you brought salvation from the heavens because of the virtue of the virgin. For you were made man, that you might make your servants free.
Merito ergo recolatur huius virginis memoria, per quam facta est victoria; Unde exsultet mundus omnis sub honore, gloria, decore tante virginis.	Therefore, let the memory of this virgin be worthily commemorated, through whom the victory was accomplished; whence the whole world exults in the honour, glory, and beauty of so great a virgin.
<i>Tenor:</i> Te laudamus, Deus noster.	We praise you, our God.

Throughout both sections of the text, Mary is repeatedly mentioned alongside Christ, emphasizing both their complementary roles in salvation history and their proper positions in Christian devotion. Christ is the one who ‘brought salvation’ and who ‘made his servants

⁴³ It is a common occurrence for a cantus firmus to correspond with part or all of the text in one of the sections of a motet. This is true of Obrecht’s *O beate Basili*, where the text of the *secunda pars* is identical to the cantus firmus, *O beate pater*. Other examples include Jacquet de Berchem’s *Factum est verbum/Ego vox clamantis* and *Peccantem me quotidie/Miserere mei Deus*; Verdelot’s *Celorum candor splenduit/Sancte Francisce, Deus in nomine tuo/Adverte mala*, and *Sint dicte grates/Fuit homo missus a Deo*; and Willaert’s *O gloriosa Domina/Maria mater gratie*.

⁴⁴ The text of the *prima pars* also begins with the opening phrase of an antiphon, ‘Sancta dei genitrix’, but the melody of this antiphon is not quoted in the music.

free'; Mary is the 'mother of God', 'from whom Christ was born', through whose virtue 'the victory was accomplished'. Christ is worshipped as God in the phrase sung by all voices including the tenor, 'Te laudamus, Deus noster'; Mary is praised for her 'honour, glory, and beauty', but her intercessory role is clarified in the brief phrase echoing the *Ave regina celorum*, 'pro nobis exora'. Moreover, the choice of the antiphon as cantus firmus is significant beyond the text of the excerpt quoted. As the Feast of the Circumcision coincides with the Octave of the Nativity, several of the proper liturgical texts mention the role of the Virgin. The antiphon from which 'Te laudamus, Deus noster' is excerpted begins, 'When you were born ineffably of the virgin, then the scriptures were fulfilled', pointing to the filial relationship of Christ to Mary.

While the antiphon is the only apparent source of a pre-existent melody in this motet, it does not exclusively appear in the tenor voice. The tenor has two *cursus*, singing the entire brief melody in both sections. Its entrance in each section comes at the approximate midpoint of the motet text, just before the entrance of 'Tu salus singularis' and 'Merito ergo recolatur', respectively. This placement does not seem to have any textual significance: even though the tenor 'Te' in the *prima pars* comes immediately before 'Tu' in the other voices, the respective texts are clearly referring to Christ and Mary individually. In fact, whereas other composers might take advantage of textual correspondences by having the voices sing the text simultaneously, here they are separated temporally.⁴⁵ Instead, when the phrase 'Te laudamus, Deus noster' occurs in the other voices at the beginning of the *secunda pars*, the top voice is given the same excerpt of the antiphon melody. It is the most concise appearance of the melody, occurring over 22 breves, and it avoids repeating the notes of the chant. (In the tenor, the *cursus* of the melody last for 50 and 42 breves, respectively.) Sounding high above

⁴⁵ An example of textual correspondences being sung simultaneously is the motet *O pulcherrima mulierum/Gyrum celi circuivi* as discussed in section 3.2.2.

the rest of the musical texture, here the melody is most prominent.⁴⁶ The appearance of the text and melody of the cantus firmus in the top voice has implications concerning the potential meaning of the cantus firmus. What connects the two texts of this motet most closely is this particular textual correspondence, emphasized by the use of the chant melody. The cantus firmus therefore appears to have been used to highlight the Christological aspects of the motet text and, indirectly, the complementary roles of Mary and Christ in Christian devotion.

Sancta Dei genitrix/Te laudamus is certainly a Marian motet: from the beginning to the end, the text is effusive (if not unusually so) in its praise of the Virgin. But it also gives the impression of being intentionally contextualized by incorporating the worship of Christ specifically. Structurally, the motet text seems haphazard, with a changing rhyme scheme and no regular metrical, accentual, or syllabic system. The change of address (from Mary to Christ) mid-text is particularly unusual. That said, the two halves of the text are consistent in their irregularity and in their subject matter: it certainly appears to have been conceived as a single text. The phrase ‘Te laudamus, Deus noster’ does not participate in any rhyme, and it is the first point where the text addresses Christ. Its notably deliberate inclusion suggests that the composer had the antiphon in mind when writing the text, and he may have even planned out the manipulation of the antiphon melody as discussed. The consistent juxtaposition of references to Mary and Christ in the text and music is careful yet almost overdone, as if the motet’s objectives were not only devotional but also catechetical. The singers of the motet are both asking for Mary’s intercession and praising Christ, and in doing so they are learning (and teaching) the proper place of both.

⁴⁶ A similar scheme is found in Obrecht’s *O beate Basili*, where the cantus firmus *O beate pater* is transposed from the tenor in the *prima pars* to the top voice in the *secunda pars*, emphasized by its new position in the musical texture, by its relative brevity, and by its repetition as part of a mensuration canon.

3.4.2.2. Weerbeke's *Stabat mater/Vidit speciosam*

Not all motets which combine elements of Marian praise and worship of Christ so clearly distinguish between the two. In some examples, Mary and Christ are placed parallel to each other, emphasizing their similarities instead of their differences. In the anonymous motet discussed in section 3.2.3, *Ista est speciosa/Christum regem adoremus*, the praise of Mary as queen parallels praise of Christ as king. The three Christ-based textual excerpts (*Christum regem adoremus*, *Venite exultemus*, and *Te deum laudamus*) can be read together as corresponding to the troped Marian antiphon (*Ista est speciosa*): both begin referring to Mary or Christ in the third person and then turn to address them directly. While the troped antiphon is clear in simply asking for Mary's intercession with Christ, its placement alongside these other liturgical melodies highlights the similarities between the two persons: Mary is said to hold primacy among all people ('tenes primatum'), and Christ is said to hold dominion over the peoples ('dominantem gentibus'). In fact, these are slightly different, perhaps appropriately so. But as parallel texts, Mary's primacy is seen as comparable to Christ's dominion, and Mary is praised in a way that is similar to the worship of Christ.

Another potential example of this is Gaspar van Weerbeke's *Stabat mater*, found uniquely in the Chigi codex. Both the *Stabat mater* and the antiphon cantus firmus *Vidit speciosam* are ostensibly Marian, though as will be seen they also closely involve the person of Christ in context with Mary. The antiphon is clearly related in text to the common responsory CAO 7878 and in melody to the common antiphon CAO 5407, but the particular textual and melodic form of the cantus firmus in this motet is that of an antiphon known uniquely in the Use of Paris and found in a few manuscripts originating from Notre Dame and one from the Court of Burgundy. In these manuscripts, the antiphon is associated with Vespers both for the eve of the Assumption and, when present, also for the feast of St. Mary

the Egyptian.⁴⁷ The text of the antiphon is clearly inspired by the Song of Songs, with references to ‘odor... in vestimentis’ and ‘lilia convallium’, even if it does not match in full a specific verse or pair of verses.⁴⁸ The ‘speciosam sicut columbam ascendentem’ in an Assumption context would refer to Mary, ascending like a dove to her heavenly throne.

Stabat mater portrays the Virgin standing at the foot of the cross, watching the suffering of Christ, her dying son. The first word of the antiphon stresses the importance of sight, and the Marian hymn invites a comparison in this regard, as it uses some form of the same verb ‘videre’ four times. Three of these involve Mary seeing the torment of Christ. The fourth instance, as well as one instance of the verb ‘contemplari’, concerns the reader or listener, who is urged to imagine seeing or contemplating the suffering of Mary. Finally, the suppliant asks Mary to help him or her feel compassion with Christ, vividly described: that one might ‘feel the power of sorrow’, that the ‘heart may burn in love’, and that ‘the wounds of the crucified be fixed on my heart’. Mary is the conduit, both through prayers and meditation, by which the suppliant can understand the horrors of the crucifixion and be united to Christ in sacrificial love.

⁴⁷ Agnese Pavanello, ‘*Stabat mater* / *Vidi speciosam*: Some Considerations on the Origin and Dating of Gaspar van Weerbeke’s Motet in the Chigi Codex’, *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 60 (2010): 5-9. Pavanello’s article includes a transcription of this form of the antiphon as taken from the Parisian manuscript. CAO refers to Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii*, op. cit., which catalogues most known medieval liturgical texts.

⁴⁸ These phrases suggest connections to Song 4:11 and 2:1.

Table 3.14. Weerbeke, *Stabat mater/Vidit speciosam*, texts and translations (incomplete)

Stabat mater dolorosa Iuxta crucem lacrimosa Dum pendebat filius [...]	The grieving mother stood beside the cross weeping where her son was hanging.
Que morebat et dolebat Dum <i>videbat</i> nati penas incliti	Who mourned and grieved, with seeing the torment of her glorious son.
Quis est homo qui non fleret Christi matrem si <i>videret</i> In tanto supplicio	Who is the man who would not weep if seeing the mother of Christ in such agony?
Quis non posset contristari Piam matrem <i>contemplari</i> Dolentem cum filio	Who would not be have [sic] compassion on beholding the devout mother suffering with her son?
Pro peccatis sue gentis <i>Vidit</i> Jesum in tormentis Et flagellis subditum	For the sins of the people she saw Jesus in torment and subjected to scourge.
<i>Vidit</i> suum dulcem natum Morientem desolatum Cum emisit spiritum	She saw her sweet son dying, forsaken, while he gave up his spirit.
Eya mater fons amoris Me sentire vim doloris Fac ut tecum lugeam	O, mother, fountain of love, make me feel the power of sorrow, that I may grieve with you.
Fac ut ardeat cor meum In amando Christum deum Ut sibi complaceam	Grant that my heart may burn in the love of the Lord Christ that I may greatly please him.
Sancta mater istud agas Crucifixi fige plagas Cordi meo valide [...]	Holy mother, grant this of yours, that the wounds of the crucified be well- formed in my heart.
<i>Cantus firmus:</i> Vidit speciosam sicut columbam, ascendentem desuper rivas aquarum, cuius inestimabilis odor erat nimis in vestimentis eius; et circumdabat eam flores rosarum et lilia convallium.	He saw the fair one ascending like a dove over streams of water, whose priceless fragrance was in her garments. Roses and lilies of the valley surrounded her. ⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Translations here are slightly modified from those in Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV: Motets, ed. Agnese Pavanello, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 106/4 (Neuhausen: Hänssler-Verlag, 2010).

The antiphon, on the other hand, describes the *Song* bridegroom seeing the bride, who is then portrayed in glowing terms. If the bride is Mary, then the antiphon describes Christ beholding his mother. The motet as it survives in Chigi has a strange textual variant: whereas all the various liturgical forms of this text (responsory and antiphons) have ‘vidi’ in the first person, here it is the third-person ‘vidit’.⁵⁰ The variant encourages parallel reading of the Marian hymn and antiphon: on the one hand, Mary is witnessing the suffering of her Son, and on the other, Christ sees his mother in her final splendour. In the Song of Songs, as in liturgical versions of this text, the bridegroom speaks in the first person. Regardless of whether the variant was intentional or accidental, Christ is the one described as ‘seeing’, and is thus parallel to Mary in the hymn text.

The music also serves to highlight the parallels present in the text and cantus firmus. The hymn text is set with remarkable care and regularity. The *prima pars* consists of 81 perfect breves (not including the final cadence) to which ten stanzas of text are set, each stanza occupying between six and ten perfect breves and usually ending with a cadence. In the *secunda pars*, the final ten stanzas of text are spread over 127 imperfect breves (before the final ‘Amen’); the first three stanzas each occupy sixteen of these breves, after which the text sections progress somewhat more quickly. The sections of text are not only set apart by cadences, but they are differentiated by texture: after an opening trio for the first stanza, the second, third, and fourth stanzas alternate upper voice/contratenor and vagans/bassus duets. Full five-voice texture is finally reached with the entrance of the tenor at the beginning of the fifth stanza of text. The tenor cantus firmus has only a single cursus in what is a motet of substantial length: this is accomplished through the use of long notes (mostly breves and longs) as well as by dividing the chant into many short sections usually coinciding with one

⁵⁰ With respect to this word, Winkler transcribes the text as it appears in the manuscript. Pavanello, on the other hand, accepts the liturgical version and ignores the variant, despite discussing a Northern variant in the present reading of the *Stabat mater*. See *Die Tenormotetten von Johannes Regis*, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 23-37; and Pavanello, ‘*Stabat mater / Vidi speciosam*’, op. cit.

or two words of the antiphon. The tenor sectionalization also underlines the stanzaic structure of the hymn. All of this demonstrates that the motet was carefully constructed around the structure of the text and that the scribe of Chigi was remarkably successful at presenting the text as originally intended.

In this light, the entrance of the tenor at the opening of the fifth stanza is all the more significant. The hymn text here is ‘Quis est homo qui non fleret’, asking ‘who would not weep if they were to see the mother of Christ in such agony’. At the same time as we are asked to envisage Mary’s agony, we also hear of Christ’s vision of her Assumption. The listener is placed alongside Christ in witnessing the love of Mary; while we may relate more to her earthly suffering, Christ is able to see her final glorification. Behind all of this is Christ, whose own passion is the cause of Mary’s suffering and in whose passion the listener is asked to partake. The simultaneous textual parallels are also emphasized by the fact that the upper voice begins this section with a paraphrase of the beginning of the antiphon melody. As if to prove that this was not accidental, the same melody is given as an imitative duet at the opening of the *secunda pars*.

While this motet does place Mary and Christ alongside each other in the choice of text and cantus firmus, it does not confuse Marian devotion with the worship of Christ: rather, it illustrates their mutual love and compassion through the vision of their respective experiences. In this brief musical excerpt, the listener is given a vision of this love and continues to ask to partake more fully both in their suffering and in their glory.

Conclusion

The polytextual motet is not distinguishable as a musical genre; rather, motets employ a spectrum of different polytextual techniques, some of which also have musical implications. These techniques changed dramatically in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. To generalize, polytextual motets progressed from compositions with two upper voice texts and an excerpt from liturgical chant in the tenor, to ones with a liturgical or devotional text in most voices and a long chant or song melody in the tenor, to ones with a short repeated tenor motto frequently taken from chant. Each individual motet is the product not only of the musical and textual customs of the genre but also of its unique circumstances: its intended devotional or liturgical function or occasion, the preferences or demands of a particular patron, and the composer's musical, textual, theological, and political leanings. These may have been further modified by a scribe wishing to adapt a motet to a new purpose. Despite the wide range of techniques used, polytextuality was a central aspect of the genre until the mid-sixteenth century, and the size of the repertoire peaked around 1500. These motets display composers' skill in counterpoint, demonstrate their knowledge of liturgy and classical textual forms, and show that they could combine all of this in a single, cohesive musical-textual work.

The repertory of polytextual compositions from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has been widely neglected. Powerful narratives of the early and mid-twentieth century remain influential, even as their foundations are being dismantled. Isorhythm and humanism are largely responsible for advancing the idea of the late fifteenth-century motet as primarily single-texted, avoiding complicated structuring techniques, and (for the first time)

reflecting the words in the music. Motets which are polytextual or employ mensuration canons have been seen as old-fashioned. This is an interpretation which can now be set aside: polytextual composition continued to remain vibrant well into the sixteenth century, and motets which use polytextuality follow many of the same compositional, textual, and devotional trends found in other musical genres.

When genre distinctions are ambiguous, the relationship between texts and cantus firmi can assist in partitioning the repertory. For example, there are many works that combine Latin and vernacular texts, some of which have been described as motet-chansons. The usefulness of this intermediate or sub-genre has already been challenged, and I suggest that the bilingual works can be categorized more effectively as either motets or chansons, depending on the identity of the cantus firmus: hence, motets with vernacular cantus firmi and chansons with Latin cantus firmi. Another distinction I have proposed is that between masses and motets with cantus firmi. Because cyclic masses always have the same text and frequently follow similar compositional patterns, cantus firmi are relevant to the context of performance but less often to the interpretation of the mass text. In motets, on the other hand, composers could choose cantus firmi that related in some way to the text of the other voices, and the composition could highlight these connections.

The function of cantus firmi in motets changes substantially between the beginning of the fifteenth century and the end of the sixteenth. In the polytextual motets of the early fifteenth century, a cantus firmus generally provides a symbolic foundation for the other text(s), while the upper-voice texts engage with each other dialogically. Late fifteenth-century motets do not have parallel upper voice texts, but the cantus firmus may have been used instead to fulfill the same purpose. The connection between text and cantus firmus could be ambiguous, and the composer could emphasize connections in the musical setting. Whereas earlier cantus firmi tend to be based on short chants or chant excerpts, cantus firmi from the late fifteenth century generally consist of an entire chant or song melody, and

frequently are taken from longer chant genres such as responsories. This tendency reverses itself by the mid-sixteenth century, when most cantus firmi were again shorter, frequently engaging in ostinato techniques. The connection between texts at this time is generally clear: the cantus firmus confirms the theme of the motet text.

Ultimately, polytextuality gives us insight into the considerations made by composers, as concerns the texts, textual combinations, and the musical setting. Used in tandem with various compositional techniques, polytextuality allowed motet composers in this middle period to comment on texts with great subtlety. The choice of texts provides the most obvious clue as to the composer's intention; equally important is the way in which the composer interwove the texts and melodies into the musical work. When the texts are liturgical and/or otherwise devotional, the setting could suggest a liturgical context for a devotional prayer or an alternative devotional use for a liturgical text, or it could highlight how one or both texts were meant to be read. When cantus firmi from vernacular song are used, the setting took advantage of linguistic resonances in the texts, most commonly those between courtly love and Marian devotion.

The conclusions and analyses offered in this thesis are not meant to be the last word: various paths are available for future research. One of these involves looking further at specific types of rhetorical relationships between texts in their musical settings.¹ A second might involve further analysis of the visual image of the notation as an additional text to be read alongside the verbal and musical texts. Notation is not a central concern of this thesis, though it is particularly significant in some of the analyses. The use of homography in the notation of cantus firmi from vernacular song melodies, for example, deserves further examination. Finally, the historiographical considerations and analytical techniques used are

¹ Fabrice Fitch (personal communication, March 2014) suggests that one type of exegetical connection might be 'enactment', in which one voice 'enacts' the prescription of another. He points to Ockeghem's *Mort tu as navré* and Obrecht's *Laudemus nunc Dominum* as two examples of this, to which I might add Josquin's *O virgo prudentissima* and Compère's *Omnium bonorum plena*.

relevant to more than just polytextual motets. I have emphasized the parallel development of various techniques within masses and chansons, but more remains to be done to show how these techniques develop concurrently with each other. While polytextual motets in particular contain numerous musical and textual interrelationships, the genre as a whole was fertile ground for musical innovation and textual manipulation. It is hoped that a more nuanced approach towards the genre may lead to more sensitive interpretations of its varied yet closely interconnected repertoire.

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Mus. Ms. 34 [Images available online: <<http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00035116/images/index.html>>]
Mus. Ms. 274a
Mus. Ms. 1503b
Mus. Ms. 1516 [Images available online: <<http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0002/bsb00028664/images/index.html>>]
Mus. Ms. 1536
Mus. Ms. 3154 (Leopold Codex) [Images available online: <<http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00059604/images/>>]
Mus. Ms. 3224

D-Mu Munich, Universitätsbibliothek
MS 4° Art. 401 [Images available online: <<http://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/11846/>>]
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D-MÜs 2757 Münster, Santini-Bibliothek im Bischöflichen Priesterseminar

D-Rp Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek
A. R. 891-892
A. R. 893
A. R. 940-941
B. 211-215
C. 120

D-Rtt Freie Künste Musik 76 Abth. II Regensburg, Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek

D-Stuttg Ms. Musica Folio I 25 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek

D-TR MS 322/1994 Trier, Stadtbibliothek

D-USch 237 Ulm, Münster Bibliothek

- D-W 293 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek
- D-Z Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek
 MS 33,34
 MS 73
 MS 84,2
- DK-Kk Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek
 Ms. Gamle kongelige Samling 1872, 4°
 Ms. Gamle kongelige Samling 1873
 Ms. Ny kongelige Samling 1848, 2°
- E-Bbc 681 Barcelona, Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya, Ms. 681 [Images available online:
 <<http://bibliotecadigital.palaumusica.org/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/musman&CISOPTR=6001&CISOSHOW=5799>>]
- E-E Ms. IV.a.24 Escorial, Palacio Real, Monasterio de S Lorenzo, MS. IV.a.24
 (Escorial Chansonnier)
- E-Sco 5-1-43 Seville, Biblioteca Capítular y Colombina, 5-1-43
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- E-SE Ms. s.s. Segovia, Archivo Capítular de la Catedral, Ms. s. s.
- E-Tc Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares de la Catedral Metropolitana
 Ms. 17
 Ms. 21
 Ms. 22
- E-TZ 8 Tarazona, Archivo Capítular de la Catedral, Archivo Ms. 8
- E-Vp s.s. Valladolid, Parroquia de Santiago, s. s.
- F-CA 17 Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale, Ms. 17
- F-CH 564 Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 564 (Chantilly Codex)
- F-Dm Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale
 Ms. 517 (Dijon Chansonnier)
 Ms. 2837
- F-Pn Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
 f.fr. 1597 (Lorraine Chansonnier)
 [Images available online: <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9060517z>>]
 f.fr. 1722
 f.fr. 15123 (Pixérécourt Chansonnier)
 [Images available online: <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9007335q>>]
 lat.16664

- F-Sm* 222 C. 22 Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale
- GB-CA* Add. Ms. 128 Canterbury, Cathedral Library
- GB-Cmc* 1760 Cambridge, Magdalene College
- GB-Cu* 96 Cambridge, University Library, Buxton MSS Box 96
- GB-Cu* MS Dd. 13.27 / *Cjc* MS 234
Cambridge, University Library and St John's College. (Two of five partbooks;
'Cambridge UJ'. See WilliamsonE, 76.)
- GB-ETc* Ms 178 Eton, Eton College Library, Ms 178 (Eton Choirbook)
[Facsimile edition: see WilliamsonE, under Modern Editions and Indexes.
Williamson's index is followed here.]
- GB-Ir* HA 30: 50/22/13.15 Ipswich, Suffolk Record Office, HA 30: 50/22/13.15 (Yoxford
Manuscript)
- GB-Lbl* London, British Library
Add. 19583
Add. 34191
Add. 35087
Add. 57950 (Old Hall Manuscript) [Images available online:
<<http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op=SOURCE&sourceKey=210#imageList>>]
Add. 70516 [Images available online:
<<http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op=SOURCE&sourceKey=409#imageList>>]
Egerton 3307 [Images available online:
<<http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op=SOURCE&sourceKey=207#imageList>>]
Royal 20.A.XVI
Royal 8.G.VII [Images available online:
<<http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op=SOURCE&sourceKey=2032#imageList>>]
- GB-Lcm* 1070 London, Royal College of Music
- GB-Llp* Ms 1 London, Lambeth Palace Library, Ms 1 ('Lambeth Choirbook')
- GB-Ob* 213 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canon. Misc. 213
[Facsimile edition: David Fallows, ed. *Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Canon. Misc. 213*, Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Music in Facsimile, 1. Chicago and London, 1995.
Images available online:
<<http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~1~1~37268~122902?trs=145&mi=0&qvq=w4s%3A%2Fwhat%2FMS.+Canon.+Misc.+213%3Blc%3AODLodl~1~1&cic=ODLodl~24~24>>]
- GB-Ome* 62. F. 8 Oxford, Merton College

GB-Onc Ω.14.5 / Onc C.1.2 / Oas 330 / CRr ZCX/1

Oxford, New College and All Souls College, and Chester, Cheshire and Chester Archives. [Together make up 'Choirbook 2a'; see WilliamsonE, 74.]

GB-WA B. VI. 23 Whalley, Stonyhurst College Library

H-Bn Ms Bártfa Mus.Pr.6 Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Széchényi Library)

I-AO 15 Aosta, Seminario Maggiore, Ms. 15 (Aosta Manuscript)

I-Bc Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna

Ms. Q. 15 [Facsimile edition: Margaret Bent. *Bologna Q15. The Making and Remaking of a Musical Manuscript, Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition*. Lucca: Lim Editrice, 2009.]

Ms. Q17

Ms. Q18

Ms. Q19 (Rusconi Codex)

Ms. Q27

Ms. R142

I-Bu 2216 Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria

I-BGc 1209d Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica

I-CF 59 Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cod. LIX

I-CT 95-6/ F-Pn n.a.f. 1817 Cortona, Biblioteca Comunale e dell'Accademia Etrusca, Mss. 95-96, and Paris op. cit., nouvelles acquisitions françaises 1817 (3 of 4 partbooks)

I-Fc Basevi 2439 Florence, Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, Ms. Basevi 2439 (Basevi Codex)

I-Fl Acq. e doni 666 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Ms. Acquisti e doni 666 (Medici Codex)

[Facsimile edition: Edward E. Lowinsky. *The Medici Codex of 1518, a choirbook of motets dedicated to Lorenzo de Medici, duke of Urbino*. Monuments of Renaissance Music Vol. 3-5. Chicago and London, 1968.]

I-Fn Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale

Ms. Banco rari 229 (BR 229)

II.I.232

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Magl. XIX.125bis

Magl. XIX.164-167

Magl. XIX.178

Ms. Panciatichiano 27 (Panc. 27)

I-Fr Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana

2356

2794

- I-Fsl* 2211 Florence, Archivio di San Lorenzo
- I-La* 238 Lucca, Archivio di Stato
- I-Lg* 775 Lucca, Biblioteca Statale
- I-MC* 871 Montecassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia
- I-Mfd* Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione Musicale
 Librone 1 (Ms. 2269)
 Librone 3 (Ms. 2267)
- I-MOd* Modena, Duomo, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare
 Ms. Mus. 4
 Ms. Mus. 9
- I-MOe* Modena, Biblioteca Estense
 C.313
 C.314
 α.F.2.29
 α.x.1.11 (Modena B; ModB)
- I-Pc* Padua, Duomo, Biblioteca Capitolare, Curia Vescovile
 A.17
 D.27
- I-Pu* 1106 Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 1106
- I-PCd* Piacenza, Archivio del Duomo, Fondo Musicale
 s.s. (2)
 s.s. (3)
 s.s. (5)
- I-Rc* 2856 Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense
- I-Rv* S1 35-40 Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana
- I-Rvat* Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
 Ms. Chigi C.VIII.234 (Chigi codex) [Facsimile edition: Herbert Kellman, ed. *Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C VIII 234*, Renaissance Music in Facsimile Vol. 22. New York, 1988.]
 CS 15 (Cappella Sistina 15)
 CS 16
 CS 19
 CS 20
 CS 24
 CS 35
 CS 38
 CS 42
 CS 45
 CS 46

CS 63
Ms. Capp. Giulia XII.4
Ms. Capp. Giulia XIII.27 (Cappella Giulia Chansonnier)
Ms. Vat. Lat. 11953
Ms. Pal. Lat. 1976-9
San Pietro Ms. B 80
Vat. Mus. 571

I-Sc L.V.36 Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati

I-TRbc Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio

Ms. 1374 [87]
Ms. 1375 [88]
Ms. 1376 [89]
Ms. 1377 [90]
Ms. 1378 [91]
Ms. 1379 [92]

[Images for all available online:

<<http://www.trentinocultura.net/catalogo/manoscrittimusicali>>

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I-TVd Treviso, Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo

4
5
8
29 (destroyed)
30
36

I-VEaf 218 Verona, Biblioteca Dell'Accademia Filarmonica

I-VEc Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare

755
758

NL-L Leiden, Gemeentearchief

1438
1439
1441

NL-Lml 1440 Leiden, Stedelijk Museum in de Lakenhal

[Images for all Leiden sources available online:

<<http://www.archiefleiden.nl/home/collecties/verhalen/koorboeken/bladeren-in-koorboeken>>]

PL-Kj Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska
Berlin Mus. Ms. 40098 (Glogauer Liederbuch)

Berlin Mus. Ms. 40272
Ms. 2464

- PL-Pu* 7022 Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka. Sekcja Zbiorów Muzycznych w Oddziale Zbiorów Specjalnych
- PL-WRu* MS I.F.428 Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka
- PL-Wu* 2016 Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Oddział Zbiorów Muzycznych
- SK-BRsu* 11 Bratislava, Státny Ústredný Archív SSR, Kniznica Bratislavskej Kapituly
- S-Uu* 76a Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Vokalmusik i Handskrift 76a
- US-Cn* Case MS VM1578.M91 Chicago, Newberry Library
- US-NHub* 91 New Haven, Beinecke Library for Rare Books and Manuscripts, Yale University, Ms. 91 (Mellon Chansonnier) [Images available online: <<http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3522414>>]
- US-Wc* M2.1.M6 Case Washington, Library of Congress

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- 1502^2 *Canti B. numero cinquanta.* Venice: Petrucci, 1501/2.
- 1503^1 *Motetti De passione... B.* Venice: Petrucci, 1503.
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- 1504^3 *Canti C. N° cento cinquanta.* Venice: Petrucci, 1503/4.
- 1505^2 *Motetti libro quarto.* Venice: Petrucci, 1505.
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- 1539^8 *Cantiones quinque vocum selectissimae.* Strasbourg: Schöffner, 1539.
- 1540^7 *Selectissimae necnon familiarissimae cantiones.* Augsburg: Kriesstein, 1540.
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- 1549^6 *Musica quinque vocum materna lingua moteta vocantur.* Venice: Gardane, 1549.
- 1549^7 *Primo libro de motetti a cinque voci da diversi eccellentissimi musici composti...* Venice: Scotto, 1549.
- 1549^8 *Il terzo libro di motetti a cinque voci di Cipriano de Rore, et de altri eccellentissimi musici.* Venice: Gardane, 1549.
- 1549^11 *Cantiones selectissimae. Quatuor vocum. Liber secundus...* Augsburg: Ulhard, 1549.

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- 1553^8 *Liber primus ecclesiasticum cantionum quatuor vocum vulgo moteta vocant...* Antwerp: Susato, 1553.
- 1553^15 *Liber octavus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant...* Antwerp: Susato, 1553.
- 1554^2 *Liber secundus cantionum sacrarum, quinque et sex vocum*. Louvain: Phalèse, 1554.
- 1554^5 *Liber sextus cantionum sacrarum... quinque et sex vocum*. Louvain: Phalèse, 1554.
- 1554^9 *Liber nonus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum*. Antwerp: Susato, 1554.
- 1554^11 *Tomus quartus Psalmorum selectorum, quatuor et plurium vocum*. Nürnberg: Montanus & Neuber, 1554.
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- 1555^3 =1554^2
- 1555^4 *Liber septimus cantionum sacrarum... quinque & sex vocum...* Louvain: Phalèse, 1555.
- 1555^6 *Sacrarum cantionum... quinque et sex vocum... Liber secundus*. Antwerp: Waelrant & Laet, 1555.
- 1555^9 *Liber undecimus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum...* Antwerp: Susato, 1555.
- 1556^1 =1555^4
- 1556^6 *Sacrarum cantionum... quinque et sex vocum... Liber quartus*. Antwerp: Waelrant & Laet, 1556.
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- 1556^34 ???
- 1557^3 *Liber duodecimus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum...* Antwerp: Susato, 1557.
- 1558^4 *Novum et insigne opus musicum, sex, quinque, et quatuor vocum*. Nürnberg: Berg & Neuber, 1558.
- 1558^5 *Liber sextus cantionum sacrarum... quinque et sex vocum...* Louvain: Phalèse, 1558.
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- 1569^2 *Motectarum divinitatis liber primus que quinque absolute vocibus...* Venice: Merulo, 1569.
- 1583^24 *Tabulaturbuch auff Orgeln und Instrument...* Leipzig: Beyer, 1583.

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Crecquillon 1576	<i>Opus sacrarum cantionum (quas vulgo moteta vocant)... quatuor, quinque, sex et octo vocum... Louvain: Phalèse, 1576)</i>
Gombert 1541c	<i>Motectorum... liber secundus, quatuor vocum. Venice: Scotto, 1541.</i>
Jacquet 1539a	<i>Motecta quinque vocum... liber primus. Venice: Scotto, 1539.</i>
Jacquet 1540	<i>(=1539a) Primo libro di motetti... a cinque voci. Venice: Gardane, 1540.</i>
Jacquet 1553	<i>Motecta quinque vocum diligentissime recognita. Venice: Gardane, 1553.</i>
Jacquet 1565a	<i>Motetti... a cinque voci, libro secondo, di novo ristampati. Venice: Scotto, 1565.</i>
Jacquet 1565b	<i>(=1539a) Motetti... a cinque voci libro secondo. Venice: Scotto, 1565.</i>
Lassus 1556a	<i>Il primo libro de motetti a cinque et a sei voci. Antwerp: Laet, 1556.</i>
Lassus 1564d	<i>Quatriesme livre des chansons à quatre et cinq parties. Louvain: Phalèse, 1564.</i>
Lassus 1565a	<i>Modulorum... quaternis, quinis, senis, septinis, octonis, et denis vocibus modulatorum secundum volumen. Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1565.</i>
Lassus 1565c	<i>Quinque et sex vocibus perornatae, sacrae cantiones... liber secundus. Venice: Scotto, 1565.</i>
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Lassus 1566e	<i>Sacrae cantiones... sex et octo vocum... liber quartus. Venice: Gardane, 1566.</i>
Lassus 1568a	<i>Selectissimae cantiones, quas vulgo motetas vocant... sex et pluribus vocibus compositae. Nürnberg: Gerlach, 1568.</i>
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Mouton 1555	<i>Selecti aliquot moduli, & in 4, 5, 6 & 8 vocum harmoniam distincti, liber primus. Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1555.</i>

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PMFC 5	Frank Ll. Harrison, ed. <i>Motets of French Provenance</i> . Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 5. Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1968.
PMFC 13	Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo, eds. <i>Italian Sacred and Ceremonial Music</i> . Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 13. : Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1987.
PMFC 24	Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, eds. <i>The Works of Johannes Ciconia</i> . Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 24. Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1985.
PMMS 1, 3, 4	Rupert Erlebach, ed. <i>Motets from the Eton Choirbook</i> . Volumes 1, 3, and 4. London: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1954 and 1955.
Pope	Isabel Pope and Masakata Kanazawa. <i>The Music Manuscript Montecassino 871: A Neopolitan Repertory of Sacred and Secular Music of the Late Fifteenth Century</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.
PS	Charles van den Borren, ed. <i>Polyphonia Sacra</i> . London: The Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1982.
RCM 10	Nick Sandon, ed. <i>Richard Davy: In honore Summe Matris</i> . Renaissance Church Music 10. Newton Abbott: Antico, 1992.
Romanus	F. Alberto Gallo, ed. <i>Antonii Romani Opera</i> . Antiquae Musicae Italicae: Monumenta Veneta Sacra 1. Bologna: Università degli studi di Bologna, 1965.
RRMR 73	Raymond H. Rosenstock, ed. <i>Modulorum Joannis Maillardii: the four-part motets</i> . Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 94. Madison: A-R Editions, 1987.
RRMR 94	B. A. Nugent, ed. <i>Antonius Divitis: Collected Works</i> . Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 94. Madison: A-R Editions, 1993.
RRMR 105	Peter Bergquist, ed. <i>Orlando di Lasso: The Complete Motets 4</i> . Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 105. Madison: A-R Editions, 1996.
RRMR 109	Peter Bergquist, ed. <i>Orlando di Lasso: The Complete Motets 5</i> . Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 109. Madison: A-R Editions, 1997.
RRMR 110	Peter Bergquist, ed. <i>Orlando di Lasso: The Complete Motets 6</i> . Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 110. Madison: A-R Editions, 1997.
RRMR 114	James Erb, ed. <i>Orlando di Lasso: The Complete Motets 1</i> . Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 114. Madison: A-R Editions, 1998.
RRMR 115	Peter Bergquist, ed. <i>Orlando di Lasso: The Complete Motets 17</i> . Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 115. Madison: A-R Editions, 1999.
RRMR 117	David Crook, ed. <i>Orlando di Lasso: The Complete Motets 15</i> . Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 117. Madison: A-R Editions, 1999.
RRMR 118	Peter Bergquist, ed. <i>Orlando di Lasso: The Complete Motets 8</i> . Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 118. Madison: A-R Editions, 1999.

- RRMR 124 Peter Bergquist, ed. *Orlando di Lasso: The Complete Motets 18*. Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 124. Madison: A-R Editions, 2001.
- RRMR 128 Rebecca Oettinger, ed. *Orlando di Lasso: The Complete Motets 12*. Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 128. Madison: A-R Editions, 2001.
- RRMR 132 Peter Bergquist, ed. *Orlando di Lasso: The Complete Motets 3*. Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 132. Madison: A-R Editions, 2002.
- RRMR 148 Peter Bergquist, ed. *Orlando di Lasso: The Complete Motets 21*. Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 148. Madison: A-R Editions, 2006.
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- SCMot 5 Richard Sherr, ed. *Selections from Motetti de la corona (libro secundo) (Fossombrone, 1519), Motetti de la corona (libro tertio) (Fossombrone, 1519), Motetti de la corona (libro quarto) (Fossombrone, 1519)*. Sixteenth-Century Motet 5. New York: Garland, 1992.
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- SCMot 12 Richard Sherr, ed. *Five- and More- Voice Motets from the Motteti dei Fiore Series: Part II*. Sixteenth-Century Motet 12. New York: Garland, 2000.
- SCMot 13 Mary S. Lewis, ed. *The Gardane Motet Anthologies: Selections from Primus liber cum quatuor vocibus, Mottetti del Frutto a quattro (Venice, 1539), Primus liber cum quinque vocibus, Mottetti del frutto (Venice, 1538), Primus liber cum sex vocibus, Mottetti del frutto a sei voci (Venice, 1539)*. Sixteenth-Century Motet 13. New York: Garland, 1993.
- SCMot 16 Richard Sherr, ed. *Liber septimus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum (Antwerp, Susato, 1553); Liber octavus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum (Antwerp, Susato, 1553)*. Sixteenth-Century Motet 16. New York: Garland, 1995.
- SCMot 17 Richard Sherr, ed. *Liber nonus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum (Antwerp, Susato, 1554); Liber decimus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum (Antwerp, Susato, 1555)*. Sixteenth-Century Motet 17. New York: Garland, 1996.
- SCMot 18 Richard Sherr, ed. *Liber undecimus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum (Antwerp, Susato, 1555); Liber duodecimus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum (Antwerp, Susato, 1557); Liber XIII ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum (Antwerp, Susato, 1557)*. Sixteenth-Century Motet 18. New York: Garland, 1997.
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APPENDIX A

Repertoire Catalogue and Indexes

A.1. Preface

This catalogue is a comprehensive list of polytextual motets from the fifteenth century and first half of the sixteenth century, with selected examples included from the second half of the sixteenth century. It is arranged and numbered alphabetically by text. There are two separate indexes, one each for cantus firmi and composers, which refer back to the main catalogue.

The term ‘polytextual’, as it has been used throughout this thesis, is inclusive of motets with one main text and a differently texted cantus firmus. Nevertheless, the catalogue distinguishes between ‘texts’ and ‘cantus firmi’. As they are divided below, ‘texts’ generally do not carry pre-existing melodies, though they may paraphrase a melody; they are frequently longer and/or newly written; and they frequently underlay multiple voice parts. ‘Cantus firmi’ generally follow a pre-existing melody closely; they are usually in only one voice part, though occasionally can be found in two canonic voice parts; and their texts are most frequently shorter than the other motet texts. In the later repertoire, ‘cantus firmi’ need not have pre-existing melodies, but can be differentiated vocal lines such as hexachordal melodies or ostinatos based on short melodic motives. When a liturgical text is treated both as the ‘text’ in several voice parts and as a cantus firmus in one voice part specifically, it is labelled both as a ‘text’ and a ‘cantus firmus’. In a specific subgroup of motets, at least two and frequently four or more liturgical texts are used with their liturgical melodies; in these

cases, all of the texts are placed in one joint cell denoting texts and cantus firmi together.

Distinctions between texts and cantus firmi are not always clear, but making these distinctions should help to clarify both the majority of individual cases as well as the overall picture of the repertoire.

When remarks are given, unless otherwise noted, see the available edition for more information. Citations for modern editions are found in the section below, along with abbreviations. Full citations for items in the name/date format (e.g., Cumming 1999) can be found in the bibliography.

The catalogue was assembled with help from a variety of sources, including the Motet Database Catalogue Online (Jennifer Thomas, project director),¹ Maria Rika Maniates's dissertation,² personal correspondence with Bonnie J. Blackburn,³ and DIAMM,⁴ along with all the editions, books, and articles listed below. Composers' dates were taken from New Grove.⁵ Additional help with print sources was found in Stanley Boorman's *Ottaviano Petrucci: A Catalogue Raisonné*,⁶ Daniel Heartz's *Pierre Attaingnant, Royal Printer of Music: A Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue*,⁷ Jane A. Bernstein's *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)*,⁸ as well as the volumes of *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, Series A/I⁹ and B/I.¹⁰ Help with manuscript sources was provided by *RISM*, Series B/IV¹¹ and various library catalogues,¹² as well as all of the manuscript facsimile and transcription editions cited below. *RISM* sigla are used for all

¹ <<http://www.arts.ufl.edu/motet>>.

² 'Combinative Techniques in Franco-Flemish Polyphony', op. cit.

³ January, 2011.

⁴ Digital Image Archive for Medieval Music, <<http://www.diamm.ac.uk>>.

⁵ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edition, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001). Individual articles cited separately.

⁶ Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

⁷ Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969.

⁸ New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

⁹ *Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, RISM A/I (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971-2003).

¹⁰ François Lesure, ed., *Recueils imprimés: XVIe-XVIIe siècles*, RISM B/I (Munich-Duisburg: Henle, 1960).

¹¹ Especially Nanie Bridgman, *Manuscripts de musique polyphonique XVe et XVIe siècles*, RISM B/IV, vol. 5 (Munich: Henle, 1991).

¹² Including Wolfram Steude, *Die Musiksammelhandschriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek zu Dresden* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen's Verlag, 1974).

manuscripts and prints, and for this the *Online Catalogue of RISM Library Sigla* also proved useful.

In a list of this size, there will inevitably be mistakes and omissions. Different catalogues have various ways of denoting the texts of different motet sections, of different voices, and of cantus firmi. In a few cases, facsimile or other materials were not available to verify these distinctions. I hope it will be of use despite any mistakes.

A.1.1. General Abbreviations

I, II, III...	Section (<i>pars</i>) of the motet
S,D,A,C,T,B,Q, 6,V	Superius, Discantus, Altus, Contratenor, Tenor, Bassus, Quintus, Sextus, Vagans
cf	cantus firmus
AH	Guido Maria Dreves and Clemens Blume, eds. <i>Analecta Hymnica medii aevi</i> . Leipzig: Fues's Verlag, 1886-1922. 55 volumes.
CAO	Renato-Joanne Hesbert, ed. <i>Corpus Antiphonarium Officii</i> . Rome: Herder, 1963-1979. 6 volumes.
LU	<i>The Liber Usualis</i> , ed. Benedictines of Solesmes. Tournai: Desclee, 1961. (First published 1896.)
RH	Ulysse Chevalier, ed. <i>Repertorium Hymnologicum: catalogue des chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes en usage dans l'église latine depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours</i> . Louvain: Imprimerie Lefever, 1892-1921. 6 volumes.

A.2. Polytextual motets

[See overleaf.]

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
1	A virtutis ignicio / Ergo beata nascio	Benedicta filia tua a Domino	Cesaris, Johannes (fl 1406-1417)	Tenor is antiphon for second Vespers of the Assumption (cf. LU 1606/1686).	CMM 11/1	GB-Ob 213
2	Absolve quesumus	Requiem eternam [A2/T2 canon]	Josquin des Prez (b c 1450-55, d 1521)	Lament for Obrecht (Elders 1987), Philip the Fair (Osthoff 1962), or Josquin himself (Noble 1980)? Alternatively, see Rothenberg 2004, p.518. Mentioned in section 1.4.	NJE 26.1 Smijers Mot.5, 49	E-Tc Ms. 21
3	Absolve quesumus	Requiem eternam		Lament on the death of Josquin, related to his own motet above with the same cf. See Elders 1987.		I-PCd s.s. (3)
4	Accipe quae tibi nunc princeps	Da mihi domine	Maistre Jhan (c1485-1538)			I-TVd 36
5	Ad honorem et decore matris / Nil nefare matri chure / Tu sanctorum angelorum exultacio					D-Z 84,2
6	Ad honorem sancte trinitatis / Celorum regnum sempiternum	Iste semper celestibus	Grenon, Nicholas (c1375-1456)	For All Saints' Day	Cox PS CMM 11/7	GB-Ob 213 I-Bc Q15.209
7	Adest namque beati Dionysii gaude prole	Gaude prole Grecia	Vermont, Pierre (c1495-before Feb 1533)		Smijers Att.3	D-Ju 34 SK-BRsu 11
8	Adoretur beata trinitas / In ultimo lucente Junii / Dies datur / Lilia nunc	Pacem deus reddidit		5v tenor motet, with cf from <i>Alleluia Virga Jesse</i> . Texts on the reconquest of Bordeaux by the French in 1451; see Cumming 1999, p.261. Discussed in section 2.3.3.	DTÖ 76	I-TRbc 89.585

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
9	Adorna thalamum tuum	Verbum caro factum est	Menon, Tuttovale (fl. c1538-52)			I-TVd 8 1545 [^] 3 1569 [^] 2
10	Advenisti venisti nostras	Advenisti desiderabilis (also given incipit Lauda Sion)		4v tenor motet. For Georg Hack, Bishop of Trent, 1446-65; see Cumming 1999, p.261. Discussed in section 2.3.3.	DTÖ 14/15 Mitchell 2004 Gerber 2007	I-TRbc 88.452
11	Albanus roseo rutilat / Quoque ferendus eras	Albanus Domini laudans [T]	Dunstaple (c1390-1453)	Tenor is antiphon for St Alban.	MB 8	I-MOe α .x.1.11 (88')
12	Alle dei filius	Triumphat		See Strohm 1984.		CZ-Ps Ms. D.G.IV.47
13	Alma proles regia / Christi miles inclite Georgi	Ab inimicis nostris defende nos Christe	Cooke, J(ohn) (c1385-?1442)		CMM 46/2	GB-Lbl Add. 57950, no. 112
14	Alma redemptoris mater	Et genitorem [I] / Ave regina celorum [II]		Both texts Marian antiphons with chant melodies.	Maniates 1965	I-TRbc 91.1319D-LEu 14941504 [^] 3
15	Alma redemptoris mater / Anima mea liquefacta est	Alma redemptoris	Forest (fl 1st half 15th cent)	Mod has the polytextual version; Tr90 and Q15 only have Alma.	Burstyn 1972 DTÖ 53 Cumming	I-AO 1 I-Bc Q15.192 I-MOe α .x.1.11 (94') I-TRbc 90.1052
16	Alma redemptoris mater / Ave regina celorum		Josquin des Prez (b c 1450-55, d 1521)	Both texts Marian antiphons with chant melodies. Mentioned in section 2.3.	NJE 23.2 Smijers Mot.1, 105	I-CT 95-6/F-Pn n.a.f. 1817 I-Fn II.I.232 I-Fn Magl. XIX. 164-167 I-Mfd Librone 3 I-Rvat CS 15 D-USch 237 1505 [^] 2

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
17	Alma redemptoris mater / Ave regina celorum / Inviolata, integra et casta / Regina caeli		Josquin?	‘lost; cited by Zarlino, Le istitutioni harmoniche (1558), as combining 4 plainchant melodies (3 ants, seq)’ (Macey 2001).	n/a	n/a
18	Ambulans Jesus iuxta mare	Dilexit Andream	Maistre Jhan (c1485-1538)			I-PCd s.s. (5) I-Rvat C.G. XII, 4 I-Rvat CS 19 I-TVd 4 I-TVd 29 I-TVd 36 D-Rp A. R. 940-941 D-USch 237 1553^8
19	Amica mea	Ich stuend an einem Morgen [T]	Senfl, Ludwig (c1486-c1543)	‘Amica mea’ is from the antiphon ‘sicut lilium’; the text repeats these two words in all four outer voices.	Senfl 4	1534^17 1556^34 1562^24
20	Andreas Christi famulus dignus dei	Sancte Andrea, ora pro nobis [D2]	Morales, Cristóbal de (c1500-1553)	Tone from Litany of the Saints. Mentioned in section 2.5.2.	MME 13, p.157	E-Tc Ms. 17 E-Vp s.s. 1547^25 1556^6
21	Angeli archangeli	Comme femme	Isaac, Henricus (c1450-1517)	Text comprised of two antiphons for All Saints, <i>Angeli archangeli</i> and <i>Te gloriosus</i> , along with the tenor from Agricola's chanson. In Leipzig, contrafact text ‘O Regina nobilissima’. See Rothenberg 2004, who suggests that it is not for All Saints but rather for the Assumption of the Virgin. Discussed in sections 1.2.3 and 2.4.3.2.	Rothenberg 2004Winkler 1999EdM 34	I-Fn II.I.232I-Rvat Chigi C.VIII.234 (249v-253)I-Rvat CS 46D-LEu 1494

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
22	Anima mea liquefacta est	Amica mea	Cabilliau		SCMot 17, 45	1554^9
23	Anima mea liquefacta est	Stirps Jesse	Busnoys, Antoine (1430-1492)	Antiphon text, responsory tenor. See Higgins 1997; Natvig 1991; Wegman 1991, p.241-4; Bloxam 1999, p.76-8; and Gallagher 2009. Discussed in sections 1.4, 2.2.3, and especially 2.3.	Busnoys, no.7	B-Br 5557 I-Rvat CS 15
24	Antequam comedam suspiro	Je ris et si ay larme a l'oeil [T2]	Mouton, Jean (c1459-1522)	Latin text is a responsory; cf from ?Josquin's chanson.	Smijers Att.11 Shine 1	D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 1536 1535^3 Mouton 1555
25	Anthonio turma fratrum	Plaude Vienna manu		Plaude Vienna manu is a responsory. Both texts for St Anthony the Great.	Appendix	I-Rvat CS 15
26	Antoni pastor inclite	O pastor Antoni [Q,6]	Verdelot, Philippe (b c 1480-5, d ?1530-2, before 1552)	Cf canon at the fourth between <i>quinta pars</i> and <i>sexta pars</i> .	CMM 28/2	I-Rv S1 35-40
27	Apostolo glorioso / Cum tua doctrina	Andreas Christi	Du Fay, Guillaume (c1397-1474)	'for rededication of church of St Andrew, Patras (1426) or the appointment of Pandolfo Malatesta as archbishop (1424)' (Planchart 2001). Both upper texts are in Italian.	Cox DTÖ 76 CMM 1/1	I-Bc Q15.237
28	Apostolus Andreas	Sancte Andrea, ora pro nobis		See Lowinsky 1950. Discussed in section 2.5.2.		I-Rv S1 35-40
29	Are post libamina / Nunc surgunt	Are post libamina	Matheus de Sancto Johanne (d by 1391)		CMM 46/1	GB-Lbl Add. 57950, no. 146
30	Argi vices Poliphemus / Tum Philemon rebus paucis	[unidentified - mode 7 responsory?]	Grenon or Zacharie?	in honour of John XXIII	Cobin, no.9 PMFC 13	I-AO 15

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
31	Ascendit Christus	Alma redemptoris	Forest (fl 1st half 15th cent)	All texted to Ascendit Christus	DTÖ 76 MB 8 CMM 46/2	I-MOe α .x.1.11 (96') GB-Lbl Add. 57950
32	Aspice domine	Tart ara mon cœur sa plaisance [Q]	Appenzeller, Benedictus (b c1480-8, d after 1558)	Cf is the tenor line of the chanson by Molinet, ed. Goldberg 1997, p.513; see also Fallows 1999. Here it is given the French incipit and then continues with the Latin text.	SCMot 18	1555 ⁹
33	Assumptus hodie dominus	Et testimonium	Maistre Jhan (c1485-1538)			I-TVd 36
34	Audivi vocem de celo	Omnes sancti intercede pro nobis	Manchicourt, Pierre de (c1510-1564)			D-Kl MS 4° Mus. 91 GB-WA B. IV. 23
35	Ave ancilla trinitatis	Ave Maria, gratia plena	Isaac, Henricus (c1450-1517)	One of two Isaac settings of Ave ancilla Trinitatis. See Becherini 1959, p.22; Just 1963, esp. p.6; and Nef 1938, p.127. Mentioned in section 1.2.5.	SMD 8	CH-SGs 530 I-Fn II.I.232
36	Ave coronata sublime / Alma parens regem glorie			In black notation		CZ-HKm II.A.6
37	Ave dei genitrix gemma preciosa / Gratia te voluit sancta fecunde					CZ-HKm II.A.7

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
38	Ave Maria / O Maria		Brassart (b c1400-5, d before1455)	Trent has all texted voices starting 'Ave Maria gracia plena' (lowest voice just has 'contratenor'). In Q15, top left voice is 'Ave Maria gracia plena dominus tecum', top right is 'O Maria gracia plena ego peccator suspiro...'. Tenor is labelled 'Tenor'; contratenor 'Contratenor O Maria'. The 'O' could have been a mistake: the top part of the previous opening has the motet 'O Maria virgo davitica', with illuminations for both 'O's; this would explain why Trent has only 'Ave Maria's. Discussed in section 2.2.2.	CMM 35/2 Cox DTÖ 14/15	I-Bc Q15.229 I-TRbc 87.29
39	Ave maria ancilla sancte trinitatis	Ave Maria, gratia plena [Q]	Willaert, Adrian (c1490-1562)	Ostinato cf of Ave Maria melody. Mentioned in section 1.2.5.		I-Rv S1 35-40 1532^9 Willaert 1539c / 1550a
40	Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis	Ave Maria, gratia plena [D]		All voices start off with paraphrasing the Ave Maria melody. Mentioned in section 1.2.5.		CZ-HKm II.A.7
41	Ave Maria, gratia plena	Salve regina				E-TZ 8
42	Ave Maria... virgo serena	[Adieu mes amours; B1/T2]	Josquin des Prez (b c 1450-55, d 1521)	3v surviving of 6 or 7, 2 in PCd and 1 in Bc R142. The monophonic chanson is in canon between B1 and T2, paraphrased in the superius. See Picker 1976, pp.247-255.	NJE 30.1	I-Bc R142 (attrib. Josquin)I-PCd s.s. (3)

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
43	Ave mater matris dei	Fortuna desperata [T]	Jacquet of Mantua (1483-1559)	Fortuna desperata (on e) as cf. All 4 other voices fully texted, beginning almost in two canons, which only last briefly. Main text is also used by Gombert and Lheritier.	Maniates 1965, p.357	I-Bc Q19 (106v-107)
44	Ave mundi spes Maria	Gottes Namen fahren wir [T, T2, 'contra bassus']		Latin sequence along with German Leise text. 8-v tenor motet/Leise. 5 voices take the Latin text, 3 the German text and melody. Discussed in section 2.2.3.	DTÖ 14/15 EdM 80	I-TRbc 89.667 D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 3154
45	Ave nobilissima creatura	Ave Maria, gratia plena [T]	Festa, Costanza (b c1485-90, d 1545)	Cf is the first part of an antiphon (LU 1861); its text lines up with the motet text by the end of the first section. Discussed in section 1.2.3.	CMM 25/3	I-Rvat CS 20 I-Rvat Ms. Capp. Giulia XII.4
46	Ave nobilissima creatura	Benedicta tu	Josquin des Prez (b c 1450-55, d 1521)	Cf antiphon enters right after the text 'Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum' in the other voices.	NJE 23.11 Smijers Mot.2, 29	I-Bc R142 D-Mu 4o Art.401 E-Td B. 13 1519 ^{^2} 1526 ^{^3} 1527
47	Ave que sublimaris	[Comme femme]	Agricola, Alexander (c1445/6-1506)	See Rothenberg 2004. Textless except in Berlin 40021, where the text is only in the lowest voice.	CMM 22/5 EdM 77, no.64	D-B Ms Mus. 40021
48	Ave quam colunt angeli	Ave maris stella	Jacquet of Mantua (1483-1559)			1549 ^{^7} 1549 ^{^8}
49	Ave regina celorum	Inviolata, integra et casta es, Maria [S]	Chapelle, Hugo de la (?)	Ave regina melody paraphrased in all 4 non-cf voices.	SCMot 12	1542 ^{^5}

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
50	Ave regina celorum, ave decus / Ave mater expers paris	Ave mundi spes, Maria [T]	Dunstaple (c1390-1453)		MB 8	I-MOe α .x.1.11 (85')
51	Ave rosa sine spinis	[Comme femme]	Senfl, Ludwig (c1486-c1543)	Hymn text, acrostic of Ave Maria. See Rothenberg 2004.		D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 12
52	Ave rosa speciosa	Beata mater et innupta virgo [T] / [L'homme armé; B2]	[Regis?]	Anon. in source, attrib. Regis and ed. in Houghton 1983; attrib. questioned in Winkler 1993, p.5, and Gallagher 1998, p.269–86. See also Houghton 2009, p.431–40. Cf antiphon; motet text is from the sequence Ave mundi spes Maria. Discussed in sections 1.2.3, 2.2.2, 2.4.1, 2.4.3.2, and especially 3.2.4.	Winkler 1999CMME (misc. editions)	I-Rvat Chigi C.VIII.234
53	Ave sponsa trinitatis / Rosas mitte notario / Nos scolares et studentes			German alternative texts: O Jungfrau zärtlich / In deynes frides gertelein / Dich lobet stett der gelarten schar		D-Z 84,2
54	Ave stella matutina	Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis	Crecquillon, Thomas (b c1505-15, d ?1557)	Alternative text: 'O virgo generosa / Sancta Christina ora pro nobis' in 1554 ¹⁶ and Crecquillon 1576. Mentioned in section 2.5.2.	CMM 63/6	NL-L 1438 1554 ¹⁶ Crecquillon 1576
55	Ave verum / Ecce panis / Bone pastor / O salutaris hostia		Gregoire	Ave verum is the beginning of the sequence; Ecce panis and bone pastor are verses from Lauda Sion sequence; O salutaris is verse of hymn Verbum supernum. Original melodies are transposed as necessary. Attributed to Gregoire in 1503 ¹ and to Josquin in Ch-Bu.	Drake Maniates 1965, 372	CH-Bu F.X.22-24 D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 1516 1503 ¹

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
56	Ave virgo gloriosa stella	Pulchra es	Jacquet de Berchem (c1505-1567)			1539 ^{^7} Jacquet 1565a
57	Ave virgo gratiosa	O clemens, o pia [from Salve regina]	Jacquet of Mantua (1483-1559) (elsewhere attrib. Pierre Vermont)		CMM 3/4	1534 ^{^5} 1542 ^{^10} I-Rv S1 35-40 I-TVd 29
58	Ave virgo sponsa dei	Inviolata, integra et casta es, Maria	Willaert, Adrian (c1490-1562)	Tenor cf (ostinato at several pitches). In <i>tertia pars</i> , it is inverted.	CMM 3/4	1542 ^{^10}
59	Ave virtus virtutum / Prophetarum fulti suffragio	Infelix propera [from Letabundus]	Grenon, Nicholas (c1375-1456)	For Christmas: cf is the final phrase of sequence 'Letabundus'.	CMM 11/7	GB-Ob 213
60	Balsamus et munda cera	Isti sunt agni novelli	Du Fay, Guillaume (c1397-1474)	'Distribution of the Agnus Dei by Pope Eugenius IV, 7 April 1431' (Planchart 2001).	Cox CMM 1/1	I-Bc Q15.169
61	Beata es Maria Virgo [I] / Ave Maria [II]	Beata es Maria [T, I and II] / Ave Maria [A, II]	Obrecht, Jacob (1457/8-1505)	Composite cf ('Beata es Maria', 'Kyrie eleyson', 'O Christe audi nos') is repeated identically in the <i>secunda pars</i> , where the text is 'Ave Maria'. A second cantus firmus ('Ave Maria...virgo serena') found in the <i>secunda pars</i> . Discussed in section 1.2.3.	NOE 15	1505 ^{^2}
62	Beata es Virgo Maria que Dominum portasti [I] / Ave Maria gratia plena [II]	Ave Maria...virgo serena [7]	Verdelot, Philippe (b c 1480-5, d ?1530-2, before 1552)	<i>Secunda pars</i> begins with all voices singing 'Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum' to the melody of the antiphon, but the motet text continues 'genuisti qui te fecit et in eternum permanens virgo'.	CMM 28, 2	I-Rv S1 35-40 I-VEaf 218

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
63	Beati pacifici	De tous biens plaine [T]	Stappen, Crispin van (c1465- 1532)	The beginning of the antiphon melody is found in the top voice as an ostinato, with the text 'Beati paci' repeated. The tenor carries the T of the song. T, C, and B have the song incipit. Listed in index as 'Beati paci'. Discussed in sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2.3.	Maniates 1965, 275	1504 ³
64	Beati qui esuriunt / Solemnisate hodie regi / In hoc solemni gaudio					D-Z 84,2
65	Benedicta viscera / Ave mater gratie	Ora pro nobis deum, alleluia [from Regina celi]	Velut, Gillet (fl early 15th)		PS CMM 11/2	GB-Ob 213
66	Cantemus domino	Gaudent in celis		Motet text is elegy by Sedulius (5th cent).	EECM 8	GB-Lbl Egerton 3307
67	Carminibus festos / O requies populi		Romanus, Antonius (fl 1400-32)	For Francesco Foscari, doge from April 1423.	Cox CMM 11/6 Romanus	I-Bc Q15.206
68	Caro mea vere est cibus / O vere digna hostia / Dominus noster Jesus Christus			See Kozachek 1998, 204.	Cerny	CZ-HKm II.A.7 CZ-KL 403 CZ-Pnm XIII A 2
69	Castrum pudicitie / Virgo viget	Benedicamus	Merques (fl 1433-45)	Tenor might not be pre-existent. Two upper voice texts from a 13th-cent motet; see Cumming 1999, p.221. Discussed in section 2.2.2.	DTÖ 76	I-AO 15 I-TRbc 92-2.1539
70	Cede fragor strepitusque	Sicut lilium				1534 ¹⁰

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
71	Cedit hyems eminus / Ergo nostra contio / Canentes pulchre gloriam					D-Z 84,2
72	Celcitonantis	Abrahe fit promissio	Regis, Johannes (c1425-c1496)	Cf is hymn to BVM (see Stephan 1937, p.106). Main text is hymn for Mary in <i>prima pars</i> , hymn for Holy Spirit and Christ in <i>secunda pars</i> . Discussed in section 2.3.2.	CMM 9/2 Winkler 1999	I-Rvat Chigi C.VIII.234 (261v-265)
73	Celebremus conversionem sancti Pauli	Sancte Paule, ora pro nobis				I-Pc A17
74	Celorum candor splenduit [I] / Sancte Francisce, propere veni [II]	Sancte Francisce, ora pro nobis	Verdelot, Philippe (b c 1480-5, d ?1530-2, before 1552)	In <i>secunda pars</i> , all voices end ‘Ora pro nobis’. Discussed in section 2.5.2.	CMM 28/2	I-Rv S1 35-40
75	Celsa sublimatur / Sabine praesul		Lantins, Hugo de (fl 1420-30)	The motet ‘refers specifically to the city of Bari, and probably dates from 1424 or 1425, when Antonio Colonna was briefly viceroy of Apulia’ (Schoop/Allsen 2001).	PS 32 AllsenF	GB-Ob 213
76	Cernere virtutes qui vult compagine	Ista Hymeneae precor tibi sint [S2]	Lassus, Orlande de (1532[?]- 1594)	For the 1557 wedding of Philibert of Baden and Mechthilde of Bavaria. CF newly composed for the purpose? See Haar 1997.	RRMR 110 Lassus 3	Lassus 1568b
77	Chorus noster sonorusus / Sanctissimi nominis / Dulcissima altissima / Pangant nostra agmina		Wilhelmi de Grudencz, Petrus (c1400- c1480)	Contrafactum of Presulem ephebeatum. See Kozachek 1998, 100-1.		CZ-HKm II.A.6 CZ-HKm II.A.7 CZ-Pu Ms. IV C 20a

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
78	Christe fili dei	[J'ay pris amours]	Josquin des Prez (b c 1450-55, d 1521)	Final motet of the 'Vultum tuum' cycle. The contratenor (alto) of the Josquin motet is from the D of the anonymous song, 'J'ay pris amours'. See Fallows 1999, p.197. See NJE for full source information.	Smijers Mot.1, 24 NJE 25.14	1505^2
79	Christe sanctorum decus / Tibi Christe splendor patris	Tibi Christe splendor patris [T]	Dunstaple (c1390-1453)	To St Michael	MB 8	I-MOe α.x.1.11 (95')
80	Christus mortuus est pro peccatis	Circumdederunt me [S,T]	Josquin?	'Canon in T and Sup modelled on Nymphes, nappés; rhythm and texture untypical' (Macey 2001). See especially Milsom 1982. <i>Secunda pars</i> 'Sic deus dilexit mundum / Circumdederunt'.	Smijers Mot.5, p.146 See also NJE [19.1]	D-Z 73 1564^3 (attrib. Josquin)
81	Christus surrexit victos / Chorus nove Jerusalem / Christus surrexit mala nostra			See Kozachek 1998, p.86.		CZ-HKm II.A.6D-TR Ms. 322/1994
82	Clangat plebs flores	Sicut lilium	Regis, Johannes (c1425-c1496)	Three cf cursus. In various sources the two texts are underlaid in different voices. See Stephan 1937, p.107; Winkler 1999; Gallagher 2010. Discussed in section 2.3.2.	CMM 9/2 Winkler 1999	I-Rvat Chigi C.VIII.234 (281v-284) I-Rvat CS 15 I-Rvat CS 16 1508^1
83	Clarus ortus clarior opere / Gloriosa mater ecclesia	Justus non conturbabitur	Civitate, Antonius de (fl1392-1421)		PS	GB-Ob 213
84	Committe domino statum	Revela domino viam tuam, spera in eo et ipse faciet [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Christoph Tettelbach. All of these are 'musical settings of the emblems or mottos of important and influential men' (Gottwald 2001).	EdM 16, no.15	Othmayr 1547

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
85	Commoda res et pulcra deum celebrare	Vertrew Got allein	Presten, Jørgen (d c1553)?		Dania sonans 4	DK-Kk Gamle kong. Saml. 1872
86	Concrepit infanti / Nate dei memor / Exordium quadruplate / Verbum caro factum est			See Kozachek 1998, p. 198.		CZ-CH 12580 CZ-HKm II.A.6 CZ-HKm II.A.7 CZ-UO A 3 PL-Kj Ms 2464
87	Confisus domino tua pectora	Confide et ama	Lassus, Orlande de (1532[?]- 1594)	‘religious... but is written in a humanistic Latin that is hard to construe’ (Haar 1997, p.273).	RRMR 132; Lassus 7	1564 ⁴
88	Confitemini domino	Per singulos dies benedicimus te	Mouton, Jean (c1459-1522)	Cf from Te Deum	See NJE [15.9]	I-Rvat CS 38 I-Rv S1 35-40 (attrib. Josquin)
89	Congaudemus pariter / En lux immensa			See Kozachek 1998, p. 199 for additional sources.		CZ-HKm II.A.6 CZ-HKm II.A.7 CZ-UO A 3
90	Congregati sunt inimici nostri	Da pacem	Barré, Leonardo (fl 1537 to after 1555)	Discussed in section 2.5.3.		1544 ⁶
91	Congregati sunt inimici nostri	Da pacem	Crecquillon, Thomas (b c1505-15, d ?1557)	Discussed in section 2.5.3.	CMM 63/5	B-Bc 27088 DK-Kk Gamle kong. Saml. 1873 1555 ⁴ 1556 ¹ 1558 ⁴ 1558 ⁶ 1583 ²⁴

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
92	Congregati sunt inimici nostri	Da pacem	Verdelot, Philippe (b c 1480-5, d ?1530-2, before 1552)	Discussed in section 2.5.3.	CMM 28/2	I-Fn Magl. XIX.125bis, no. 4I-Lg 775I-Rvat Ms Capp. Giulia XII.4I-Rvat CS 38I-Rv S1 35-40US-Cn Case Ms VM1578.M911542^10
93	Congregati sunt inimici nostri	Da pacem	Werrecore, Matthias Hermann (d after 1574)	Discussed in section 2.5.3.		I-TVd 4 I-TVd 30 1540^7
94	Congregati sunt inimici nostri	Dissipa gentes que bella volunt	Lassus, Orlande de (1532[?]-1594)	Matins Responsory de Machabaeis; cf Ps 67:31. See Haar 1997.	RRMR 124 Lassus 9	D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 15 1597^3
95	Cuius fructus ventris / Te Maria rogitassem			Marian motet, bitextual with T canon.	Cox	F-Dm 2837 I-AO 15 I-Bc Q15.231
96	Cur ego ditescam	Nihil intulimus in hunc mundum... [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Matthias Silber	EdM 16, no.28	Othmayr 1547
97	Deitatis flagrans cella / Virgo in quam post et ante / Dignitate sic sequimur					D-Z 84,2
98	Deo gratias	Ite missa est	Van Wilder, Philip (c1500-1553)	12vv, with tenor primus singing Ite missa est (all others Deo gratias). Very repetitive in all voices.	Van Wilder	1545^2

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
99	Deum trinum adoremus / Hec persone sunt diverse / Unum verum deum		Wilhelmi de Grudencz, Petrus (c1400- c1480)	Contrafactum of Pax eterna, Que est ista. For the Trinity, see Kozachek 1998, 100.		CZ-HKm II.A.6 CZ-HKm II.A.7
100	Deus in nomine tuo salvum me fac [I] / Adverte mala inimicis meis [II]	Adverte mala inimicis meis	Verdelot, Philippe (b c 1480-5, d ?1530-2, before 1552)	Psalm 53. Tenor also from the same psalm. <i>Tertia pars</i> begins all voices together with 'Adverte mala'.	CMM 28/2	I-Fn Magl. XIX. 125bis I-Rv S1 35-40
101	Deus qui nos patrem et matrem	Pater meus et mater mea [Q]	Clemens non Papa, Jacobus (c1510-15 - 1555/6)	Cf has 5 iterations of a single phrase.	CMM 4/16	1554^5
102	Deus qui nos per gratiam	Confirma hoc deus quod operatus es in nobis [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Wilhelm Tettelbach	EdM 16, no.14	Othmayr 1547
103	Deus refugium meum	Fiat voluntas tua [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Veit Zueck	EDM 16, no.21	Othmayr 1547
104	Deus venerunt gentes	Effunde iram tuam in gentes [I] / Aduva nos, deus salutaris noster [II]	Festa, Costanza (b c1485-90, d 1545)	See Lowinsky 1950, esp. p.180f. For the Sack of Rome by Charles V in 1527?	CMM 25/3	I-Rvat CS 20 I-Rv S1 35-40
105	Dies dignus decorari / Demon dolens dum domatur	Iste confessor	Dunstaple (c1390-1453)	To St Germanus. Mentioned in section 1.2.5.	MB 8	I-MOe <i>α.x.1.11</i> (92')
106	Diligebat autem eum Jesus	Sancte Johannes, ora pro nobis	Certon, Pierre (d 1572)	Mentioned in section 2.5.2.		1544^6
107	Discessu dat tota tuo germania	Maximilianus archidux Austriae	Maessens, Pieter (c1505-1562)	Cf canon in 2 voices.	DTÖ 149	1549^11

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
108	Dixit autem dominus	Parce domine	Jacquet of Mantua (1483-1559)	Cf ostinato. See Nugent diss, I, 245-6; and Widmaier 1953, p.70.	CMM 54/5, p.82	D-Mu 4o Art.401 D-MÜs 2757 I-Lg 775 I-MO ^d Ms. 4 I-MO ^e C.313 I-PC ^d s.s. (2) Jacquet 1539a Jacquet 1540 Jacquet 1553 Jacquet 1565b
109	Doctorum principem / Melodia suavissima	Vir mitis	Ciconia, Johannes (c1370-1412)	‘in honour of Francesco Zabarella, Archpriest of Padua Cathedral from 1397, perhaps written after the Council of Pisa’ (Bacco 2001); see Hallmark 1997. Tenor does not seem to be chant.	PMFC 24 Clercx Cox	I-Bc Q15.272
110	Dominator celorum	Da pacem	Conseil, Jean (b 1498 or 1501, d 1534) or Festa, Costanzo	Tenor antiphon (LU 1867-8), text from Judith 9:10-11. See Main 1960, p.63; Seay (CMM 25/5) thinks it's by Festa. Discussed in section 2.5.3.	CMM 25/5, no.58 Maniates 1965, 402	I-Bc Q27 I-Pc D.27 I-Rv S1 35-40 1539 [^] 8
111	Domine exaudi orationem nostra	Ab ira et odio et omni mala [T1] / Da pacem [T2]	Alberti, Gasparo (c1489-c1560)?	See Crawford 1994, p.90-1 and 140-1. 4 of 6 voices sing ‘Domine exaudi orationem’, the first part of which is an Alleluia verse, responsory (CAO 6494), or tract. This is followed by the collect for the Missa pro pace. Tenor I is from the Litany of Saints; Tenor II sings Da pacem (LU 1867). Perhaps dates from French defeat at Pavia in Feb, 1524. Discussed in section 2.5.3.	CMM 105/x (forthcoming?)	I-BGc MS 1209 D (no. 4)

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
112	Domine Jesu Christe amator benignissime	Gaudet in celis [T]	Willaert, Adrian (c1490-1562)	Cf repeated in the <i>secunda pars</i> .	CMM 3/4	I-Bc Q27I-Fn Magl. XIX. 125bisI-Rv S1 35- 401542^10
113	Dominus instar rupis	Stat, stat alta mente repostum [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Ulrich v. Wurttemberg	EdM 16, no.2	Othmayr 1547
114	Dominus mortificat	Deus adiutor in tribulationibus [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Johannes Oeler	EdM 16, no.34	Othmayr 1547
115	Ducalis sedes / Stirps Mocinico		Romanus, Antonius (fl 1400-32)	For Doge Tommaso Mocenigo	CMM 11/6 Cox Romanus Schering	I-Bc Q15.243 I-Bu 2216
116	Dulcis amica dei digna	Da pacem	Weerbeke, Gaspar van (c1445-c1516)	Discussed in section 2.5.3.	CMM 106/4 Maniates 1965, 392	I-Rvat CS 15 1508^1
117	Dum preliantem fortiter	Strinxerunt	Maistre Jhan (c1485-1538)			I-PCd s.s. (2) I-TVd 4
118	Ecce advenit dominator	Christus vincit [T, from Laudes Regie]	Festa, Costanza (b c1485-90, d 1545)	Motet text is the Introit for Epiphany (LU 459) followed by Psalm 71:8. Coronation motet for Clement VII in 1523?	CMM 25/4	I-Rvat CS 20
119	Ecce iste venit	Magnificat	Festa, Costanza (b c1485-90, d 1545)	Tenor from Magnificat (LU 207). Text from Song of Songs (2:8-14), also LU 1539.	CMM 25/4	I-Rvat CS 20
120	Ecclesie militantis / Sanctorum arbitrio / Bella canunt gentes	Gabriel / Ecce nomen domini	Du Fay, Guillaume (c1397-1474)	‘Perhaps for coronation of Pope Eugenius IV (1431)’ (Planchart 2001). Discussed in section 2.2.2.	CMM 1/1	I-TRbc 87.53&70

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
121	Efficax pax fax flagrans / Ens insons mons pons / Gaude os mos dos prudenter					D-Z 84,2
122	Eia exultemus	Beatus populus, qui scit iubilationem [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Johannes Montanus	EdM 16, no.30	Othmayr 1547
123	Elizabet Zacharie... Inter vates Johannes / Elizabet Zacharie... Lingua, pectus concordes	[tenor matches the start of the melody of the antiphon Elizabeth Zacharie]	[Du Fay?]	Both texts quote the antiphon Elizabeth Zacharie (LU 1503) for the Nativity of St John the Baptist. See AllsenF.	AllsenF DTÖ 76	Tr 87
124	En Katerine solennia / Virginalis contio	Sponsus amat sponsam	Byttering (fl c1410-20)	‘a wedding motet for Henry V and Catherine de Valois (2 June 1420). The text of the middle voice is also found in a 14th-century motet (in GB-DRc)’ (BentB 2001).	CMM 46/1	GB-Lbl Add. 57950, no. 145
125	Ex legis observantia virgo / Vates quoque sancti patres / Gratulentur nunc virgines					D-Z 84,2
126	Exaltabo te	Benedictus domine deus [T1] / Cum jocunditate [T2]	Festa, Costanza (b c1485-90, d 1545)	Cfs from Canticle of Zachary (verses 1 and 7, LU 652) and ‘Cum jocunditate’ (LU 1626). See Lowinsky 1950.	CMM 25/4	I-Rv S1 35-40 I-Rvat CS 20
127	Exaudi nos filia	Virgo Maria	Stappen, Crispin van (c1465- 1532)	Cf Assumption antiphon?		I-Rvat CS 38 1508^1
128	Exsultet celum mare sol	Quis audivit talia dic mirabilia [T1]	Lassus, Orlande de (1532[?]- 1594)	Unknown Nativity hymn or sequence? See Haar 1997.	RRMR 118 Lassus 3	D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 24 Lassus 1571a

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
129	Exsultet conjubilando deo	Sine macula beatus Romanus [S3] / Pater ecclesie, Romane [T2]	Mouton, Jean (c1459-1522)	Hymn text, with antiphon and hexachord cfs.	Shine 1	Mouton 1555 1564^1
130	Eya dulcis adque vernans rosa / Vale placens peroratrix		Tapissier, Johannes (Jean de Noyers) (b c1370, d before Aug 1410)	Laments the Papal Schism; from before the Council of Constance, 1417 (see CMM notes).	CMM 11/1	GB-Ob 213
131	Facile est concludi multos	De celo victoria [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Friedrich II	EdM 16, no.1	Othmayr 1547
132	Factor orbis	Canite tuba [and many other chants quoted]	Obrecht, Jacob (1457/8-1505)	Cf is Advent antiphon, but it quotes many other Advent and Christmas chants. See especially Bloxam 1997 and Bloxam 1987, pp.353-66. Discussed in section 2.3.3.	NOE 15	I-Fn II.I.232 I-Rvat CS 42
133	Factum est verbum domini [I] / Ego vox clamantis [II]	Ego vox clamantis in deserto	Jacquet de Berchem (c1505-1567)	Ostinato cf.	CMM 3/4, 75	1542^10
134	Felici peccatrici / Exemplar desperatis / Marcilie apostola					D-Z 84,2
135	Festivitatem dedicationis huius sacro sancti templi	Festivitatem dedicationis. Benefundata est domus domini [T, I] / O quam metuendus [T, II]	Clibano, Jheronimus de (c1459-1503)	In each section, after the cantus firmus is finished, the tenor joins with the main text.	SCMot 3	1505^2

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
136	Florentia, Florentia, tempus est penitentie	Florentia, Florentia, convertere ad dominum deum tuum	Festa, Costanza (b c1485-90, d 1545)	Cf text/melody adapted from of Lamentation formula ('Florentia' instead of 'Jerusalem'). See Lowinsky 1950, pp.179-91. Print and northern sources are of a contrafactum, 'Jerusalem quae occidis / Agite poenitentiam', for Protestant usage.	CMM 25/5 MRM 5 Lowinsky 1957, pp.168-78	D-Rp A. R. 891-892 D-Rp A. R. 940-941 DK-Kk Gamle kong. Saml. 1872 DK-Kk Gamle kong. Saml. 1873 I-Rv S1 35-40 I-TVd 36 1537^1 1538^2 1539^4 1542^4 1559^1
137	Forma decens mores casti tum pectus	Alles in Ehrenn	Willaert?			DK-Kk Gamle kong. Saml. 1872
138	Fremuit spiritus Jesus	Lazare veni foras [S2]	Clemens non Papa, Jacobus (c1510-15 - 1555/6)		CMM 4/14	1554^2
139	Fremuit spiritus Jesus	Lazare veni foras [S2]	Lassus, Orlande de (1532[?]- 1594)	Composed after motet of Clemens non Papa of same text and cf. Text from Communion on Friday after 4th Sunday of Lent.	RRMR 114 Lassus 15	D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 20 Lassus 1556a
140	Fulgebunt justi	Christus vincit [from Laudes Regie] / Omnes sancti et sancte dei	Mouton, Jean (c1459-1522)	Cfs from Laudes Regiae and antiphon; motet text from antiphon/responsory.		I-VEaf 218

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
141	Fulgens iubar ecclesie / Puerpera pura parens	Virgo post partum	Du Fay, Guillaume (c1397-1474)	‘Purification of the BVM; perhaps written for the installation of Pierre de Ranchicourt as canon of Cambrai (1447). Acrostic in motetus: PETRUS DE CASTELLO CANTA; refers to Pierre du Castel, a witness at Pierre’s installation.’ (Planchart 2001)	CMM 1/1	I-MOe α .x.1.11 (121’)
142	Gabriel nuntiavit Marie	Ave Maria, gratia plena	Gombert, Nicolas (c1495- 1560), or Phinot?		CMM 6/10, no.91	1538 [^] 2
143	Gaude chorus supernorum civium	Laudemus deum nostrum	Maistre Jhan (c1485-1538)		SCMot 11, 179	1539 [^] 5
144	Gaude dei genitrix / Gaude virgo mater Christi / Gaude virgo Maria egregia					CZ-HKm II.A.6
145	Gaude et letare	Magnificabo nomem tuum in eternum [D2]	Morales, Cristóbal de (c1500-1553)	Cf psalm tone	MME 13, 192	1549 [^] 3
146	Gaude felix Anna / Gaude mater matris Christe	Anna parens	Dunstaple (c1390-1453)	‘To St Anne; verse of respond ‘Matronarum hec matrona’ from rhymed Office ‘Felix Anna’ in T’ (BentD 2001).	MB 8	I-MOe α .x.1.11 (129’)

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
147	Gaude felix Florentia [or Gaude felix ecclesia]	Virgo dei genitrix	De Silva, Andreas (b c1475-80)	Attributed to Festa by Llorens 1960, p.78. Seay (CMM 25/5) doubts the attribution to Festa. Attributed to De Silva in I-Rv, where the text is 'Gaude felix Florentia'. Rvat's motet is a 'textual parody' on the Florentine text (see Lowinsky 1950). Lowinsky suggests that the 'Gaude felix Florentia' was composed for the election of Leo X to the papacy, specifically the procession on March 18, 1513.	CMM 25/5	I-Rv S1 35-40 I-Rvat CS 38
148	Gaude flore virginali	O lux beata trinitas / Fragrat odor dulcis celi agmina laudes	Davy, Richard	Incomplete (first three sides lost). Cf Vespers hymn and portion of Matins respond <i>Virgo flagellatur</i> ; text RH 6809 and AH 31:198 (see WilliamsonE, 70). See Williamson 2010, 168-9, on the relationship of the text and cantus firmi.	MB 12 (3rd ed)	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E4)
149	Gaude Maria virgo	Esclave puist		4v tenor motet, with tenor by Binchois. Companion motet to Missa Esclave puist, also in Trent 88; See Snow 1969, pp.307-309. Snow dates the cycle 1435-1445. Discussed in section 2.2.3 and 2.4.3.1.	MRM 12, p.1149	I-TRbc 88.496

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
150	Gaude Maria virgo	Meditatio cordis	Cornago? See Gerber	4v tenor motet with introit tenor; possibly contrafact Kyrie. According to Snow, it is the companion motet to a Mass found in Strahov also with the tenor 'Meditatio cordis' (transcribed in Snow 1968); see Snow 1969, pp.309-310. Snow also suggests it dates around 1440-1455. Discussed in 2.2.3 and 2.4.3.1.	MRM 12, p.845	I-TRbc 88.416-17
151	Gaude martyr cum triumpho / Collaudemus venerantes		Forest (fl 1st half 15th cent)			I-MOe <i>α.x.1.11</i> (126')
152	Gaude pia Magdalena	O certe precipuus	Benet (d?1458)		EECM 8, no.18	GB-Ob Add. C 87
153	Gaude prole regia	Sancta Catherina, ora pro nobis	Compère, Loyset (c1445-1518)	On St. Catherine of Alexandria. Cf melody from litany of the saints.	CMM 15/3	I-Fn II.I.232
154	Gaude rosa sine spina	Passionem gloriose virginis	Fawkyner, (Richard)	Cf antiphon for St Katherine; text RH 27118. See Robertson 2006, 601-2, and WilliamsonE, 62.	MB 11	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E50)
155	Gaude virgo decus morum	Naraye jamais mieulx que jay		Mentioned Stephan 1937, pp.107-8. The same cantus firmus serves as the basis for Josquin's Missa Di Dadi; see Long 1989. Discussed in sections 2.3, 2.4.3.1, and 2.4.3.3.	Appendix	I-VEc 755 (104v-106)
156	Gaude virgo mater Cristi	Alma redemptoris mater	Sturton, (William)	See WilliamsonE, 57 and 69.	MB 10	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E10)
157	Gaude virgo salutata	Martinus abrahe sinu	Fawkyner, (Richard)	Cf antiphon for St Martin. See WilliamsonE, 62.	MB 11	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E49)

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
158	Gaude virgo salutata / Gaude virgo singularis / Virgo mater comprobaris	Ave gemma celi luminarium	Dunstaple (c1390-1453)	Cf is Marian sequence.	MB 8	I-MOe <i>α.x.1.11</i> (113')
159	Gloriosi principes	Petrus apostolus [T1, B]	Mouton or Erasmus Lapicida?	Both texts are antiphons for SS. Peter and Paul. Most voices paraphrase the antiphon melody; T1 probably is the closest to the original.	Shine 1 Smijers Att.8 MRM 5	I-Fl Acq. e doni 666 (attrib. Erasmus) 1534 ¹⁰ (attrib. Mouton) Mouton 1555
160	Gloriosum diem	Infra gloriosum	Menon, Tuttovale (fl. c1538-52)			I-TVd 5 I-TVd 29
161	Grecia que quondam virtute illustris	Trink wein so beschert dir Gott	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)			D-Rp A. R. 940-941
162	Grates nunc omnes	Gelobet seistu Jesu Christ [I] / Puer natus est nobis [II]	Rener, Adam (c1485-c1520)			D-D MS Grimma 59
163	Hac clara die turma festiva / Hac clara die turma mulierum	Nova efferens gaudia		Sequence cf. Discussed in section 2.2.2.	DTÖ 76	I-TRbc 92.1498
164	Helena desiderio plena orabat cum lachrimis	Helena desiderio [D2] / Fortuna desperata [T]	Senfl, Ludwig (c1486-c1543)	Antiphon motet text	Senfl 6	A-Wn Mus. Hs. 18810
165	Hodie deus homo factus [D,A] / Gaude visceribus mater intimis [T,B]			Liturgical melodies in S and T.	EdM 81, no.88	D-Mbs Mus. MS 3154 PL-Wu 2016
166	Homo cum in honore esset non intellexit	Nosce teipsum [A2]	Lassus, Orlande de (1532[?]- 1594)	Text quotes Ps 48:13. See Haar 1997.	RRMR 109 Lassus 15	Lassus 1566e
167	Hostia solemnis Eulalia virgo	Sancta Eulalia, ora pro nobis				E-Bbc 681

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
168	Huc me sydereo descendere jussit Olympo	Plangant eum	Josquin des Prez (b c 1450-55, d 1521)	Humanistic poem by Maffeo Veggio (early to mid-15th-cent poet) on the Passion, partly narrated by Christ. Cf antiphon for Lauds on Holy Saturday. In Br 9126, the earliest source, both tenor and sexta vox are not included. See Elders, 1971, and NJE for full source information.	NJE 21.5 Smijers Mot.2, 11	B-Br 9126 GB-Lcm 1070 I-Bc R142 I-Fn II.I.232 I-Rvat CS 45 NL-Lml 1440 1519^2 1526^3 1527
169	Huius sit memoria / Quem pastores laudavere / Natus est Emanuel					CZ-HKm II.A.6 CZ-HKm II.A.7
170	Humilium decus	Sancta Maria, succurre miseris [T1] / Cent mille escus [C1]	Obrecht, Jacob?	Cfs from antiphon and from the tenor of a song by Caron (see Gallagher 1998, p.282). Sanders 2001 and Wegman 1995 both mention the possibility of it being by Obrecht due to stylistic considerations. Also referenced in Stephan 1937, p.108. Discussed especially in section 3.3.2.	Appendix	I-Rvat CS 15 (anonymous)
171	Ihesu salvator seculi / Quo vulneratus scelere		Salinis, Humbertus de (fl 1403-9)	Passion motet	Cox PS CMM 11/7 Cumming	F-Sm 222 C. 22 GB-Ob 213 I-Bc Q15.213 I-Fsl 2211
172	Illibata dei virgo nutrix	La mi la [T]	Josquin des Prez (b c 1450-55, d 1521)	Text has an acrostic signature; cf is ostinato on 'La mi la' [Ma-ri-a]. Discussed in section 2.5.1.	NJE 24.3 Smijers Mot.1, 9	I-Rvat CS 15 1508^1
173	In deo laudabo sermones	In silentio et spe erit fortitudo vestra [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Martin Luther	EdM 16, no.11	Othmayr 1547

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
174	In domino oblectare	In manibus suis sortes meae [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Paul Lautensack	EdM 16, no.31	Othmayr 1547
175	In honore summe matris	Justi in perpetuum vivent	Davy, Richard	Cf Vespers respond for All Saints; text RH 28052. See WilliamsonE, 61.	MB 11 RCM 10	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E34)
176	In illo tempore postquam impleti sunt	Ave maris stella	Festa, Costanza (b c1485-90, d 1545)	Tenor hymn cf (LU 1259-60). Motet text is a sequence for the Purification (from Luke 2).	CMM 25/5	I-BGc 1209d I-Rvat CS 46 I-TVd 8
177	In illo tempore stetit Jesus	Et ecce terre motus	Josquin?	Text from Luke 24: 36-41; cf Easter antiphon.	Smijers Mot.3, 38 See also NJE [19.6]	CZ-HKm II.A.26 (a-b) D-B Sammlung Bohn Mus. Ms. 2 D-B Sammlung Bohn Mus. Ms. 5 D-Stuttg Ms. Musica Folio I 25 DK-Kk Gamle kong. Saml. 1872 DK-Kk Gamle kong. Saml. 1873 I-Bc R142 (cf only) 1538^3 1559^1
178	In omni vita res mediocres	Modica firma [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Matthias Michael	EdM 16, no.26	Othmayr 1547
179	In te domine speravi	Divitias et paupertates	Verdelot, Philippe (b c 1480-5, d ?1530-2, before 1552)	Text from Psalm 30:2-6.	CMM 28/2 Slim Smijers Att.2, 28-34.	I-Bc Q27 I-Rv S1 35-40 US-Cn Case MS VM1578.M91 1538^2 1539^4 1542^4 1554^11

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
180	Inclina cor meum domine	Vias tuas, domine, demonstra mihi et semitas tuas edoce me [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Johann Baptist Tettelbach	EdM 16, no.16	Othmayr 1547
181	Inclite dux, salve victor	In Verona Agrippina et in Troja	Willaert, Adrian (c1490-1562)		CMM 3/3	I-Pc A17 Willaert 1539c / 1550a
182	Inclite sancte virginis Catharine	Veni sponsa Christi [S3]	Festa, Costanza (b c1485-90, d 1545)?		CMM 25/3	I-Rvat CS 20
183	Inclite Sfortiadum princeps	Vivat dux Franciscus	Willaert, Adrian (c1490-1562)		CMM 3/3	Willaert 1539c / 1550a
184	Incomprehensibilia firme	Preter rerum ordinem	Busnoys?	See Wegman 1999 and Dean 2004. Another translation in liner notes to 'The Marriage of England and Burgundy', Binchois Consort, 2000. Discussed especially in section 2.3.1.	Dean 2004	I-VEc 755
185	Infelix ego	Miserere mei deus	Willaert, Adrian (c1490-1562)			D-D MS Löbau 12 D-W 293 GB-Eu 64 I-MOe C.314 I-Rp 893 I-TVd 30 [1556]^9

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
186	Infirmittatem nostram	[Fors seulement, Q]	Verdelot, Philippe (b c 1480-5, d ?1530-2, before 1552)	<i>Quinta pars</i> begins mid-text with incipit 'quesumus domine-forseulement', using the chanson melody.	CMM 28/2 Smijers Att.4	I-Bc Q27 I-MOd Mus. Ms. 4 I-Rv S1 35-40 NL-L 1441 1534^6 1538^3 1559^1
187	Inter preclarissimas virtutes	Estote fortes in bello	Obrecht, Jacob (1457/8-1505)	Cf antiphon for the Common of Apostles and Evangelists. See NOE for full list of references in the literature. Discussed in section 2.3.3.	NOE 15	E-SE Ms. s.s. (78v-81)
188	Inter tot vite pericula	Presidium in innocentia [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Hieronymus Rindlauf	EdM 16, no.27	Othmayr 1547
189	Intuamur enixam virgunculam / Hanc eya Mariam tu euterpe					CZ-HKm II.A.7
190	Inviolata integra et casta es Maria / Alma redemptoris mater / Regina celi letare / Ave regina celorum		Maillard, Jean (fl. c1538-70)		RRMR 73	E-TZ 8 Maillard 1555 1565^3
191	Inviolata integra et casta es Maria [D] / Regina celi letare alleluia [T,C,B]					I-VEc 758
192	Inviolata, integra, et casta es	Comme femme	Ghiselin, Johannes (fl 1491-1507)	Discantus paraphrases Inviolata chant, tenor cites Comme femme chanson. See Rothenberg 2004.	CMM 23/1	1505^2
193	Inviolata, integra, et casta es	O Maria, flos virginum	Josquin?	12v	Smijers Suppl., no.10 Dania sonans 5 See also NJE [24.5]	D-Kl MS 4° Mus. 38 DK-Kk Gamle kong. Saml. 1872

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
194	Ipse est qui me dignum fecit	Credo, quod redemptor meus vivit [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Sebastian Stiebar	EdM 16, no.20	Othmayr 1547
195	Israel es tu rex Davidis	Cetus in excelsis	Morales, Cristóbal de (c1500-1553)			E-Tc Ms. 22
196	Ista est speciosa	Christum regem		Antiphon text with Invitatory cf. Discussed in section 3.2.3.	EdM 80	D-Mbs Mus. MS 3154
197	Jesu corona virginum	Ein freschen puelen muss ich haben		Latin text in top voice and tenor, German text in altus as a cantus firmus, bassus untexted	EdM 81, no.87	D-Mbs Mus. MS 3154
198	Jesu Nazarene	Vexilla regis [A1]	Festa, Costanza (b c1485-90, d 1545)	Cf is the first strophe of the hymn (LU 575-6)	CMM 25/3	I-Rvat CS 20
199	Jesus Christus nostra salus / Hoc donum suavitatis					D-Z 84,2
200	Jubilate deo omnis terra	Gaudeamus [T]	Morales, Cristóbal de (c1500-1553)	Cf just has the opening phrase on 'Gaudeamus'.	MME 13, 184	1542 ^{^5} 1547 ^{^25} 1549 ^{^3}
201	Jubilate deo omnis terra	Si deus nobiscum, quis contra nos? [T2]	Lassus, Orlande de (1532[?]-1594)	unknown Nativity hymn or sequence? See Haar 1997.	RRMR 105 Lassus 17	Lassus 1565a
202	Languente miseris	Clamor meus ad te [T]	Brumel, Antoine (c1460-?1512/3)	Sub-titled 'Lamentatio Brumel'; incipits only. Discussed in section 2.5.1.	CMM 5/5, 43	A-Wn Cod. 18746

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
203	Lauda Sion salvatorem	Ego sum panis	Regis, Johannes (c1425-c1496)	Tenor is compiled of beginning of an antiphon and the gospel and alleluia verse, all for Corpus Christi. Main text is the Corpus Christi sequence. Discussed in section 2.3.2.	CMM 9/2 Winkler 1999	I-Rvat Chigi C.VIII.234 (273v-276)
204	Laudate pueri dominum	Corde et animo	Vinders, Jheronimus (fl. 1525-6)		SCMot 18	CZ-HKm II.A.26 (a-b) 1544^20 1545^3 1546^5 1557^3
205	Laudemus dominum quem laudant angeli	Conserva tuos famulos [S1] / Omnes sancti et sancte dei, orate pro nobis [S2]	Dorle	See Heartz 1969, p. 244.		1529^1
206	Laudemus fortissimum Christi	Qui vult venire	Maistre Jhan (c1485-1538)			I-TVd 36
207	Laudemus nunc dominum	Non est hic aliud [and two others in same voice]	Obrecht, Jacob (1457/8-1505)	Composite cf of three antiphons from Matins of Dedication of a Church. Main text includes fragments from the same Office and biblical texts. Full list of literature references in NOE 15. Discussed in section 2.3.3.	NOE 15, no.35	I-Rvat CS 421508^1
208	Laudemus puerum quem laudant angeli	Pater invocavit eum	Larchier, Jean (fl ?1543-1555)		SCMot 16	1553^15
209	Laudes magnificas / Hec genuit Mariam / Ergo age diva potens					D-Z 84,2

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
210	Lectio actuum apostolorum	Dum complerentur dies Pentecostes	Josquin?	Cf antiphon for Whit Sunday, triple cursus, with second cursus up a fifth. Motet text is a reading, potentially with a hint of the epistle tone in superius.	Smijers Mot.2 See also NJE [19.12]	D-Mu 4o Art.401 I-Rvat CS 42 PL-Kj Berlin Mus. Ms. 40272 1519^3 1520^4 1526^4
211	Letamini in domino	Ecce quam bonum [T,Q]	Verdelot, Philippe (b c 1480-5, d ?1530-2, before 1552)	Cf canon.	CMM 28/2	I-Rv S1 35-40
212	Letare sancta mater ecclesia	Augustine lux doctorum	Willaert, Adrian (c1490-1562)	Cf hymn for St. Augustine	CMM 3/3	Willaert 1539c / 1550a
213	Letetur plebs fidelis / Pastor qui revelavit		Zacharie, Nicolaus (fl from 1420, d 1466)		CMM 11/6	GB-Ob 213
214	Libera me domine	Respice finem [T2]	Lassus, Orlande de (1532[?]-1594)	Motet text is a responsory from the Requiem liturgy. Cf is not biblical or liturgical, but possibly a Latin translation of an Aesop fable? See Haar 1997.	RRMR 110 Lassus 15	Lassus 1568a
215	Lux fulget ex Anglia / O pater pietatis	Salve Thoma	Benet (d?1458)	On St. Thomas; see Trowell 1982.	Trowell 1982	I-MOe α.x.1.11 (135')
216	Lux solemnitis adest	Repleti sunt omnes	Regis, Johannes (c1425-c1496)	Discussed in section 2.3.2.	CMM 9/2 Winkler 1999	I-Rvat Chigi C.VIII.234 (257v-261) 1508^1
217	Magna semper erumnarum acies	Nulla calamitas sola [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Balthasar Vischer	EDM xvi, 23	Othmayr 1547

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
218	Magnanime gentis laudes / Nexus amicitie	Hec est vera fraternitas	Du Fay, Guillaume (c1397-1474)	Cf responsory. For a 'Peace treaty between Louis of Savoy and Philippe, Count of Geneva (1438)' (Planchart 2001).	CMM 1/1	I-MOe <i>α.x.1.11</i> (63')
219	Magne decus potencie / Genus regale esperie		Brassart (b c1400-5, d before1455)	Possibly for Pope Martin V	CMM 35/2Cox	I-Bc Q15.252
220	Maria mater gratie	Fors seulement [B2]	la Rue?	Conjecturally attributed to La Rue in PickerC after Van Maldeghem, xix. Cf the T of Ockeghem's chanson.	PickerC Maniates 1965, 262	A-Wn Cod. 18746 B-Br 228
221	Maria virgo prescripta	Angeli archangeli [S2] / Salve sancta parens [T]	Festa, Costanza (b c1485-90, d 1545)	3 of 5 voices survive in St Gall source; complete in 1520 ² . Angeli archangeli is an antiphon. The second cantus firmus line (beginning Salve sancta parens) is a collection of introit openings.	MRM 8	CH-SGs 463 1520 ²
222	Martir felix / Instat vere precibus					D-Z 84,2
223	Mater digna dei	Ave sanctissima Maria	Senfl, Ludwig (c1486-c1543)	Motet text BVM antiphon; cf is a common trope for Marian offices.	Senfl 11	D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 12
224	Mater patris	Sancta dei genitrix	Obrecht, Jacob (1457/8-1505)	Motet text is a hymn; tenor cf unknown. All extant voices (quintus missing) end with text from Memento rerum conditor hymn. Discussed in section 2.3.3.	NOE 15, no.41	1508 ¹
225	[Mater sancta dei?] / Mater munda pro renatis	Mater sancta dei		Top voice missing. Tenor has only 'Mater sancta dei'. Reconstructed in edition.	CMM 46/1	GB-Lbl Add. 57950, no. 144

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
226	Media vita in morte	In mitten unsers lebens [D2, T]	Senfl, Ludwig (c1486-c1543)	Antiphon text. <i>Secunda pars</i> : Sancte Deus / Heiliger herre Got, heiliger starcker Got...		D-D Ms Grimma 56 D-LEu Thomaskirche 49/50 D-Mbs Mus.ms.19
227	Mein himmlischer Vater	In manus tuas	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)		EdM 26	Othmayr 1546
228	Memorare mater Christi	[Nunca fué pena mayor]	Pipelare, Mattheus (c1450-c1515)	Modelled on Josquin's Stabat mater. For the feast of the Seven Sorrows of the BVM, with cf from the T of Urreda's song.	CMM 34/1	B-Br 215-216
229	Metaphisice salut vatumque / In tempesto adiit / Ordo nature siluit					CZ-HKm II.A.7 CZ-UO A 3
230	Mille quingentis	Requiem eternam	Obrecht, Jacob (1457/8-1505)	Commemoration of Obrecht's father, with cf introit from the Requiem Mass. See NOE 16 for full list of references from the literature. Discussed in section 2.3.3.	NOE 16, no.23	E-SE Ms. s.s. I-Fc Basevi 2439
231	Misereatur mei, omnipotens deus	Miserere mei deus	Richafort, Jean (c1480-c1550)	Cf follows the motive from Josquin's <i>Miserere mei, Deus</i> .	CMM 81/2	I-Rv S1 35-40 1532^9
232	Miserere mei, domine	Da pacem	Lheritier, Jean (c1480-after 1551)	Tenor in canon. Discussed in section 2.5.3.	CMM 48/1	I-Rv S1 35-40
233	Miserere, domine, miserere pie	In patientia vestra	Ghiselin, Johannes (fl 1491-1507)	3v. Cf melody partially in tenor, fully in bass, after which the two lower voices join in the 'Miserere' text.	CMM 23/1	1505^2
234	Misit me pater vivens	Ecce panis angelorum	Clemens non Papa, Jacobus (c1510-15 - 1555/6)		CMM 4/19	D-Aast 2 Clemens 1559c

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
235	Missus est angelus Gabriel	A une dame j'ay fait veu [A]	Mouton, Josquin or neither?	Cf from the T of Busnoys' chanson; motet text from Luke I: 26-38. See Braas 1991 on attribution.	Smijers Mot.2 MRM iv Shine 2 See also NJE [20.6]	CZ-HKm II.A.30 D-Mu 4o Art.401 I-Fl Acq. e doni 666 I-Rvat MS Capp. Giulia XII.4 I-Rvat CS 19 1519 ³ 1520 ⁴ 1559 ¹
236	Missus est Gabriel angelus	Vera fides geniti [T1]	Mouton, Jean (c1459-1522)	Cf hymn; motet text from Luke I: 26- 38.	Shine 2	I-Rvat CS 42
237	Missus est Gabriel angelus / Missus est Gabriel angelus		Rubeus (c1393- 1449)	The motet texts 'blend the texts of two responsories [...], both prescribed for the Annunciation and for Advent: "Missus est Gabriel angelus" and "Suscipe verbum virgo Maria"' (Bent 2008).	CMM 11/5	I-Bc Q15.200
238	Moribus et genere / Virgo virga virens	Virgo est electus a domino	Du Fay, Guillaume (c1397-1474)	'St John the Evangelist; possibly for John of Burgundy's visit to Cambrai, June–Aug 1442' (Planchart 2001)	CMM 1/1	I-MOe α.x.1.11 (74')
239	Moriens lux amantissima	Tibi soli peccavi [T1]	Mouton, Jean (c1459-1522)	Cf antiphon. See Crawford 1994, pp.149-50.	Shine 2, 540	<i>A-Wn Mus. Hs. 4704</i> <i>CZ-HKm II.A.30</i> <i>I-BGc 1209d, no. 28</i> <i>I-Pc A17</i> <i>I-Rvat C.G.XII.4</i> <i>I-Rvat CS 19</i> 1520 ⁴ 1526 ⁴ [c. 1530] ¹ 1559 ¹

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
240	Multe tribulationes justorum	In patientia vestra [T2]	Lassus, Orlande de (1532[?]- 1594)	Introit for SS John and Paul, martyrs; antiphon for Common of Apostles and Evangelists	Lassus 15	Lassus 1577e
241	Mundi Christo redemptori	Gaudent in celis [6]	Maistre Jhan (c1485-1538)	For the meeting of Pope Clement VII and Emperor Charles V in 1529; see Lowinsky 1950, pp.182-3.		I-Fn Magl. XIX.125bisI- Rv S1 35-40
242	Murus tuus dilecta nostra	Benedicta tu in mulieribus [Q]	Jacquet of Mantua (1483- 1559)		SCMotet 13, 270	1539^3
243	Nativitas unde gaudia	Nativitas tua, dei genitrix [S]	Brumel, Antoine (c1460-?1512/3)	Cf sequence in long notes (see RH 801, AH VII: 111-2). Motet text is modelled after the Mag antiphon for 2nd vespers of the BVM Nativity (LU 1627), which has a similar melody to the cf. Discussed in section 1.2.3.	CMM 5/5	1505^2
244	Nato canunt omnia	Joseph fili David	Brumel, Antoine (c1460-?1512/3)	Compilation of various Christmas texts; see CMM notes. Cf antiphon (LU 1439).	CMM 5/5	I-Rvat CS 46 (36v-42r)
245	Nigra sum sed formosa	Circumdederunt me	Lheritier, Jean (c1480-after 1551)		CMM 48/1	1534^10
246	Nil intentatum virtus animosa relinquit	Was schad versuchen?	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Caspar Heller	EdM 16, no.33	Othmayr 1547
247	Nil maius super vident	Henricus dei gratia Anglie rex	[Verdelot?]			US-Cn MS VM1578.M91
248	Nisi nos conversi fuerimus	Viri Gallilei				D-Rtt Freie Künste Musik 76 Abth. II
249	Noli timere quia ego redemi te	Sive vivimus, sive morimur,	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Jacob Stratner	EdM 16, no.17	Othmayr 1547

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
		Domini sumus [T]				
250	Non metuam, ne quid noceat mihi	Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos? [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Philipp Melanchthon	EdM 16, no.12	Othmayr 1547
251	Non somnos requiem tranquille gaudie	Mein Tag mit Unruhe	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Heinrich v. Braunschweig	EdM 16, no.35	DK-Kk Gamle kong. Saml. 1872 Othmayr 1547
252	Nunc angelorum gloria / Culpe datur hodie					D-Z 84,2
253	Nunc festum celebremus / Unica costi nata					D-Z 84,2
254	Nuper rosarum flores	Terribilis est locus iste	Du Fay, Guillaume (c1397-1474)	'Dedication of S Maria del Fiore, Florence, by Eugenius IV, 24 March 1436' (Planchart 2001). Discussed in section 2.2.2.	CMM 1/1	I-MOe <i>α.x.1.11</i> (67') I-TRbc 92.1381
255	O admirabile commercium	Verbum caro factum est	Regis, Johannes (c1425-c1496)	Cf responsory, though melody unknown. Motet text is composite from an antiphon for the Circumcision, the introit for the Nativity (Puer natus est nobis), and various Christmas fragments, and the voices have brief quotations of their melodies. Discussed in section 2.3.2.	CMM 9/2, no.5Winkler 1999	I-Rvat Chigi C.VIII.234 (269v-273)NL-L 1439
256	O altitudo divitiarum	Da pacem [T]	Festa, Costanza (b c1485-90, d 1545)?	Cf antiphon (LU 1867-8). Attributed to Festa in Llorens 1960; Seay (CMM) doubts its attribution. Discussed in section 2.5.3.	CMM 25/5	I-Rvat CS 38

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
257	O bone et dulcis domine Jesu	Pater noster [T] / Ave Maria [B]	Josquin des Prez (b c 1450-55, d 1521)		NJE 21.8 Smijers Mot.1	I-CT 95-6/F-Pn n.a.f. 1817 I-Fn II.I.232 I-Fn Magl. XIX.164-167 I-VEc 758 1504^1 1507^6
258	O clarum decus o splendor	Beati pacifici	Maistre Jhan (c1485-1538)			I-TVd 36
259	O decus innocentie	Ave regina celorum [tenor of Frye's motet]		Cf from T of Walter Frye's song. Superius has 'O decus innocentie' underlaid, altus, tenor, and bassus with 'Ave regina celorum' incipits.	SCMot 2 Maniates 1965, 375	1504^1
260	O Domine celi terreque	?Symon dormis	Davy, Richard	Cf is probably the antiphon for Wednesday of Holy Week; text RH 30402. See Hocking 1995, 7 and WilliamsonE, 60.	MB 11	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E30) GB-Cu MS Dd. 13.27 / Cjc MS 234 GB-Lbl Add. 70516
261	O felix flos Florentia / Gaude, felix Dominice		Civitate, Antonius de (fl1392-1421)	In honour of the city of Florence and Leonardo Dati, newly elected Master General of the Dominicans.	Cox CMM 11/5	I-Bc Q15.208
262	O flos in divo / Sacris pignoribus		Loqueville, Richard (d1418)	On St. Yvo	Cox CMM 11/3	I-Bc Q15.253
263	O gemma, lux et speculum / Sacer pastor Barensium	[Beatus Nicolaus adhuc]	Du Fay, Guillaume (c1397-1474)	On St. Nicholas of Bari	Cox CMM 1/1	GB-Ob 213 I-Bc Q15.263
264	O gloriosa domina excelsa supra sidera [I] / Maria mater gratie [II]	Maria mater gratie	Willaert, Adrian (c1490-1562)	Cf canon at the fifth. In the <i>secunda pars</i> : all voices begin with the same text (tenor repeats from the beginning) on 'Maria mater gratie'.	CMM 3/4	I-MOd MS. Mus. 9 I-Rv S1 35-40 I-TVd 29 1542^10

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
265	O Jesu pie nos isto pane dignos	Miserator dominus escam dedit [T]	Finck, Heinrich (1444/5-1527)	In D-B 40021, 'O Jesu pie' in discantus, 'Miserator dominus' in tenor (from Psalm 110:4,5, sung to a tone). In CZ-HKm, 'Miserator dominus' in discantus, other voices textless. See also Hoffmann-Erbrecht 1982, pp.132-5, who suggests this motet (?) is from 1495/7.	EdM 77, no.66 Notes in EdM 78, p.333	CZ-HKm II.A.7D-B Mus. Ms. 40021
266	O Jesu vivens hostia	Ave caro Christi				CZ-Pnm X A 6
267	O lux et decus Hispanie	O Jacobe	Jacquet de Berchem (c1505-1567)			1539^7
268	O lux et decus Hispanie	Sancte Jacobe, ora pro nobis	Bultel, J. (Buetel?)			1554^2 1555^3
269	O lux et decus Hyspanie	O beate Jacobe	Festa, Costanza (b c1485-90, d 1545)	On St. James of Compostella, though no liturgical origins have been found (see CMM). Double cursus tenor acts like cf and looks like chant.	CMM 25/3	I-Rvat CS 20
270	O Maria et Elizabeth	Regnum mundi	Banaster, Gilbert	Cf Matins respond; text RH 30623. See WilliamsonE, 61, for further references.	MB 11	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E35) GB-Onc Ω.14.5 / Onc C.1.2 / Oas 330 / CRr ZCX/1
271	O Maria mater pia / Porta celi nymphareli					CZ-UO A 3
272	O Maria piisima	Nativitas unde gaudia [6]	Mouton, Jean (c1459-1522)	Cf antiphon	Shine 2	Mouton 1555
273	O Maria plena gratia	O sacrum convivium	Lambe, Walter	Cf Corpus Christi antiphon; text RH 30649. See WilliamsonE, 54, on the texts and their parallels.	MB 10	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E3) GB-Llp MS 1 GB-Onc Ω.14.5 / Onc C.1.2 / Oas 330 / CRr ZCX/1

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
274	O Maria salvatoris mater	Venit dilectus meus	Browne, John	Cf Assumption antiphon; text RH 30658. Hocking 1995, 66-78, discusses how the music highlights parallels between the cf and motet texts. See also WilliamsonE, 54.	MB 10 PMMS 1	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E1)
275	O Maria virgo davitica / O Maria maris stella	Veritatem		Upper-voice texts taken from 13th-cent motet.	Cox PlamenacP	D-Mbs Clm. 14274 I-Bc Q15.227 I-Pu 1106
276	O mortalis homo, qui moventur / O pastores quibus committuntur / O vos multi quibus honor datur		Lebertoul, Franchois (fl 1409-?1428)		CMM 11/2	GB-Ob 213
277	O pater eterne(=O admirabile)	O rosa bella		4v tenor motet, with tenor from the song by Dunstaple or Bedingham. This motet is partner to the Missa O rosa bella, found in CZ-Ps, Tr 89, and Modena Ms. 456. Snow suggests that it dates from c. 1440-1455; see Snow 1969. Discussed in sections 2.4.3.1 and 2.4.3.2.	Snow 1969	CZ-Ps Ms. D.G.IV.47 I-Mfd Librone 1
278	O peccator si filium dei	Audi nos nam te	Lassus, Orlande de (1532[?]- 1594)	Devotional Marian text; cf is a 'short supplementary prayer'. See Haar 1997.	RRMR 148 Lassus 13	Lassus 1604a
279	O pia virgo Fides / Sancta Fides, persolvamus	Fides nomine et opere vocor			AllsenF Allsen 1992	I-MOe α.x.1.11
280	O plebs que deum amas	Requiem		For Nikolaus Leopold?	Maniates 1965, 315 EdM 80, no.3	D-Mbs Mus. MS 3154

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
281	O preciosissime sanguis	Guberna tuos famulos	Obrecht, Jacob (1457/8-1505)	Cf from hymns <i>Christe qui lux es</i> and <i>Te Deum laudamus</i> . Incomplete (quintus missing). Discussed in section 2.3.3.	NOE 16, no.28	1508 [^] 1
282	O proles / O sidus		Du Fay, Guillaume (c1397-1474)	for St. Anthony of Padua. Discussed in sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3.	CMM 1/1	I-MOe α .x.1.11 (60') I-TRbc 87.88 I-TRbc 88.347
283	O pulcherrima mulierum, surge amica mea	Girum celi circuivi	Busnoys?	See Gallagher 2009. Discussed especially in section 3.2.2.	Gallagher 2009	I-Rvat CS 15
284	O pulcherrima mulierum, vulnerasti cor meum	Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis	Arcadelt (?1507-1568)		CMM 31/10	I-Rv S1 35-40 1539 [^] 5
285	O quam glorifica luce	[Qui mihi ministrat?, T]		Text is a paraphrase of the hymn 'Quam glorifica luce'; cf seems to be a 1st mode antiphon (EdM suggests 'Qui mihi ministrat' as a possibility).	EdM 77, no.65 Notes in EdM 78 p.333	D-B 40021
286	O regina celestis glorie	Hodie in jordane / Magi videntes stellam	Lambe, Walter	Cfs Matins respond and Vespers antiphon, both for Epiphany and both with text incipits. Text RH 30960. See Williamson 2010, 165-7.	MB 12 (3rd ed)	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E6)
287	O regina mundi clara	[Pange lingua gloriosi]	Browne, John	Cf melody of hymn for Passion Sunday or Corpus Christi. Text, RH 30962, is related to Scala celi indulgence, perhaps with royal connections; see WilliamsonE, 56.	MB 10	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E9)
288	O rex Fridrice	In tuo adventu	Brassart (b c1400-5, d before1455)	For the accession (1440) or coronation (1442) of Friedrich III	CMM 35/2	I-AO 15
289	O sacrum convivium	Qui pacem ponit			SCMot 2 Maniates 1965, 381	1504 [^] 1

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
290	O sacrum manna mostrans	Ecce panis angelorum		Cf from hymn 'Lauda syon' for Corpus Christi. Discussed in section 2.2.3.	DTÖ 76	I-TRbc 89
291	O sancte Sebastiane / O martyr Sebastiane / O quam mira refulsit gratia		Du Fay, Guillaume (c1397-1474)	St. Sebastian. Mentioned in section 1.2.5.	Cox CMM 1/1	GB-Ob 213 I-Bc Q15.211
292	O sanctissime presul	O Christi pietas [T]		Responsory text, Antiphon cf. Tenor 'O Christi' comes in at the word 'Christi' in other voices.	DTÖ 76 Strohm 1985	I-TRbc 92.1506
293	O spem non similem [=Regina clementissima]	Te patriarcharum laudabilis numerus [=Mater sanctissima virgo, Q,6]	Lupus (fl 1518- 30)	'probably performed at the entry of Marino Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia, in 1524... [T]he motet appears (anonymously) with the text Regina clementissima in I-Pc A17, dated 1522, suggesting that the text mentioning Marino Grimani is a contrafactum, though neither text fits the music particularly well' (Blackburn 2001). Cf ostinato canon.		I-Pc A17 I-Rv S1 35-40
294	O tres piteulx	Omnes amici	Du Fay, Guillaume (c1397-1474)	'lament on the fall of Constantinople; between 1454 and 1457; motet-like texture with cantus firmus' (Planchart 2001). Discussed in section 2.4.2.1.	CMM 1/6 Pope	I-Fr 2794 I-MC 871
295	O virgo prudentissima	Angelus autem Domini	Wylkynson, Robert	Cf Easter antiphon; text RH 13910. See WilliamsonE 57; Hocking 1995, 133-4; and Williamson 2010, 164-5.	MB 12 (3rd ed)	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E11)

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
296	O virgo prudentissima	Beata mater et innupta virgo [T,A]	Josquin des Prez (b c 1450-55, d 1521)	Poem by Poliziano; cf antiphon in canon. See Brown 1991. Discussed especially in section 3.2.4.	NJE 24.10 Smijers Mot.3	D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 1536 D-Mu 4o Art.401 I-Rvat CS 24 NL-L 1439 1520 ⁴ 1538 ³ 1558 ⁴
297	O virum omnimoda / O lux et decus / O beate Nichole		Ciconia, Johannes (c1370-1412)	Possibly composed in Rome in 1393–4 for St Nicholas of Trani (Di Bacco 1994). Two upper voices and non-chant tenor are texted; ct problematic.	PMFC 24ClercxCox	I-Bc Q15.254I-Bu 2216I-Sc L.V.36
298	O vos omnes	Non est dolor sicut dolor meus	Menon, Tuttovale (fl. c1538-52)	Ostinato tenor motet		D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 274a
299	Octaviano imperatore / Clamet cantet domino			see Kozachek 1998, p. 203 for additional sources	Cerny	CZ-HKm II.A.6 CZ-HKm II.A.7
300	Odas clangat / Yesse produxit			Incipits only: ‘Odas clangat’ in top two voices, ‘Yesse produxit’ in tenor and contra. Discussed especially in section 2.2.3.	Appendix	I-TRbc 89
301	Omnis nunc microcosmus / Omnis mundus iocundetur			See Kozachek 1998, p. 199 for additional sources.		CZ-HKm II.A.6 CZ-HKm II.A.7
302	Omnis pulchritudo domini	Elevatis manibus	De Silva, Andreas (b c1475-80)		CMM 49/2 MRM 5	I-Bc Q27 I-Fl Acq. e doni 666 I-Rvat CS 24
303	Omnium bonorum plena	De tous biens plaine	Compère, Loyset (c1445-1518)	Discussed especially in section 3.3.1.	CMM 15/4 DTÖ 14/15	I-Rvat San Pietro MS. B 80 I-TRbc 91 (33v-35)

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
304	Optime divino date (‘Optime pastor’)	Da pacem / Sacerdos et pontifex	Isaac, Henricus (c1450-1517)	6 parts with two alternately texted tenors in the middle. Both cfs are antiphons. Discussed especially in section 2.5.3.	CW 120	1520 ⁴ 1538 ³
305	Osculetur me	Surge	Barbireau, Jacobus (1455- 1491)	Osculetur is from Song, 1:1-2, 2:1-2, 6-9. Tenor incipit ‘Surge’ occurs at the beginning of the <i>secunda pars</i> , suggesting previous bitextuality? (cf Song 2:10 or 2:13)	CMM 7/2	B-Br 9126
306	Panis eius typicalem / Pange exul typicalem / Panis ecce angelorum / Patribus veteribus / Tantum ergo sacramentum		Wilhelmi de Grudencz, Petrus (c1400- c1480)	Acrostic piece (PETRUS), for Corpus Christi. See Kozachek 1998, 99.		CZ-HKm II.A.6 CZ-HKm II.A.7 CZ-UO A 3
307	Paraneuma eructemus / Hominem quem tu fecisiti / Pomi morsum queritans / Sed paratus sum		Wilhelmi de Grudencz, Petrus (c1400- c1480)	Acrostic piece (PETRUS); see Kozachek 1998, 101.		CZ-HKm II.A.6 CZ-HKm II.A.7 CZ-Pu MS VI B 24
308	Pastoribus miranda res / Huic omnes infantalo / Magi de Saba veniunt					D-Z 84,2
309	Pater noster	Ave Maria, gratia plena	Festa, Costanza (b c1485-90, d 1545)		CMM 25/4	I-Rvat CS 20
310	Patienter anima mea expectat	Zu Gott steht mein Vertrauen [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Mainrad von Walbrunn	EdM 16, no.19	Othmayr 1547

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
311	Pax eterna templo regis / Jacob scalam quam cernebat / Terribilis est locus iste		Wilhelmi de Grudencz, Petrus (c1400- c1480)	Acrostic piece (PETRUS); see Kozachek 1998, 99. Jacob scalam is 'reminiscent' to the antiphon, 'Vidit Jacob scalam'. 'Terribilis est' begins with text from the responsory. For the dedication of a church.		CZ-HKm II.A.6 CZ-HKm II.A.7
312	Peccantem me quotidie	Miserere mei deus [T]	Jacquet de Berchem (c1505-1567)	Cf ostinato on 'Miserere mei Deus', which phrase occurs towards the end in the motet text.	CMM 3/4, 109	1542^10
313	Peccavi supra numerum	Tibi soli peccavi	Willaert, Adrian (c1490-1562)		CMM 3/3	I-Bc Q27 I-Rv S1 35-40 Willaert 1539c / 1550a
314	Perpulchra Sion filia	[Pulchra es et decora]		Both text and cantus firmus unidentified by Cumming 1999, pp. 259, 265. Cf identified as 'Pulchra es et decora' on www.trentinocultura.net . Discussed in section 2.2.3.	Appendix	I-TRbc 89.615
315	Petrum Marcello Venetum / O Petre antistes inclite		Ciconia, Johannes (c1370-1412)	'perhaps for installation of Pietro Marcello as Bishop of Padua, 16 November 1409' (Di Bacco 2001).	PMFC 24 Clercx Cox	I-Bc Q15.245
316	Pie pater Dominice / O Petre martir inclite / O Thoma lux ecclesie		Civitate, Antonius de (fl1392-1421)	On three Dominican saints	Cox CMM 11/5	I-Bc Q15.242
317	Plangite pierides	Cecidit corona	Appenzeller, Benedictus (b c1480-8, d after 1558)	Cecidit corona from Lamentations; Plangite is a lament on the death of Erasmus, 1536.	SCMotet 11, 145	1538^2 1539^4 1542^4
318	Plasmatoris humani generis / Verbigine mater ecclesia		Grenon, Nicholas (c1375-1456)	Easter	Cox CMM 11/7	I-Bc Q15.223

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
319	Pneuma eucaristiarum / Veni vere illustrator / Dator eya gracıarum / Paraclito tripudia		Wilhelmi de Grudencz, Petrus (c1400- c1480)	Acrostic piece (PETRUS)		CZ-HKm II.A.6 CZ-HKm II.A.7
320	Preco prehemencie / Precursor premittitur	Inter natos mulierum [T]	Dunstaple (c1390-1453)	Cf antiphon for Nativity of St John the Baptist. Discussed in section 2.2.2.	DTÖ 76MB 8	GB-CA Add. Ms. 128I- MOe <i>α</i> .x.1.11 (127')I- TRbc 92-2.1538
321	Preconia e troclita / Ad cuius nos gaudium		Wilhelmi de Grudencz, Petrus (c1400- c1480)			CZ-CH 12580 CZ-HKm II.A.6 CZ-HKm II.A.7
322	Presulem ephebeatum / Salvatoris pisticus / Hiis denegans / Atque nimis		Wilhelmi de Grudencz, Petrus (c1400- c1480)	Acrostic piece (PETRUS). For St. Martin; see Kozachek 1998, 100-1.		CZ-HKm II.A.6 CZ-HKm II.A.7 D-Mbs Clm. 14274
323	Probitate eminentem / Ploditando exarare		Wilhelmi de Grudencz, Petrus (c1400- c1480)	Acrostic piece (PETRUS). See Strohm 1993, pp.502-3.		PL-Kj Berlin Mus. Ms. 40098 PL-Pu 7022
324	Probleumata enigmata / Stirps Jesse / Preciosus forma		Wilhelmi de Grudencz, Petrus (c1400- c1480)	Acrostic piece (PETRUS)		CZ-CH 12580 CZ-HKm II.A.6 CZ-HKm II.A.7 CZ-UO A 3 D-Z 84,2
325	Procedentem sponsum / Prophetavit					CZ-UO A 3
326	Psallat chorus in novo carmine / Eximie pater et regie		Salinis, Humbertus de (fl 1403-9)		Cox CMM 11/7	I-Bc Q15.247 I-Fsl 2211
327	Puer natus est nobis	Conditor alme siderum	Coste, Gabriel (fl. 1538-43)		SCMot 12, p.167	1542 ^Λ 5

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
328	Puer natus est nobis	Verbum caro factum est [T]	De Silva, Andreas (b c1475-80)	Main text is a compilation of the beginning of the introit <i>Puer natus est nobis</i> , the beginning of the antiphon <i>Angelus ad pastores ait</i> , and the antiphon <i>Facta est cum angelo</i> (all for Christmas Day). Tenor looks like a cantus firmus, though the melody remains unidentified.	CMM 49/2 MRM 5	I-Fl Acq. e doni 666 I-Rvat CS 46
329	Puer natus in Bethlehem = Ein Kind geporen	Concinnite cum iubilo		Double underlay for the top voice in Latin and German. Contra and Tenor both given 'Concinnite cum iubilo'. Very short, with unusual rhythm.		D-Mbs Clm. 5023 (26)
330	Pulcherrima rosa / Virgo singularis			see Kozachek 1998, p. 200		CZ-HKm II.A.7
331	Qualis est dilecta mea	Pulchra ut	Jacquet de Berchem (c1505-1567)			1539^3
332	Quam mihi concessit	Es mag noch wohl geraten [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Wolfgang v. d. Pfalz	EdM 16, no.3	Othmayr 1547
333	Que est ista que ascendit / Hec est mater Jesu Christi / Hec ad deum vult meare		Wilhelmi de Grudencz, Petrus (c1400-c1480)	Contrafact of Pax eterna, Deum trinum. See Kozachek 1998, 100.		CZ-HKm II.A.6CZ-HKm II.A.7
334	Que est ista que progreditur	Assumpta est Maria				DK-Kk Gamle kong. Saml. 1872
335	Quem terra [pontus ethera]	[Ave maris stella]		In D-Mbs, 'Barritonans only'; textless in D-LEu.	EdM 81, no.89	D-LEu 1494 D-Mbs Mus. MS 3154 PL-WRu MS I.F.428
336	Quid prodest stulto	Vanitas vanitatum	Lassus, Orlande de (1532[?]-1594)	Texts from Proverbs and Ecclesiastes; cf text is also the end of the other text. See Haar 1997.	RRMR 115 Lassus 7	Lassus 1564d Lassus 1565c Lassus 1566c

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
337	Quis deus hic? Phoebus Phoebum quem turba	Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis	Lurano, Filippo de (c1470- post1520)			I-CF 59
338	Quis numerare queat	Da pacem	Compère, Loyset (c1445- 1518)	Antiphon cf; text is humanistic poem also used by Obrecht. See Bloxam 1992, pp.72-74. Discussed in section 2.5.3.	CMM 15/3	I-Rvat CS 15 1502^1
339	Quis tuos presul valeat	Felix O vivas princeps	Rore, Cipriano de (1515/6- 1565)		CMM 14/6	1544^22
340	Quisquis requiem queris feminam cave	Mulier [D2] / Mala herba [B2] / Buff in sie [B1]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	Quiquis requiem in 3 voices, 'mulier' repeated over and over, 'mala herba' in repeating eighth notes on g.	EdM 26	DK-Kk Gamle kong. Saml. 1872
341	Quod licet id libeat	Si licet libet	Lassus, Orlande de (1532[?]- 1594)	Tenor melody based on solmization syllables. See Haar 1997.	RRMR 148 Lassus 11	Lassus 1604a
342	Rebus in adversis	Patiens terit omnia virtus [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Thomas Venatorius	EdM 16, no.13	D-Rp A. R. 940-941 Othmayr 1547
343	Recordare domine	Parce domine [Q]	Verdelot, Philippe (b c 1480-5, d ?1530-2, before 1552)	Cf is the same as the bass of Obrecht's Parce Domine, repeated in the <i>secunda pars</i> down a 4th. Lower voices use the text and are at least motivically based on the respond Recordare.	CMM 28/2 Smijers Att.4	I-Rv S1 35-40 I-Rvat MS Capp. Giulia XII.4 US-Cn Case MS VM1578.M91
344	Recumbentibus undecim discipulis	Illi autem profecti [T]	Le Brung, Jean (fl early 16th)	Texts from Mark 16: 14 and 20. Tenor has the same text as the motet text in the <i>tertia pars</i> .	SCMot 5	1519^2
345	Redde mihi letitiam	Nigra sum sed formosa	Lheritier, Jean (c1480-after 1551)		CMM 48/1	I-Fn Magl. XIX.125bis I-Rv S1 35-40

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
346	Regali ex progenie	Sancta Maria virgo		Texts are both antiphons for Marian feasts. Discussed in section 2.2.2.	Cumming, p.218	I-TRbc 92.1494
347	Regina celi letare	[Comme femme, T]	Ghiselin, Johannes (fl 1491-1507)	Marian antiphon text. Altus paraphrases the antiphon chant, tenor cites the chanson. See Rothenberg 2004.	CMM 23/1	1505^2
348	Regina celi letare	Allez regretz [T]		Cf from Hayne's chanson. Discussed in sections 2.4.3.3 and 3.4.1.3.		A-Wn Mus. Hs. 18825 (12v)
349	Regina celi letare	D'ung aultre amer		Cf from the Discantus of the song. Cited Fallows 1999, p.140. See also Rothenberg 2011, pp.180-181. Discussed in section 3.4.1.2.		I-Rvat CS 63 (63v-66)
350	Regina celi letare	Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis	Renaldo			I-Bc Q19 I-Pc A17
351	Regina celi letare / Conscendit jubilatione letus / Grates nunc omnes / Te ergo quesumus famulis tuis		Senfl, Ludwig (c1486-c1543)			D-Rp C120
352	Relicta iuventutis meae	Propitius esto [D] / Libera nos, Domine [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)?	For Conrad Preuss	EdM 16, no.29	Othmayr 1547
353	Resurrectio Christi victoria nostra	Surrexit Christus spes nostra	Payen, Nicolas (c1512-c1559)	Tenor from the Easter sequence, <i>Victimae paschali laudes</i>		1546^7
354	Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum	Christ ist erstanden	Glein, Erasmus de (d1599)			D-D MS Pirmi III
355	Rex fallax miraculum	Apertis thesauris	Vaqueras, Bertrandus (c1450-before April 1507)	'copied ca. 1495-98 into VatS 63' (Rodin 2008)	CMM 78, p.83	I-Rvat CS 63

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
356	Rite maiorem Jacobum / Artibus summis miseri	Ora pro nobis dominum, qui te vocavit Jacobum	Du Fay, Guillaume (c1397-1474)	‘St James the Great; acrostic in triplum and motetus: ROBERTUS ACLOU CURATUS SANCTI IACOBI; probably 1426–7’ (Planchart 2001).	Cox CMM 1/1	I-Bc Q15.174
357	Romanorum rex	Requiem eternam	Sarto, Johannes de (fl c 1430-40)	Cf introit; funeral motet for Albrecht II (death in 1439); see Cumming 1999 among others. Mentioned in section 2.3.3.	CMM 35/2, p.43	I-AO 15
358	Rosa de spinis protulit	Ave Maria, gratia plena	Arnoldo (?)			1549 ⁶
359	Sacerdotum diadema, Gratiane piissime	Sancte Gratiane, intercede pro nobis	Willaert, Adrian (c1490-1562)		CMM 3/3	I-TVd 36 Willaert 1539c / 1550a
360	Salvatoris mater pia / O Georgi deo care	Benedictus Marie filius qui ve-	Damett (b ?1389-90, d 1436-7)	Tenor completed in OH no. 113, see Salve mater by Sturgeon below.	CMM 46/2	GB-Lbl Add. 57950, no. 111
361	Salve Barbara, martir sanctissima	Veni sponsa Christi	Moulu, Pierre (?1484-c1550)	Tenor LU 1214. In Pc A17 as Salve Justina martyr.		I-Pc A17I-Rv S1 35-40I- VEaf 218
362	Salve crux arbor vitae	O crux lignum triumphale	Obrecht, Jacob (1457/8-1505)	Main text is a sequence (without melody); cf from Holy Cross sequence Laudes crucis attollamus. Discussed in section 2.3.3.	NOE 16, no.37	1520 ⁴
363	Salve domina inclita / Recordare virgo mater / Alma redemptoris mater			See Kozachek 1998, p. 198 for additional source.	Cerny	CZ-HKm II.A.6 CZ-HKm II.A.7
364	Salve flos Tuscae gentis / Vos nunc, Etruscorum iubar	Viri mendaces	Du Fay, Guillaume (c1397-1474)	‘In praise of Florence and the women of Florence, probably 1436’ (Planchart 2001).	CMM 1/1	I-MOe α.x.1.11 (64’)

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
365	Salve mater domini / Salve templum gratie	-nit in nomine domini	Sturgeon, N (d1454)	T continues the melody from Damett's motet, OH no.111 (see above)	CMM 46/2	GB-Lbl Add. 57950, no. 113
366	Salve pater creator omnium / Felix et beata		Carmen, Jean (fl 1400-1420)	Two upper voice texts.	Cox CMM 11/1	I-Bc Q15.246
367	Salve regina	Adieu mes amours	Divitis, Antonius (c1470-c1530)	'based on Josquin's four-voice chanson, which in turn is based on the popular monophonic melody "Adieu mes amours"' (RRMR notes).	RRMR 94	D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 34
368	Salve regina	Assumpta est maria	Wylkynson, Robert	Cf Assumption antiphon. On text, see WilliamsonE, 68-9. See WilliamsonE, 57-8, for more references.	MB 10	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E15)
369	Salve regina	Ave regina celorum [T]	Agricola, Alexander (c1445/6-1506)	Salve regina in 3 voices (paraphrasing the chant); Tenor takes the text and melody from the T of Frye's Ave regina caelorum.	EdM 78, no.107 CMM 22/4	D-B Ms Mus. 40021 D-D Mus. Ms. 1/D/505
370	Salve regina	[Caput]	Hygons, Richard	Cf 'Caput' melisma from antiphon <i>Venit ad Petrum</i> , for Maundy Thursday. See Robertson 2006 and WilliamsonE, 60, 68-9.	MB 11	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E27)

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
371	Salve regina	Da pacem [T,I] / O crux ave [B,II-III] / Vos amici mei [A,V] / Gloria laus et honor [A,B,VII] / Da tuis fidelibus [B,IX]	Martini, Johannes (b c1430-40, d 1497)	4v. The 'Salve regina' is paraphrased throughout, generally in three voices. Five different cantus firmi in different voices throughout. 1st: antiphon 'da pacem'. 2nd: verse of Vexilla regis, 'O crux ave'. 3rd: antiphon 'vos amici mei'. 4th: hymn 'Gloria, laus et honor' (Palm Sunday). 5th: verse of Veni sancte spiritus hymn, 'Da tuis fidelibus' (Pentecost). See especially EdM edition and notes. Discussed in section 2.5.3.	CW 46EdM 81, no.61	D-D Mus. Ms. 1/D/505D-Mbs Mus. MS 3154I-Rvat CS 15
372	Salve regina	Gaudeamus omnes	Hampton, John	Cf introit for various feasts. See WilliamsonE, 60, 68-9.	MB 11	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E29)
373	Salve regina	Ghy syt die liefste boven al [top voice]	Vinders, Jheronimus (fl. 1525-6)	Cf from Ghiselin's chanson. Other voices paraphrase the antiphon.		D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 34
374	[Salve regina]	Gloria laus et honor [VI?] / Da tuis fidelibus [VIII?]				D-D Mus. Ms. 1/D/505
375	Salve regina	Je nay deul	Bauldeweyn (b c1480)	Superius of Ockeghem's chanson in Superius		D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 34
376	Salve regina	Le serviteur		4v tenor motet, cf taken from T of Du Fay's rondeau. See Cumming 1999, pp.259, 265. Discussed in sections 2.2.3 and 2.4.3.1.	DTÖ 53	I-TRbc 89.638

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
377	Salve regina	Le serviteur [etc., S] / Salve regina [T]	Ar. Fer.	Antiphon text, with texted cf in the superius (the first melody from Dufay's chanson, but there are several others which follow, one to each part, including the anon. J'ay pris amours). Tenor is also a cf (of Salve regina chant), with interesting opening motif. See EdM notes for full references in the literature. Discussed in sections 2.4.1, 2.4.2.3, and 2.5.3.	EdM 81, no.64 Maniates 1965, 331	D-Mbs Mus. MS 3154
378	Salve regina	Libera nos salva nos	Sutton, John	Cf Trinity antiphon. See WilliamsonE, 59, 68-9.	MB 11	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E22)
379	Salve regina	Maria ergo unxit pedes	Browne, John	Cf Maundy Thursday antiphon. See WilliamsonE, 58-9, 68-9.	MB 10	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E20)
380	Salve regina	Ne timeas Maria	Huchyn, Nicholas	Cf antiphon for BVM. See Hocking 1995, 108-9, and WilliamsonE, 59, 68-9.	MB 11	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E24)
381	Salve regina	O werder mondt [T]	Molunet, Johannes (fl. early 16th cent.)	Tenor given Latin text after the incipit. Mentioned in section 2.4.3.2.		D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 34
382	Salve regina	Omnes electi	Brygeman, William	Cf All Saints antiphon. See WilliamsonE, 58, 68-9.	MB 12 (3rd ed)	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E16)
383	Salve regina	Stella maris a trimatu [alternating T and D]	Senfl, Ludwig (c1486-c1543)	4v, cantus firmus alternating between the T and D.		D-Mbs Mus.ms.19
384	Salve regina	Venit dilectus meus	Browne, John	Cf Assumption antiphon. See WilliamsonE, 60, 68-9.	MB 11	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E28)

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
385	Salve regina [S] / Ave regina [A] / Inviolata, integra et casta es [T] / Alma Redemptoris mater [B] (Diversi diversa orant)		Gombert, Nicolas (c1495-1560)	Cantus sings 'Salve regina' antiphon; Altus sings 'Ave regina coelorum' antiphon and 'Beata mater' antiphon; Tenor sings 'Inviolata' sequence and 'Hortus conclusus' antiphon; Bassus sings 'Alma' antiphon and 'Ave Maria' antiphon.	CMM 6/6, 92	Gombert 1541c
386	Salve regina [even verses]	Salve regina [C,B] / [Par le regard; D,I] / [Je ne vis onques; D,III]	la Rue, Pierre de (c1452-1518)	The motet sets the even verses of the Salve Regina. There are three cantus firmi: the Marian antiphon, the Sup of Du Fay's <i>Par le regard</i> , and the Sup of Binchois's <i>Je ne vis oncques</i> . See CMM notes.	CMM 97/9	D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 34
387	Salve regina(=Gaude rosa)	Hilf und gib rat	'Philipus' (Strahov)	Appears to be a cantus firmus setting of Salve regina (cf=Hilf und gib rat) which was retexted in Trent to 'Gaude rosa speciosa'. (See Mitchell 1989, vol.1, p.51.) This is the companion motet to the Missa Hilf und gab rat in Strahov (CZ-Ps). In Strahov, the motet has a different text: 'O gloriosa mater cristi Maria'. Both Trent and Strahov give the inscription 'Hilf und gab rat' for the motet; the Mass has no such inscription. Snow 1969 suggests it is monophonic source material, dates it around 1440-1455. Discussed in section 2.4.3.1.	Snow 1968 DTÖ 53	CZ-Ps MS D.G.IV.47 I-TRbc 89

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
388	Salve regis mater	Hic est sacerdos	Orto, Marbrianus de (c1460-1529)	For Pope Alexander VI's 1492 election; anonymous in ms but in a section devoted to his works (see Picker 2001). Mentioned in section 2.3.		I-Rvat CS 35
389	Salve sancte facies nostri redepto	Homo quidam fecit cenam	Obrecht, Jacob (1457/8-1505)	Cf responsory for Corpus Christi; motet text is a sequence. See NOE for full list of references in the literature. Discussed in section 2.3.3.	NOE 16, no.44	I-Fn II.I.232
390	Salve schema sanctitatis / Salve salus servulorum	Cantant celi agmina	Dunstaple (c1390-1453)	'To St Catherine; T from repetenda of respond "Virgo flagellator"' (BentD 2001).	DTÖ 76 MB 8	I-MOe α.x.1.11 (123)
391	Salve virgo mater pya	[Summe trinitati]	Frye? (d 1475)	3-v tenor motet/possible contrafact Kyrie. According to Snow 1969 (pp.310-11), it is 'probably' the companion motet to the Missa Summe trinitati of Walter Frye in B-Br 5557. Snow dates it around 1435-1445. Discussed in sections 2.2.3 and 2.4.3.1.	EECM 34 CMM 19 Gerber	I-TRbc 88.240
392	Salve virgo virginum / Vita via veritas	Salve regina misericordie	Billart (fl ?c1400)	Top voice text is gloss on the tenor antiphon, 'Salve regina'	PS	GB-Ob 213
393	Sancta dei genitrix	Te laudamus deus noster [T]	Fulda, Adam von (c1445-1505)	PL-Wu has different texting: in the <i>prima pars</i> , only the Discantus is texted, with 'O admirabile domini auxilium'. Discussed in section 3.4.2.1.	EdM 33, p.111 See notes, EdM 34, p.407 and EdM 76, p.141	D-B Ms Mus. 40021 D-LEu 1494 PL-Wu 2016
394	Sancta Maria regina celorum	Pulchra es et decora [Q]	Willaert, Adrian (c1490-1562)			I-Pc A17 1534^10
395	Sancta Maria succurre miseris	O werder mondt	Strus, Franciscus	Attributed by Van Maldeghem to La Rue. Mentioned in section 2.4.3.2.	PickerC	B-Br 228

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
396	Sancta Maria Virgo	O Maria virgo mittis	la Rue, Pierre de (c1452-1518)	Incipits only. D and B give ‘Sancta Maria Virgo’, T gives ‘O Maria Virgo mittis’. (T is not cf.) Accidentally polytextual?	CMM 97/9, no.21	I-Fc Basevi 2439, no. 84 1538^9 (no text)
397	Sancto disponente spiritu	Quia vidisti me [T]	Festa, Costanza (b c1485-90, d 1545)	Cf antiphon (LU 1326), repeated twice (third iteration much faster). To St. Thomas the Apostle.	CMM 25/3	I-Rvat CS 20
398	Sanctus Wilhelmus amicus dei	Sanctus Wilhelmus gaudet in coelis [Q]	Speulanus			1556^6
399	Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris	Sancte Paule, ora pro nobis	Le Brung, Jean (fl early 16th) (or Moulu?)	Both texts for St Paul. Mentioned in section 2.5.2.	Smijers Att.8	I-Pc A17I-Rvat CS 461534^10
400	Saulus autem adhuc	Petrus apostolus et Paulus	Senfl, Ludwig (c1486-c1543)			D-Rp B211-215
401	Scevola tu coenas	Gast sein? [V1] / Nein [V2]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)?	6v	EdM 26	D-Rp A. R. 940-1
402	Scilicet adversis probitas	Non si male nunc, olim sic erit [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)?	For Andreas Stahel	EdM, 16, no.22	Othmayr 1547
403	Scimus quoniam diligentibus	De tous biens plaine [S] / Per omnia secula seculorum [T]	Josquin?	Cfs from Hayne’s chanson and the Preface tone. According to NJE, ‘The original was then probably a Preface motet with the additional secular cantus firmus <i>De tous biens plaine</i> , undergoing in the only surviving source a contrafaction with a free collation of text fragments.’	see NJE [20.12]	D-D Mus. Ms. 1/D/505
404	Scire voluntatem michi est prima cura	Ach Got schaff deinen willenn				DK-Kk Gamle kong. Saml. 1872

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
405	Si nichil actuleris / In pretio pretium nunc		Salinis, Humbertus de (fl 1403-9)		Cox CMM 11/7	I-Bc Q15.278 I-Fsl 2211
406	Si qua tibi obtulerint	Equabit laudes	Lassus, Orlande de (1532[?]-1594)	‘composed to an encomiastic text of humanistic character; the cantus firmus acts as a sort of summary.’ For Charles V? See Haar 1997.	RRMR 114 Lassus 11	D-Mbs Mus Ms 20 Lassus 1556a
407	Simile est regnum celorum	Sancta Helena, ora pro nobis	Willaert, Adrian (c1490-1562)	Discussed in section 2.5.2.		I-Bc Q27 I-Rv S1 35-40
408	Sint dicte grates Christo	Fuit homo missus a deo [Q]	Verdelot, Philippe (b c 1480-5, d ?1530-2, before 1552)	Cf tone of responsorium brevis.	CMM 28/2	I-Rv S1 35-40
409	Sola caret monstris	Fera pessima [from responsory Videns Jacob vestimenta Joseph]	Compère, Loyset (c1445-1518)	New, anti-papal text (but only found in papal chapel)? Cf is a responsory fragment, from Videns Jacob vestimenta Joseph. See Dean 1986, pp.99-133. Mentioned in section 3.2.4.	CMM 15/3	I-Rvat CS 42 (78v-80)
410	Solemniset tota concio / Qua salus emicuit / Se vices conticuit			See Kozachek 1998, p. 204 for additional sources.		CZ-HKm II.A.7
411	Sophia nasci fertur / O quam pulcra ratio / Magi videntes stellam			See Kozachek 1998, p. 201 for additional source.		CZ-HKm II.A.6CZ-HKm II.A.7CZ-K Kaplanské Knihovny 179CZ-UO A 3
412	Specialis virgo inter agmina	Salve parens inclita [T]	Dunstaple (c1390-1453)	Antiphon text, cf sequence. Discussed in section 2.2.2.	DTÖ 76 MB 8	I-MOe <i>α.x.1.11</i> (81) I-TRbc 92.1500

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
413	Speciosius iniurie	Iniuriarum remedium oblivio [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)?	For Walrand Hangouart	EdM 16, no.36	Othmayr 1547
414	Spiritus sancti gratia apostolorum // Ergo nunc cum tripudio benedicamus					D-Z 84,2
415	Stabat iuxta Cristi crucem	From stormy wyndis and grevous wethir	Browne, John	Cf from Edmund Turges's carol; text RH 19412, AH 8, 56. For the carol, see MB 36: 64. See Benham 1987 concerning the cantus firmus and its meaning in this motet.	MB 10 PMMS 4	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E8)
416	Stabat mater dolorosa	[Alas it is I]	Browne, John	Cf related to Turges's carol <i>Alas it is I</i> . See WilliamsonE, 55, for notes on the hymn text and references concerning the use of Turges's carol. For the carol, see MB 36: 24.	MB 10 PMMS 3	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E5) GB-Cu 96

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
417	Stabat mater dolorosa	Comme femme	Josquin des Prez (b c 1450-55, d 1521)	Sequence text; cf from T of Binchois' chanson. See Rothenberg 2004. Vinders's Missa Stabat mater also uses Comme femme as a cantus firmus. See NJE for full source information. Discussed in sections 1.2.3, 2.4.3.2, and 3.4.	NJE 25.9 Smijers Mot.2	B-Br 215-216 B-Br 9126 D-Mu 4o Art.401 GB-Lcm 1070 I-Fn II.I.232 I-Rvat Chigi C.VIII.234 I-Rvat MS Capp. Giulia XII.4 I-Rvat MS Vat. Lat. 11953 NL-Lml 1440 1519^2 1520^4 1538^3
418	Stabat mater dolorosa	Nativitas unde gaudia [S]	Turplin	Double cursus in superius	0	1505^2
419	Stabat mater dolorosa	Vidi speciosam [T]	Weerbeke, Gaspar van (c1445-c1516)	Sequence text, responsory cf. Discussed in section 3.4.2.2.	Winkler 1999 Vander Straeten 6	I-Rvat Chigi C.VIII.234 (245v-249)
420	Stabat virgo iuxta crucem	In exitu Israel [T]	Volckmar, Michel (?)	Cf approximates the Tonus peregrinus.	EdM 78, no.102	D-B Ms Mus. 40021
421	Stabat virgo iuxta crucem	Tota pulchra es [T]	Bauldeweyn (b c1480)	Cf antiphon	Maniates 1965, 361	D-Mu 4o Art.401
422	Stabat virgo mater Christi	Exsulat vir optimus [T] / Cadit custos [B1,B2]	Browne, John	Cfs antiphon and verse from respond <i>Jacet granum</i> , both for St Thomas of Canterbury; text RH 33675. See Williamson 2010, 169, and WilliamsonE, 56, on the pairing of text and cantus firmi.	MB 10	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E7)

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
423	Stabat virgo mater Christi	Regali ex progenie	Browne, John	Cf antiphon for the Nativity and Conception of the BVM; text RH 33675. See WilliamsonE, 63.	MB 12	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E60)
424	Stella celi	So ys emprentid [T]	Le Rouge? (fl c 1450-65)	4v tenor motet, with cf from Frye's chanson. Companion motet to a 3v mass found in Trent 90 and I-Rv San Pietro MS. B.80, where it is labelled 'Soyez aprantiz' (=So ys emprentid). See Snow 1969, p.309, who dates the cycle 1435-1445. According to Bent (in Cumming 1999, p.350 n.7, and personal communication), the text 'Stella celi' in Tr 88 replaces that of a Kyrie. But this motet cannot be the Kyrie to the mass in Tr 90/SP B80, which already has its own 3v Kyrie. Discussed in sections 2.2.3, 2.4.3.1, and 2.4.3.3.	MRM 12, p.163	I-TRbc 88.204
425	Stephanus cum totum volitet	Sancte Stephane, ora pro nobis	Villiers, P. de (fl. 1532-c1550)	Mentioned in section 2.5.2.	SCMot 12, p.221	1542 [^] 5
426	Stirps regalis fecundatur / Salve mundi domina / Gloriose domine			See Kozachek 1998, p. 198 for additional source.		CZ-HKm II.A.6 CZ-HKm II.A.7
427	Strenua quem duxit / Gaudeat et tanti		Civitate, Antonius de (fl1392-1421)	'celebrates the marriage of Giorgio Ordelaffi, lord of Forlì, with Lucrezia degli Alidosi on 3 July 1412' (Schoop/Nosow 2001)	CMM 11/5	GB-Ob 213

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
428	Sub arturo plebs / Fons citharizancium	In omnem terram	Alanus, Johannes (fl late 14th, early 15th)		Cox DTÖ 76 CMM 39 PMFC 5	F-CH 564 GB-Ir HA 30: 50/22/13.15 I-Bc Q15.218
429	Sufficiebat nobis	Mon souvenir	Jacquet of Mantua (1483-1559)	Responsory text with cf from Hayne's chanson.	Maniates 1965, 347	I-Bc Q19 (32v-35)
430	Sufficiebat nobis	Mon souvenir [S]	Richafort, Jean (c1480-c1550)	Cf from the T of Hayne's chanson. Responsory text from the book of Tobias. Most sources have motet text in all voices, except for I-Bc Q19 and I-Fn II.I.232, which have the incipits 'Mon souvenir my faut morir' and 'Sufficiebat. Comme femme', respectively, in the superius. Discussed in section 2.4.1.	CMM 81/2 Smijers Att.4	D-Mu 4o Art.401 GB-Cmc 1760 GB-Lbl Add.19583 I-Bc Q19 I-Fn II.I.232 I-MOe α.F.2.29 I-Rvat Vat. Mus. 571 [1521]^6 1534^6 Richafort 1556
431	Summe opifex rerum	Non nobis, domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Rochus Schoeffer	EdM 16, no.18	Othmayr 1547
432	Summe summy tu patris / Summe summy tu matris		Velut, Gillet (fl early 15th)	Discussed in section 2.2.2.	Cox DTÖ 14/15 CMM 11/2	I-Bc Q15.260 I-TRbc 87.33
433	Super flumina Babylonis	Pie Jesu domine, dona eis requiem [from Dies irae]	Festa, Costanza (b c1485-90, d 1545)	Possibly for the death of Louis XII in 1515; see especially Main 1962, pp.187-8.	CMM 25/5 MRM 5	I-Fl Acq. e doni 666

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
434	Sustinuimus pacem	En l'ombre d'un buissonnet / Une mousse de Biscaye	Isaac, Henricus (c1450-1517)	SGs has text incipits only (En l'ombre/Una musique/A/Sustinimus parate); Fn 232 has the latin text for all voices. Discussed in section 2.4.2.3.	DTÖ 28 Maniates 1965, 226	CH-SGs 461 I-CT 95-6 / F-Pn n.a.f. 1817 I-Fn II.I.232
435	Tellus purpurium / Splendida flamigero		Benet (d?1458)	To St Alban	Marrocco	I-MOe α.x.1.11 (125')
436	Tempus faciendi, domine	O clemens	Conseil, Jean (b 1498 or 1501, d 1534)			I-VEaf 218
437	Terra tremuit et quievit / Christus iam surrexit / Angelus domini descendit / Surrexit Christus dominus			See Kozachek 1998, p. 201 for additional sources.		CZ-HKm II.A.6 CZ-HKm II.A.7
438	Theodoce matrem celebremus	Firma fide fidens [I] / Via deus [II]				I-Rvat MS Pal. Lat. 1976-9
439	Tota pulchra es amica mea	Sancta Margaretha, ora pro nobis	Clemens non Papa, Jacobus (c1510-15 - 1555/6)	In 1559 ¹ , the cf text is 'Sancta Margaretha gaudet in coelis'; in Rp, 'Christe fili Dei ora pro nobis'. Mentioned in section 2.5.2.	CMM 4/16	D-Rp A. R. 8931555 ¹ /61559 ¹
440	Tota pulcra es [I] / O pulcherrima [II]	Salve		Cf (first 4 notes of Salve regina chant) repeated in canon at the fourth, first in the upper voices, then in the lower. Mix of Song texts in the other voices. Mentioned in section 1.2.3, 2.5.1, and 3.2.1.	Appendix Maniates 1965, 341	GB-Lbl Royal 8.G.VII
441	Tria sunt munera / Videntes stellam magi / Reges tharsis			See Kozachek 1998, p. 201 for additional sources.		CZ-HKm II.A.6 CZ-HKm II.A.7

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
442	Tribularer si nescirem	Spera in deo [only II]	Jacquet of Mantua (1483- 1559)			1544 ⁶
443	Tu domine benignus es et clemens	Clamantem ad te, exaudi me domine	Lassus, Orlande de (1532[?]- 1594)	Text draws from psalms 24 and 85; cf is psalm-like. See Haar 1997.	RRMR 105 Lassus 5	Lassus 1568b
444	Tu nephanda prodigi / Si inimicus meus	Emitat celum fulgura	Lymburgia, Johannes de (fl 1431)		Cox Etheridge	I-Bc Q15.171
445	Tu solus qui facis mirabilia	D'ung aultre amer	Josquin des Prez (b c 1450-55, d 1521)	In the <i>secunda pars</i> , the opening of the S and T of Ockeghem's chanson are quoted in the S and B of the motet (melody and text). See NJE for full source information. Discussed in section 2.4.3.2 and 3.4.1.2.	NJE 22.5 Smijers Mot.1	I-Fn Ms. Panc. 27 I-MOd Mus. Ms. 4 1503 ¹
446	Tua est potentia	Da pacem	Danckerts, Ghiselin (c1510- after 1565) or Maistre Jhan (c1485-1538)	Discussed in section 2.5.3.		I-TVd 30 1540 ⁷
447	Unde gaudent angeli / Eya dei yerarchia / Nostra iocunda curia			See Kozachek 1998, p. 203 for additional sources.		CZ-HKm II.A.7
448	Untreu und Ungerechtigkeit	Gott vergebs allen [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Wilhelm Sinderstaetter	EdM 16, no.25	Othmayr 1547
449	Ut Phoebi radiis	Ut rex ut re mi [T,B]	Josquin des Prez (b c 1450-55, d 1521)	Cf hexachord canon. Potentially for Order of the Golden Fleece; see Callahan 1976 and Prizer 1985, pp.129-133.	Smijers Mot.1, 7 See also NJE (25.10)	1505 ²

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
450	[Ut] queant laxis... sancte Joannes	Ut re mi fa sol la, sancte Joannes	Lassus, Orlande de (1532[?]- 1594)	Hymn for Nativity of St John the Baptist. See Haar 1997.	RRMR 128Lassus 5	Lassus 1582d
451	Ut te per omnes celitus / Ingens alumnus Padue		Ciconia, Johannes (c1370-1412)	For Francesco Zabarella	PMFC 24 Clercx Cox PS	GB-Ob 213 I-Bc Q15.259
452	Utilis est rebus	Virtutum viribus vicenda voluptas [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Wolfgang Curio	EdM 16, no.24	Othmayr 1547
453	Vasilissa ergo gaude	Concupivit rex decorem tuum	Du Fay, Guillaume (c1397-1474)	'On the departure of Cleofe Malatesta, 20 Aug 1420, for her marriage' (Planchart 2001). Discussed in section 2.2.2.	Cox DTÖ 53 CMM 1/1	GB-Ob 213 I-Bc Q15.244 I-TRbc 87.37
454	Venator lepores mittet tibi	Argentum et aurum	Willlaert, Adrian (c1490-1562)	Cf canon in two middle voices	CMM 3/4	1542^10
455	Venecie mundi splendor / Michael qui Stena domus		Ciconia, Johannes (c1370-1412)	'honours doge Michele Steno, perhaps 3 January 1406' (Di Bacco 2001). 3v, two upper voices texted.	PMFC 24 Clercx Cox	I-Bc Q15.257
456	Veni creator spiritus	Veni creator spiritus [T] / Tannhauser, Ihr seid mir lieb [B]		Cf the T of the German song; Veni creator as cf in the tenor and paraphrased in the two upper voices. The German song is found EDM 80, no.38; see also a text edition of the ballade at Meier 1935, p.72. Discussed in section 2.4.3.2.	EdM 81, no.82 CW 32, no. 9	D-Mbs Mus. MS 3154
457	Veni in hortum meum	Salve regina	Crecquillon, Thomas (b c1505-15, d ?1557)		CMM 63/10	NL-L 1438

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
458	Veni sancte spiritus / Consolator optime	Sancti spiritus assit	Dunstaple (c1390-1453)	Hymn and sequence for Pentecost. Discussed in section 2.2.2.	DTÖ 14/15 MB 8	I-MOe α .x.1.11 (131') I-TRbc 92-2.1543
459	Veni sancte spiritus / Da gaudiorum premia			See Kozachek 1998, p. 201 for additional sources.		CZ-HKm II.A.6 CZ-HKm II.A.7
460	Veni sancte spiritus et emitte / Veni sancte spiritus et infunde / Veni creator spiritus	Mentes tuorum [tenor continues the Veni creator melody where the Triplex 1 leaves off]	Dunstaple (c1390-1453)	Hymn and sequence for Pentecost. Discussed in section 2.2.2.	DTÖ 14/15 MB 8 CMM 46/2	D-Mbs Mus. MS 3224 GB-Lbl Add. 57950 I-AO 15 I-MOe α .x.1.11 (106') I-TRbc 92-2.1537
461	Venite adoremus dominum / Salve sancta eterna trinitas		Carmen, Jean (fl 1400-1420)	Texts for Christmas and for the Trinity. In GB-Ob 213 the tenor has the incipit 'Venite adoremus alleluya', as if it a cantus firmus; Q15 just gives 'Venite adoremus'; see CMM notes.	CoxCMM 11/1PS	GB-Ob 213I-Bc Q15.217
462	Verbum supernum	O salutaris hostia	Willaert, Adrian (c1490-1562)	O salutaris hostia is from the hymn <i>Verbum supernum</i> .	CMM 3/5	Willaert 1559a
463	Verbum tuum, verbum sane bonum / In cruce te providens		Rondelly (fl early 15th)		Cox	I-Bc Q15.251
464	Vexilla regis	Passio domini [C]	la Rue, Pierre de (c1452-1518)	Vexilla regis melody especially in D. C uses text from Matthew to a formula for Passion lessons.	CMM 97/9 PickerC Smijers Ock	B-Br 228 B-Br 11239 GB-Lbl Royal 8.G.VII
465	[Victime paschali laudes...] Agnus redemit oves	Christ ist erstanden	Galliculus, Johannes (c1490-post1520)	Easter sequence, from an 'Offitium de Resurrectione'. Source lost.		D-B Sammlung Bohn Mus. MS 92

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
466	Victime paschali laudes	D'ung aultre amer [S,I] / De tous biens plaine [S,II]	Josquin des Prez (b c 1450-55, d 1521)	Cfs from Ockeghem's and Hayne's chansons, with the Easter sequence paraphrased in the lower voices. See NJE for full source information. Discussed in sections 1.2.3, 2.4.1, 2.4.3.2, and especially 3.4.1.2.	NJE 22.6 Smijers Mot.1	1502^1
467	Victor io, salve, tantum cui fata	Salve Sfortiarum maxime dux	Willaert, Adrian (c1490-1562)		CMM 3/3	Willaert 1539c / 1550a
468	Vidi speciosam	Assumpta est Maria [T]	Festa, Costanza (b c1485-90, d 1545)	Cf (see LU 1606) occurs twice in each of two sections. Text is from the responsory plus other bits from the Song of Songs.	CMM 25/3	I-Pc A17 I-Rvat CS 20
469	Vidit dominus et ad iracundium	Palle palle / Se congie prens	Carlet	7v motet. Palle palle is a 4v textless piece by Isaac; see DTÖ 28.		I-VEaf 218
470	Vincat amor recti	Sperne pulchra, quere recta [T]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For Joachim Heller	EdM 16, no.32	CZ-HKm 29 D-Rp A. R. 940-941 Othmayr 1547
471	Vineae florentes odorem dederunt	Vineae florentes [T] / Wir haben einen guten Wirt [V]	Othmayr, Caspar (1515-1553)	For text and melody of Vineae, see LU 1376.	EdM 26	D-Rp A. R. 940-941
472	Virgo celesti	[Ut queant laxis, T1] / Virgo celesti [hexachordal, T2]	Compère, Loyset (c1445-1518)	Marian text with cf hymn, perhaps inspiring second, hexachordal cf.	CMM 15/3	1502^2
473	Virgo dei mater virgo	Pulchra es	Maistre Jhan (c1485-1538)			I-Pc D27I-PCd s.s. (5)I- Rvat CS 19I-TVd 36

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
474	Virgo flagellatur crucianda fame religatur	Virgo sancta Katherina, Grecia gemma [T2]	Vermont, Pierre (c1495-before Feb 1533)		Smijers Att.7	1534^9
475	Virgo parens et filia / O pia					I-Pc D27
476	Virgo prudentissima, que pia gaudia mundo attulit	Virgo prudentissima, quo progredieris [T]	Isaac, Henricus (c1450-1517)	Cf antiphon; motet text is an elaboration on the original, using the chant as motivic material. Mentioned in section 1.2.3.	DTÖ 32 Cuyler 1973	CH-SGs 463 CH-SGs 464 1520^4
477	Virgo prudentissima, quo progredieris	Virgo prudentissima [D2] / Fortuna desperata [T]	Senfl, Ludwig (c1486-c1543)		Senfl 6	A-Wn Mus. Hs. 18810
478	Virgo salutiferi genitrix	Ave Maria [S,T]	Josquin des Prez (b c 1450-55, d 1521)	Poem by Ercole Strozzi, with canonic cf.	NJE 25.13 Smijers Mot.2, 18 MRM 5	D-Mu 4o Art.401 GB-Lcm 1070 I-Fl Acq. e doni 666 I-Rvat CS 16 I-Rvat CS 42 1519^2 1526^3 1527 1534^6 1559^1
479	Virgo sub etheriis	[Comme femme]	Agricola, Alexander (c1445/6-1506)	Text is a Marian prayer in hexameters, with chanson cf. See Rothenberg 2004. Textless except in Berlin 40021, where the text is only in the tenor.	CMM 22/5 EdM 77, no.62	D-B Ms Mus. 40021 I-Rc 2856

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
480	Virgo templum trinitatis	O virum ineffabilem	Davy, Richard	Cf antiphon for St Martin; text RH 21899. See WilliamsonE, 60-1.	MB 11	GB-ETc Ms 178 (E33) GB-Lbl Add. 70516 GB-Lbl Add. 34191 GB-Ome 62. F. 8
481	Vulnerasti cor meum	Dulcis amica dei [A]	Moulu, Pierre (?1484-c1550)		MRM 5	D-Mu MS 8o 327 I-Fl Acq. e doni 666 I-Pc A17 I-Rvat CS 38 NL-Lml 1440 1532^9

A.3. Chansons with Latin cantus firmi

[See overleaf.]

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
482	A la mort	Monstra te esse matrem [B]	Josquin des Prez (b c 1450-55, d 1521)	Cf is from the 4th stanza of the hymn Ave maris stella. Discussed in sections 2.4.2.2 and 2.4.2.3.	NJE 27.1 Maniates 1965, 197	I-Fc Basevi 2439
483	Avertissiez	Averte oculos [T]		Rondeau quatrain. Averte oculos (incipit only) is from Song 6:5 and also Psalms 119:37. The tenor has a canon involving retrograde, inversion, and diminution. Trent 90 has no texts. Discussed in sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2.1.	ManiatesC Maniates 1965, 161	E-E MS. IV.a.24 I-TRbc 90
484	Belle sur toutes [S,T]	Tota pulchra es [B]	Agricola, Alexander (c1445/6-1506)	Rondeau quatrain in S, T (French gloss of latin cf); cf antiphon in B. Mentioned in section 2.4.2.3.	CMM 22/4 Maniates 1965, 308	F-Pn f.fr. 1722 I-Fc Basevi 2439 1504^3 1538^9
485	Ce povre mendiant[=Fortune]	Pauper sum ego [B]	Josquin des Prez (b c 1450-55, d 1521)	Cf text from Psalm 87 (found in a responsory). The responsory chant is not used; instead, a repeating 6-note motive transposing stepwise downwards. Discussed especially in section 2.4.2.2.	NJE 27.5 PickerC Maniates 1965, 199	B-Br 228 GB-Lbl 35087 I-Fc Basevi 2439
486	Checun par grant intencion	Agimus tibi gratias		Both texts seem to be table grace; see Meconi 1998. Discussed in section 2.4.2.2.	Christoffersen 3	DK-Kk Ny kong. Saml. 1848, 2°
487	Crist ist erstanden / Criste qui [lux es et dies] / Vexilla regis [prodeunt]			With incipits, 'Christ ist erstanden' (D), 'Vexilla regis' (B), and 'Christe qui' (T). See SMd for literature references.	SMd 8 Moser, n. 14.	CH-SGs 530
488	Cueurs desolez	Plorans ploravit	Josquin des Prez (b c 1450-55, d 1521)	Cf from Lamentations. Mentioned in section 2.4.2.3.	NJE 29.3 Smijers WW.1, 8	1549

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
489	Cueurs desolez	Dies ire	la Rue?	Cf from the responsory Libera me; text is a 'poem on death of Jean de Luxembourg, Seigneur de Ville, in 1508 by ?Jean Lemaire'. Attributed to La Rue by Van Maldeghem and PickerC; see Meconi 2001. Mentioned in section 2.4.2.3.	PickerC CW 3	B-Br 228
490	Deuil et ennuy	Quoniam tribulatio	Prioris, Johannes (fl c1485-1512)	Latin text from Psalm 22; also in the responsory Circumdederunt viri mendaces. Mentioned in sections 2.4.2.2 and 2.4.2.3.	PickerCCMM 90/3Maniates 1965, 188	B-Br 228 (22v-23)I-Fc Basevi 2439 (32v-33)
491	Douleur me bat	O vos omnes		O vos omnes from Lamentations. Mentioned in sections 2.4.2.2 and 2.4.2.3.	Maniates 1965, 256	A-Wn Cod. 18746
492	Fiere attropos mauldicte et inhumaine	Anxiatus est in me spiritus meus	Moulu, Pierre (?1484-c1550)	French text with Latin cf (LU 714). Epitaph on the death of Queen Anne (1514); see MRM notes. Mentioned in sections 2.4.2.2 and 2.4.2.3.	MRM 5	I-Bc R142 I-Fl Acq. e doni 666

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
493	Fortuna desperata	Sancte Petre / Ora pro nobis	Isaac, Henricus (c1450-1517)	The top voice is from the S of Busnoys's song. Only incipits present: top and two lowest with Fortuna desperata, two middle voices have Sancte Petre and Ora pro nobis. These voices alternate in a repeating Litany. Compare with Isaac's setting of Fortuna desperata with the two middle voices 'Bruder Conrat'. See also Japart, <i>Vray dieu damours</i> and anon, <i>Ic zie den claren dach</i> , both of which are structurally similar. Discussed in sections 2.4.2.2, 2.4.2.3, and especially 2.5.2.	Baker 1978 Maniates 1965, 174	E-SE Ms. s.s.
494	Hors de propos de rayson separe	Creator omnium rerum deus		Mentioned in sections 2.4.2.2 and 2.4.2.3.	Christoffersen 3	DK-Kk Ny kong. Saml. 1848, 2°
495	Ic zie den claren dach	Sancte Johannes baptista / Ora pro nobis		Litany of the saints in two inner voices; see also Isaac Fortuna desperata and Japart, <i>Vray dieu damours</i> , both of which are structurally similar. Discussed in sections 2.4.2.2, 2.4.2.3, and especially 2.5.2.		F-Pn lat. 16664
496	Je ne puis plus ce que j'ay peu	Unde veniet auxilium mihi?	Du Fay, Guillaume (c1397-1474)	Rondeau refrain with antiphon cf. See Meconi 1998. Composed to be sung straight through; see Bent 1980. Discussed in sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2.1.	CMM 1/6 Stainer, 143	GB-Ob 213

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
497	Le corps	Corpusque meum	Compère, Loyset (c1445-1518)	Discussed in sections 2.4.2.2 and 2.4.2.3.	CMM 15/5	1501
498	Lheure est venue [S,T]	Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis [B]	Agricola, Alexander (c1445/6-1506)	Virelai with cf introit; in the <i>secunda pars</i> , all voices have the French text. Mentioned in section 2.4.2.3.	CMM 22/4 Maniates 1965, 1 See also notes at NJE [27.23]	B-Br 228 F-Pn f.fr. 1597 GB-Lbm 20.A.XVI I-Bc Q17 I-Fn Magl. XIX.178 I-Fr 2356 I-Fr 2794 I-Rc 2856 I-Rvat MS Capp. Giulia XIII.27 1501
499	Malebouche la decevable	Circumdederunt me viri mendaces	Compère, Loyset (c1445-1518)	Responsory tenor with French gloss. Mentioned in section 2.4.2.3.	CMM 15/5	1501
500	Mort tu as navré [S] / Miserere [T]	Pie Jesu Domine [end of T]	Ockeghem, Jean de (c1410-1497)	Déploration on death of Binchois (d 1460). French ballade with Latin-texted T, with some plainchant from the Dies irae. See especially Meconi 1998 and Fitch 2001. Discussed in sections 2.4.1, 2.4.2.2, and 2.4.2.3.	Ockeghem 3 Bentham 2/1 Fitch 2001	F-Dm 517 I-MC 871
501	Nymphes nappés[=haec dicit dominus]	Circumdederunt me [Q,6]	Josquin des Prez (b c 1450-55, d 1521)	Cf responsory in canon. Haec dicit dominus is a contrafactum found in 1537 ¹ and elsewhere. See NJE for full source information. Discussed in sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2.3.	NJE 30.6 Smijers WW.1, 5	D-Mu 4o Art.401 I-Bc R142 (tenor only) 1537 ¹ 1558 ⁴
502	Nymphes des bois	Requiem eternam	Josquin des Prez (b c 1450-55, d 1521)	Poem by J. Molinet with cf introit. See NJE notes. Discussed in sections 2.4.2.2 and 2.4.2.3.	NJE 29.18 Smijers WW.1, 5 MRM 5	I-Fl Acq. e doni 666 1508 ¹

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
503	O devotz cueurs [or Tant ay d'ennuy]	O vos omnes	Compère, Loyset (c1445- 1518)	Latin text from Lamentations, which is also a responsory for Holy Saturday, but the melody seems to start off with the Lamentations tone (as sung on Holy Thursday morning). Found in sources as (1) a motet with the Latin text in some or all voices, (2) a chanson with the French text in some or all voices, or (3) a bilingual piece with the Latin in the B and the French in the top voice and T. PickerC suggests that 'Tant ay d'ennuy' was the original text without explanation. Discussed in sections 2.4.2.2 and 2.4.2.3.	CMM 15/5PickerC	B-Br 228B-Tv 94 / B-Br IV.90CH-SGs 463DK-Kk Ny kong. Saml. 1848F-Pn f.fr. 1597GB-Lbl Add. 35087 I-Bc Q17I-Bc Q18I-Fn Magl. XIX.107bis1531^51542^8
504	O rosa bella	In pace		Italian chanson text (from Bedingham's chanson) with liturgical tenor. Discussed in section 2.4.2.2.	Maniates 1965, 115	E-Sco 5-1-43
505	Permanent vierge	Pulchra es et decora / Sancta dei genitrix	Ockeghem?	Combines rondeau quatrain with two Marian antiphons as cfs. Anon. in only source, with attribution to Ockeghem first suggested by Ambros 1864, p.534. See especially Gallagher 1998, chapter 5.1. Discussed in sections 2.4.1, 2.4.2.2, and 2.4.2.3.	Ockeghem 3 Maniates 1965, 53	F-Dm 517

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
506	Plaine d'ennuy de longue main atteinte	Anima mea liquefacta est [B]	Compère, Loyset (c1445- 1518)	Antiphon cf, taken from the T of Gaspar van Weerbeke's motet, also in B-Br 228 (PickerC); see CMM 106/3, pp.54-55. Discussed in sections 2.4.2.2 and 2.4.2.3.	CMM 15/5 PickerC	B-Br 228 B-Br 11239 GB-Lbl Add. 35087 I-Bc Q17 I-Fc Basevi 2439
507	Plorer, gemir, crier	Requiem aeternam	la Rue, Pierre de (c1452- 1518)	Possibly a lament for Ockeghem, with introit cf. Upper voices carry the french text, lower voices the latin text. See Meconi 1986, pp.66-7, 189, 371-3. Discussed in sections 2.4.2.2 and 2.4.2.3.	Maniates 1965, 192 Meconi 1986, 371	I-Fc Basevi 2439 (36v- 37)
508	Pour prison	Passio domini		2-voice quodlibet	Maniates 1965, 112 PlamenacQ	E-Sco 5-1-43
509	Que vous madame	In pace [B]	Josquin (or A. Agricola?)	Cf compline responsory text with an elaboration of the melody. See NJE for full source information. Discussed in sections 2.4.2.2 and 2.4.2.3.	NJE 27.33CMM 22/5PickerCManiates 1965, 202	B-Br 11239F-Pn f.fr. 1597GB-Lbl 20.A.XVII- Bc Q17I-Fn BR 229I-Fn Magl. XIX.178I-Rc 2856I-Rvat Ms. Capp. Giulia XIII.271504^31507^6
510	Resjois toy, terre de France	Rex pacificus	Busnoys, Antoine (1430- 1492)	Ballade with cf antiphon for Christmas. For Charles VII or Louis XI. See especially Lindmayr-Brandl 1999, who found a partially trimmed attribution in F-Pn. Discussed in sections 2.4.2.2 and 2.4.2.3.	Pope Lindmayr-Brandl 1999	F-Pn f.fr.15123 I-MC 871

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
511	Revenez tous regretz [S,A,T]	Quis det ut veniet [B]	Agricola, Alexander (c1445/6-1506)	Rondeau cinquain with bass taking the text (but <i>not</i> the melody) of the verse from the responsory 'Nonne cognoscit'. The bass has long notes and may be designed to look like a cantus firmus. Discussed in sections 2.4.2.2 and 2.4.2.3.	CMM 22/4 Maniates 1965, 184	B-Br 228 B-Br 11239 I-Fc Basevi 2439 1504^3
512	Royne du ciel	Regina celi	Compère, Loyset (c1445-1518)	Antiphon tenor with French gloss. Incipits only. Discussed in sections 2.4.2.2 and 2.4.2.3; also mentioned in 1.2.3 and 3.4.1.2.	CMM 15/5 CMM 90/3	I-Bc Q17 I-Fn Ms. Panc. 27 1501
513	Royne du ciel	Regina celi	Prioris, Johannes (fl c1485-1512)	Antiphon tenor with French gloss. French text has incipit only. Discussed in sections 2.4.2.2 and 2.4.2.3; also mentioned in 1.2.3 and 3.4.1.2.	CMM 90/3 Maniates 1965, 195	I-Bc Q17 I-Fc Basevi 2439 I-Rvat CS 16
514	Se je souspire	Ecce iterum [B,I] / O vos omnes [B,II]	la Rue?	For the death of Philip the Fair. Milson attributes it to La Rue. French and Latin texts by Marguerite of Austria, with cf from Lamentations in the <i>secunda pars</i> . See Picker 1993. Discussed in sections 2.4.2.2 and 2.4.2.3.	PickerC Maniates 1965, 209	B-Br 228 B-Tv 94

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
515	Se je suis despourvue	Veni veni clerice		See especially Maniates 1975. The Latin text is decidedly not sacred, with a lady trying to seduce a clerk, the clerk not daring to be seduced, and various solmization syllables. The French text is more serious: deprived of love and joy by false tricks, the narrator asks God for solace. Discussed in sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2.1.	ManiatesCManiates 1965, 136	E-E MS. IV.a.24
516	Seigneur Leon, vous soyés bienvenue	Benedictus qui venit	Du Fay, Guillaume (c1397-1474)?	Only the Vienna manuscript has Latin and French texts. Probably for Leonello D'Este, Marquis of Ferrara, which places it after Dec 1441. See CMM 1/6 notes. Discussed in section 2.4.2.1.	CMM 1/6	A-Wn Cod. 5094 D-Bkk 78.C.28 F-Pn f.fr. 15123 I-Fr 2356
517	Tout a par moy	Circumdederunt me		Discussed in sections 2.4.2.2 and 2.4.2.3.	Maniates 1965, 252	A-Wn Cod. 18746
518	Tout le confort	Deus adjuva me	Courtois, Jean	See Youens 2012.	Youens 2012, pp. 494-5	1540 [^] 7

	Text(s) / Incipit(s)	Cantus firmi	Composer	Notes	Editions	Sources
519	Vray dieu d'amours	Sancte Iohanes baptista / Ora pro nobis	Japart, Jean (fl. c1476-81)	Superius is nearly identical to the version of the song found in the Verona codex up until the last bit (bb 42 to end). While the song in Verona is anonymous, CMM 34/1 suggests it is basically the same composition as that attributed elsewhere to Pipelare. The first few measures of the Verona superius are found in Tinctoris, <i>Liber de arte contrapuncti</i> , with accompanying underlay, proving which version of the text would probably have been sung to this melody; see CMM 34/1. See also Isaac's Fortuna/Sancte Petre and anon, Ic zie den claren dach, which are structurally similar. Discussed in sections 2.4.2.2, 2.4.2.3, and 2.5.2.	Appendix Maniates 1965, 288	1504^3

A.4. Index of cantus firmi by language

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Ghy syt die liefste boven al 373 – Vinders, *Salve regina*

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From stormy wyndis and grevous wethir 415 – Browne, *Stabat iuxta Cristi crucem*

So ys emprentid 424 – ?Le Rouge, *Stella celi*

French

A une dame j'ay fait veu 235 – ?Mouton or Josquin, *Missus est angelus Gabriel*

Adieu mes amours 42 – Josquin, *Ave Maria... virgo serena*
367 – Divitis, *Salve regina*

Allez regretz 348 – *Regina celi letare*

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47 – Agricola, *Ave que sublimaris*
51 – Senfl, *Ave rosa sine spinis*
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347 – Ghiselin, *Regina celi letare*
417 – Josquin, *Stabat mater dolorosa*
479 – Agricola, *Virgo sub etheriis*

De tous biens plaine 63 – Stappen, *Beati pacifici*
303 – Compère, *Omnium bonorum plena*
403 – ?Josquin, *Scimus quoniam diligentibus*
466 – Josquin, *Victime paschali laudes*

D'ung aultre amer 349 – *Regina celi letare*
445 – Josquin, *Tu solus qui facis mirabilia*
466 – Josquin, *Victime paschali laudes*

En l'ombre d'un buissonet 434 – Isaac, *Sustinuimus pacem*

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220 – ?La Rue, *Maria mater gratie*

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Je ne vis onques	386 – La Rue, <i>Salve regina</i>
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Mon souvenir	429 – Jacquet of Mantua, <i>Sufficiebat nobis</i> 430 – Richafort, <i>Sufficiebat nobis</i>
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German

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Vertrew Gott allein	85 – Presten, <i>Commoda res et pulcra deum celebrare</i>
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Wir haben einen guten Wirt	471 – Othmayr, <i>Vineae florentes</i>
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	16 – Josquin, <i>Alma redemptoris / Ave regina</i>
	17 – ?Josquin, <i>Alma / Ave regina / Inviolata / Regina</i>
	31 – Forest, <i>Ascendit Christus</i>
	156 – Sturton, <i>Gaude virgo mater Cristi</i>
	190 – Maillard, <i>Inviolata / Alma / Regina / Ave regina</i>
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Andreas Christi	27 – Du Fay, <i>Apostolo glorioso / Cum tua doctrina</i>
Angeli archangeli	221 – Festa, <i>Maria virgo prescripta</i>
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Apertis thesauris	355 – Vaqueras, <i>Rex fallax miraculum</i>
Are post libamina	29 – Matheus, <i>Are post libamina / Nunc surgunt</i>
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Beatus Nicolaus adhuc	263 – Du Fay, <i>O gemma lux et speculum / Sacer pastor</i>
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Benefundata est domus domini	135 – Clibano, <i>Festivitatem dedicationis</i>
Bone pastor	55 – Gregoire, <i>Ave verum / Ecce / Bone / O salutaris</i>
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Canite tuba	132 – Obrecht, <i>Factor orbis</i>
Cantant celi agmina	390 – Dunstaple, <i>Salve schema sanctitatis / Salve salus</i>
Caput	370 – Hygons, <i>Salve regina</i>
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Clamor meus ad te	202 – Brumel, <i>Languente miseris</i>
Concinnite cum iubilo	329 – <i>Puer natus in Bethелеhem = Ein Kind geporen</i>
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Confide et ama	87 – Lassus, <i>Confisus domino tua pectora</i>
Confirma hoc deus	102 – Othmayr, <i>Deus qui nos per gratiam</i>
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Creator omnium rerum deus	494 – <i>Hors de propos de rayson separe</i>
Credo quod redemptor meus vivit	194 – Othmayr, <i>Ipse est qui me dignum fecit</i>
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Da mihi domine	4 – Jhan, <i>Accipe quae tibi nunc princeps</i>
Da pacem	90 – Barré, <i>Congregati sunt inimici nostri</i> 91 – Crecquillon, <i>Congregati sunt inimici nostri</i> 92 – Verdelot, <i>Congregati sunt inimici nostri</i> 93 – Werrecore, <i>Congregati sunt inimici nostri</i> 110 – Conseil or Festa, <i>Dominator celorum</i> 110 – Alberti, <i>Domine exaudi orationem</i> 116 – Weerbeke, <i>Dulcis amica dei digna</i> 232 – Lheritier, <i>Miserere mei, domine</i> 256 – Festa, <i>O altitudo divitiarum</i> 304 – Isaac, <i>Optime divino date</i> (' <i>Optime pastor</i> ') 338 – Compère, <i>Quis numerare queat</i> 371 – Martini, <i>Salve regina</i> 446 – Danckerts, Ghiselin, or Jhan, <i>Tua est potentia</i>
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Cornago?	150 – Gaude Maria virgo
Coste	327 – Puer natus est nobis
Courtois	518 – Tout le confort
Crecquillon	54 – Ave stella matutina 91 – Congregati sunt inimici nostri 457 – Veni in hortum meum
Damett	360 – Salvatoris mater pia / O Georgi deo care
Danckerts?	446 – Tua est potentia
Davy	148 – Gaude flore virginali 175 – In honore summe matris 260 – O domine celi terreque 480 – Virgo templum trinitatis
De Silva	147 – Gaude felix Florentia 302 – Omnis pulchritudo domini 328 – Puer natus est nobis
Divitis	367 – Salve regina
Dorle	205 – Laudemus dominum quem laudant angeli
Du Fay	27 – Apostolo glorioso / Cum tua doctrina 60 – Balsamus et munda cera 120 – Ecclesie militantis / Sanctorum arbitrio / Bella canunt gentes 141 – Fulgens iubar ecclesie / Puerpera pura parens 218 – Magnanime gentis laudes / Nexus amicitie 238 – Moribus et genere / Virgo virga virens 254 – Nuper rosarum flores 263 – O gemma, lux et speculum / Sacer pastor Barensium 282 – O proles / O sidus 291 – O sancte Sebastiane / O martyr Sebastiane / O quam mira refulsit 294 – O tres piteulx

	356 – Rite maiorem Jacobum / Artibus summis miseri
	364 – Salve flos Tuscae gentis / Vos nunc, Etruscorum iubar
	453 – Vasilissa ergo gaude
	496 – Je ne puis plus ce que j'ay peu
Du Fay?	123 – Elizabet Zacharie / Elizabet Zacharie
	516 – Seigneur Leon, vous soyés bienvenue
Dunstaple	11 – Albanus roseo rutilat / Quoque ferendus eras
	50 – Ave regina celorum, ave decus / Ave mater expers paris
	79 – Christe sanctorum decus / Tibi Christe splendor Patris
	105 – Dies dignus decorari / Demon dolens dum domatur
	146 – Gaude felix Anna / Gaude mater matris Christe
	158 – Gaude virgo salutata / Gaude virgo singularis / Virgo mater
	320 – Preco prehemencie / Precursor premittitur
	390 – Salve schema sanctitatis / Salve salus servulorum
	412 – Specialis virgo inter agmina
	458 – Veni sancte spiritus / Consolator optime
	460 – Veni sancte spiritus / Veni creator spiritus
Erasmus Lapidica?	155 – Gloriosi principes
Fawkyner	154 – Gaude rosa sine spina
	157 – Gaude virgo salutata
Festa	45 – Ave nobilissima creatura
	104 – Deus venerunt gentes
	118 – Ecce advenit dominator
	119 – Ecce iste venit
	126 – Exaltabo te
	136 – Florentia, Florentia, tempus est penitentie
	176 – In illo tempore postquam impleti sunt
	198 – Jesu Nazarene
	221 – Maria virgo prescripta
	269 – O lux et decus Hyspanie
	309 – Pater noster
	397 – Sancto disponente spiritu
	433 – Super flumina Babylonis
	468 – Vidi speciosam
Festa?	110 – Dominator celorum
	182 – Inclite sancte virginis Catharine
	256 – O altitudo divitiarum
Finck	265 – O Jesu pie nos isto pane dignos
Forest	15 – Alma redemptoris mater / Anima mea liquefacta est
	31 – Ascendit Christus
	151 – Gaude martyr cum triumpho / Collaudemus venerantes
Frye?	391 – Salve virgo mater pya

Fulda	393 – Sancta dei genitrix
Galliculus	465 – [Victime paschali laudes...] Agnus redemit oves
Ghiselin	192 – Inviolata, integra, et casta es 233 – Miserere, domine, miserere pie 347 – Regina celi letare
Ghiselin?	446 – Tua est potentia
Glein	354 – Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum
Gombert	385 – Salve regina / Ave regina / Inviolata / Alma Redemptoris
Gombert?	142 – Gabriel nuntiavit Marie
Gregoire	55 – Ave verum / Ecce panis / Bone pastor / O salutaris hostia
Grenon	6 – Ad honorem sancte trinitatis / Celorum regnum sempiternum 59 – Ave virtus virtutum / Prophetarum fulti suffragio 318 – Plasmatoris humani generis / Verbigine mater ecclesia
Grenon?	30 – Argi vices Poliphemus / Tum Philemon rebus paucis
Hampton	372 – Salve regina
Huchyn	380 – Salve regina
Hygons	370 – Salve regina
Isaac	21 – Angeli archangeli 35 – Ave ancilla trinitatis 304 – Optime divino date ('Optime pastor') 434 – Sustinuimus pacem 476 – Virgo prudentissima, que pia gaudia mundo attulit 493 – Fortuna desperata
Jacquet de Berchem	56 – Ave virgo gloriosa stella 133 – Factum est verbum domini 267 – O lux et decus Hispanie 312 – Peccantem me quotidie 331 – Qualis est dilecta mea
Jacquet of Mantua	43 – Ave mater matris dei 48 – Ave quam colunt angeli 57 – Ave virgo gratiosa 108 – Dixit autem dominus 242 – Murus tuus dilecta nostra 429 – Sufficiebat nobis 442 – Tribularer si nescirem
Japart	519 – Vray dieu d'amours

Jhan	4 – Accipe quae tibi nunc princeps 18 – Ambulans Jesus iuxta mare 33 – Assumptus hodie dominus 117 – Dum preliantem fortiter 143 – Gaude chorus supernorum civium 206 – Laudemus fortissimum Christi 241 – Mundi Christo redemptori 258 – O clarum decus o splendor 473 – Virgo dei mater virgo
Jhan?	446 – Tua est potentia
Josquin	2 – Absolve quesumus 16 – Alma redemptoris mater / Ave regina celorum 42 – Ave Maria... virgo serena / [Adieu mes amours] 46 – Ave nobilissima creatura 78 – Christe fili dei 168 – Huc me sydereo descendere jussit Olympo 172 – Illibata dei virgo nutrix 257 – O bone et dulcis domine Jesu 296 – O virgo prudentissima 417 – Stabat mater dolorosa 445 – Tu solus qui facis mirabilia 449 – Ut Phoebi radiis 466 – Victime paschali laudes 478 – Virgo salutiferi genitrix 482 – A la mort 485 – Ce povre mendiant 488 – Cueurs desolez 501 – Nymphes nappés 502 – Nymphes des bois
Josquin?	17 – Alma Redemptoris / Ave regina / Inviolata / Regina celi 80 – Christus mortuus est pro peccatis 177 – In illo tempore stetit Jesus 193 – Inviolata, integra, et casta es / O Maria, flos virginum 210 – Lectio actuum apostolorum 235 – Missus est angelus Gabriel 403 – Scimus quoniam diligentibus 509 – Que vous madame
La Rue	386 – Salve regina 396 – Sancta Maria virgo 464 – Vexilla regis 507 – Plorer, gemir, crier
La Rue?	220 – Maria mater gratie 489 – Cueurs desolez 514 – Se je souspire
Lambe	273 – O Maria plena gratie

	286 – O regina celestis glorie
Lantins	75 – Celsa sublimatur / Sabine praesul
Larchier	208 – Laudemus puerum quem laudant angeli
Lassus	76 – Cernere virtutes qui vult compagine 87 – Confisus domino tua pectora 94 – Congregati sunt inimici nostri 128 – Exsultet celum mare sol 139 – Fremuit spiritus Jesus 166 – Homo cum in honore esset non intellexit 201 – Jubilate deo omnis terra 214 – Libera me domine 240 – Multe tribulationes justorum 278 – O peccator si filium dei 336 – Quid prodest stulto 341 – Quod licet id libeat 406 – Si qua tibi obtulerint 443 – Tu domine benignus es et clemens 450 – [Ut] queant laxis... sancte Joannes
Le Brung	344 – Recumbentibus undecim discipulis 399 – Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris
Le Rouge?	424 – Stella celi
Lebertoul	276 – O mortalis homo / O pastores quibus / O vos multi
Lheritier	232 – Miserere mei, domine 245 – Nigra sum sed formosa 345 – Redde mihi letitiam
Loqueville	262 – O flos in divo / Sacris pignoribus
Lupus	293 – O spem non similem [=Regina clementissima]
Lurano	337 – Quis deus hic? Phoebus Phoebum quem turba
Lymburgia	444 – Tu nephanda prodigi / Si inimicus meus
Maessens	107 – Discessu dat tota tuo germania
Maillard	190 – Inviolata / Alma redemptoris / Regina celi / Ave regina celorum
Manchicourt	34 – Audivi vocem de celo
Martini	371 – Salve regina
Matheus de Sancto Johanne	29 – Are post libamina / Nunc surgunt
Menon	9 – Adorna thalamum tuum

	160 – Gloriosum diem 298 – O vos omnes
Merques	69 – Castrum pudicitie / Virgo viget
Molunet	381 – Salve regina
Morales	20 – Andreas Christi famulus dignus dei 145 – Gaude et letare 195 – Israel es tu rex Davidis 200 – Jubilate Deo omnis terra
Moulu	361 – Salve Barbara, martir sanctissima 481 – Vulnerasti cor meum 492 – Fiere attropos mauldicte et inhumaine
Moulu?	399 – Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris
Mouton	24 – Antequam comedam suspiro 88 – Confitemini domino 129 – Exsultet conjubilando deo 140 – Fulgebunt justi 236 – Missus est Gabriel angelus 239 – Moriens lux amantissima 272 – O Maria piissima
Mouton?	155 – Gloriosi principes 235 – Missus est angelus Gabriel
Obrecht	61 – Beata es Maria virgo 132 – Factor orbis 187 – Inter preclarissimas virtutes 207 – Laudemus nunc dominum 224 – Mater patris 230 – Mille quingentis 281 – O preciosissime sanguis 362 – Salve crux arbor vite 389 – Salve sancte facies nostri redepto
Obrecht?	170 – Humilium decus
Ockeghem	500 – Mort tu as navré
Ockeghem?	505 – Permanent vierge
Orto	388 – Salve regis mater
Othmayr	84 – Committe domino statum 96 – Cur ego ditescam 102 – Deus qui nos per gratiam 103 – Deus refugium meum 113 – Dominus instar rupis

	114 – Dominus mortificat
	122 – Eia exultemus
	131 – Facile est concludi multos
	161 – Grecia que quondam virtute illustris
	173 – In deo laudabo sermones
	174 – In domino oblectare
	178 – In omni vita res mediocres
	180 – Inclina cor meum domine
	188 – Inter tot vite pericula
	194 – Ipse est qui me dignum fecit
	217 – Magna semper erumnarum acies
	227 – Mein himmlischer Vater
	246 – Nil intentatum virtus animosa relinquit
	249 – Noli timere quia ego redemi te
	250 – Non metuam, ne quid noceat mihi
	251 – Non somnos requiem tranquille gaudie
	310 – Patienter anima mea expectat
	332 – Quam mihi concessit
	340 – Quisquis requiem queris feminam cave
	342 – Rebus in adversis
	431 – Summe opifex rerum
	448 – Untreu und Ungerechtigkeit
	452 – Utilis est rebus
	470 – Vincat amor recti
	471 – Vineae florentes odorem dederunt
Othmayr?	352 – Relicta iuventutis meae
	401 – Scevola tu cenas
	402 – Scilicet adversis probitas
	413 – Speciosius iniurie
Payen	353 – Resurrectio Christi victoria nostra
Philipus	387 – Salve regina (=Gaude rosa)
Phinot?	142 – Gabriel nuntiavit Marie
Pipelare	228 – Memorare mater Christi
Presten	85 – Commoda res et pulcra deum celebrare
Prioris	490 – Deuil et ennuy
	513 – Royne du ciel
Regis	72 – Celcitonantis
	82 – Clangat plebs flores
	203 – Lauda Sion salvatorem
	216 – Lux solemnitas adest
	255 – O admirabile commercium
Regis?	52 – Ave rosa speciosa

Renaldo	350 – Regina celi letare
Rener	162 – Grates nunc omnes
Richafort	231 – Misereatur mei, omnipotens deus 430 – Sufficiebat nobis
Romanus	67 – Carminibus festos / O requies populi 115 – Ducalis sedes / Stirps Mocinico
Rondelly	463 – Verbum tuum, verbum sane bonum / In cruce te providens
Rore	339 – Quis tuos presul valeat
Rubeus	237 – Missus est Gabriel angelus / Missus est Gabriel angelus
Salinis	171 – Ihesu salvator seculi / Quo vulneratus scelere 326 – Psallat chorus in novo carmine / Eximie pater et regie 405 – Si nichil actuleris / In pretio pretium nunc
Sarto	357 – Romanorum rex
Senfl	19 – Amica mea 51 – Ave rosa sine spinis 164 – Helena desiderio plena orabat cum lachrimis 223 – Mater digna dei 226 – Media vita in morte 351 – Regina celi / Conscendit / Grates nunc omnes / Te ergo 383 – Salve regina 400 – Saulus autem adhuc 477 – Virgo prudentissima, quo progredieris
Speulanus	398 – Sanctus Wilhelmus amicus dei
Stappen	63 – Beati pacifici 127 – Exaudi nos filia
Strus	395 – Sancta Maria succurre miseris
Sturgeon	365 – Salve mater domini / Salve templum gratie
Sturton	156 – Gaude virgo mater Cristi
Sutton	378 – Salve regina
Tapissier	130 – Eya dulcis adque vernans rosa / Vale placens peroratrix
Turplin	418 – Stabat mater dolorosa
Van Wilder	98 – Deo gratias
Vaqueras	355 – Rex fallax miraculum

Velut	65 – Benedicta viscera / Ave mater gratie 432 – Summe summy tu patris / Summe summy tu matris
Verdelot	26 – Antoni pastor inclite 62 – Beata es virgo Maria que dominum portasti 74 – Celorum candor splenduit 92 – Congregati sunt inimici nostri 100 – Deus in nomine tuo salvum me fac 179 – In te domine speravi 186 – Infirmitatem nostram 211 – Letamini in domino 343 – Recordare domine 408 – Sint dicte grates Christo
Verdelot?	247 – Nil maius super vident
Vermont	7 – Adest namque beati Dionysii gaude prole 474 – Virgo flagellatur crucianda fame religatur
Villiers	425 – Stephanus cum totum volitet
Vinders	204 – Laudate pueri dominum 373 – Salve regina
Volckmar	420 – Stabat virgo
Weerbeke	116 – Dulcis amica dei digna 419 – Stabat mater dolorosa
Werrecore	93 – Congregati sunt inimici nostri
Wilhelmi	77 – Chorus noster / Sanctissimi / Dulcissona / Pangant 99 – Deum trinum adoremus / Hec persone / Unum verum deum 306 – Panis eius / Pange exul / Panis ecce / Patribus / Tantum ergo 307 – Paraneuma eructemus / Hominem / Pomi morsum / Sed paratus 311 – Pax eterna templo regis / Jacob scalam / Terribilis est locus iste 319 – Pneuma eucaristiarum / Veni vere illustrator / Dator / Paraclito 321 – Preconia e troclita / Ad cuius nos gaudium 322 – Presulem ephebeatum / Salvatoris / Hiis denegans / Atque nimis 323 – Probitate eminentem / Ploditando exarare 324 – Probleumata enigmata / Stirps Jesse / Preciosus forma 333 – Que est ista / Hec est mater Jesu / Hec ad deum vult meare
Willaert	39 – Ave maria ancilla sancte trinitatis 58 – Ave virgo sponsa dei 112 – Domine Jesu Christe amator benignissime 181 – Inclite dux, salve victor 183 – Inclite Sfortiadum princeps 185 – Infelix ego 212 – Letare sancta mater ecclesia 264 – O Gloriosa domina excelsa supra sidera

	313 – Peccavi supra numerum
	359 – Sacerdotum diadema, Gratiane piissime
	394 – Sancta Maria regina celorum
	407 – Simile est regnum celorum
	454 – Venator lepores mittet tibi
	462 – Verbum supernum
	467 – Victor io, salve, tantum cui fata
Willaert?	137 – Forma decens mores casti tum pectus
Wylkynson	295 – O virgo prudentissima
	368 – Salve regina
Zacharie	213 – Letetur plebs fidelis / Pastor qui revelavit
Zacharie?	30 – Argi vices Poliphemus / Tum Philemon rebus paucis

APPENDIX B

Transcriptions

Note on transcriptions: generally commentary is included only when notes are changed from what is in the manuscript or print. Beneath the relevant voice, each location is indicated by bar number (breve) and the minim within that bar. This location is indicated by an asterisk over the note in the score. Text is occasionally modified from its location in the manuscript to have a better fit with the music. Brackets indicate that the text is unclear in the original; italics indicate that the text has been added to that particular voice.

B.1. *Anthonio turma fratrum/Plaude vienna manu* in I-Rvat CS 15

Commentary

Note: the images consulted are unclear throughout due to the bleedthrough in the manuscript.

[Superius]:

130: Before this measure three notes were erased, probably semibreve e', semibreve a', and minim g'. They appear to have been replaced by what follows.

Tenor:

2nda pars canon: 'Pausas Longarum scindes medium notularum'. (You will cut out the long rests and half of the notes.)

130 and 227.4: Before this measure two notes were erased: semibreve b, semibreve a. This works correctly in the first iteration of the tenor canon (at 130) but not in the second (at 227.4). At this point, instead of singing half of a c semibreve (i.e. minim), the tenor must be sung as a dotted semibreve in order to fit with the remaining voices.

Bass:

130: It appears that notes here were also erased, though they are less clear.

251-252: These notes are almost entirely invisible.

Anthonio turma fratrum/Plaude Vienna manu

Anon. in CS 15

First system of the musical score. It features four staves: a vocal line (Soprano), a Contra line, a Tenor line, and a Bass line. The vocal line begins with the lyrics "An - - - tho - ni - - o tur - ma". The Tenor line begins with the lyrics "Plau - - -". The other staves (Contra and Bass) contain rests.

Second system of the musical score, starting at measure 5. The vocal line continues with the lyrics "fra - trum no - - va can - - ti -". The Tenor line contains rests. The other staves (Contra and Bass) contain rests.

Third system of the musical score, starting at measure 8. The vocal line continues with the lyrics "ca - - - psal - - - lat - - -". The Tenor line contains rests. The other staves (Contra and Bass) contain rests.

12

C

T

C

tho - ni - - o tur - ma fra - trum

16

C

T

C

no - va can - ti - ca

19

C

T

C

Cu - ius vi - vat fa - psal - lat cu - ius Vi - en - - ca psal - lat

22

S: ma pro - di -

A: vi - - - vat fa - - ma pro - -

T: - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

C: - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

25

S: - gi - is ru - - - ti - lat.

A: di - gi - - is ru - - ti - lat,

T: - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

C: - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

na

cum re -

28

S: - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

A: ru - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

T: - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

C: gis - - - na - ta Con - stan - - - -

31

S: cum re - gis na - - -

C: - - - ti - - - lat cum re - gis

T: ma - - - nu

C: - - - ti - - - ni spe - ci - o - - -

34

S: -ta Con - stan - ti - ni spe - ci - o - - -

C: - na - ta Con - stan - ti - ni spe - ci -

T: tan - - - ta da - - -

C: - - - sa

37

S: - - - sa lu - de - ret her -

C: - o - - - sa lu -

T: - - - ta pa - - - tro -

C: (empty)

40

S
bo - sis cor -

A
de - ret her - bo - sis

T
no

C
cor

43

S
- po - re po - me - tus

A
co - po - re po - me - tus

T
quem de - dit E -

C
- po - re po - me - tus sump - sit

47

S
sump - sit de - mo -

A
sump - sit

T
gy - ptus pi - gno -

C
de - mo - ni - a per

50

S: ni - a per po - - tum

C: de - - mo - - - ni - - a

T: ra ca - ra ti - - bi per -

C: to - - - - - tum fon - tis

53

S: fon - - tis a - me - ni fon - -

C: - - - - -

T: - cu - - - tit et sa - - -

C: a - me - ni fon - - - - -

56

S: - tis sper - - nens hu - ma - na

C: per to - tum fon - - -

T: - - - - - nat et

C: -tis sper - - - - - nens hu - ma -

59

iam ra - ti - o - ne fru -

- tis a - - me - - ni sper - nens

ex - tin - guit et ex - - ci -

na

62

i

hu - - ma - na iam ra -

- - - tat ig - - - -

iam ra - ti - - o -

65

il - la - que

ti - - o - - ne fru - - i il -

- - - - - - - - - -

- - - ne fru - - - - i

68

S: co - ti - di - e la - ti - tan - -

C: la - que co - ti - di - e

T: - - - - -

C: il - la - que co - - ti - di - e

71

S: - tis ven - tre So - phy - e

C: la - ti - tan - tis So - - phy - -

T: - - - - -

C: la - - ti - tan - tis ven - -

74

S: cla - mant pul - su - rus nos e - rit

C: - e cla - - mant pul - su - rus

T: - - - - -

C: tre So - phy - e cla mant pul - su -

77

— An - tho - ni - us. Cle -

C 8 nos e - rit An - tho - ni - us. Cle -

T 8 - - - - - nes.

C rus nos e - rit An - tho - ni - us.

81

-ris or - na - tus du - o - de - -

C 8 ris or - na - tus du - o - de - -

T 8

C

87

- - - - - nis

C 8 - - - - - nis

T 8

C

93

tunc The o phi

C tunc The o

T

C

98

phi

C

T

C

103

lus que ri tat

C lus que ri tat e

T Ar

C que ri tat

109

e - gi - pti de vi - - a lu -

gi - pti de vi - a lu -

den

e - gi - pti de vi - - a lu -

115

ce po - - li - i ar - bo -

-ce po - li - i ar - bo - ri - -

tes

ce po - li - i

121

ri - - bus ple - num

bus

que mi -

ple - num fron -

127

fron - do - - - sis in -

C in - trat -

T nes -

C do - - - sis -

133

- - - trac an - cil - lum fra -

C an - cil - lum - fra - grat o -

T

C

138

- grat o - dor su - a - vis

C - - - dor su - a - vis

T

C

143

stel - la fu - - - - -

C

stel - la fu - - - - -

T

C

149

it sta - bi - - - - - lis

C

it sta - - bi - - - - - lis ut

T

C

sta - bi - - - - - lis

154

ut nix

C

nix al - - - - - ba, nix

T

in - - - - -

C

ut nix al - - - - - ba

159

al - - - ba su - - as vo - -

C al - - - ba su - - as vo - lu -

T - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

C su - - - - - as vo - lu - -

164

lu - - cris vox - - - cu - - -

C - - - - - cris - - - vox cu - - -

T to - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

C - - - - - cris vox cu - - - mu - - -

169

- mu - lat a - - - las ac - - - si - - -

C mu - lat a - - - las ac

T - - - - - nat - - - - -

C - lat a - - - las ac

175

per - fe - cte di - ce - ret

si per - fe - cte di - ce - ret hic

si per - fe - cte di - ce - ret

181

hic fo - di -

fo - di - tem et

hic fo - di - te

187

- te et nu - tu do - mi -

nu - tu do -

et nu - tu do - mi - ni ve -

193

S ni ve - ne - re du - o le - o -

C mi - - - ni ve - - ne - re du -

T An - - - tho - - -

C ne - - - re du -

198

S par - - - di au - xi -

C o le - - o - - par - di au -

T - - - - -

C - o le - - o -

203

S di - o - - que pe -

C - xi - li - - o - que pe - - dum

T - - - - -

C par - - - - - di pe - dum da -

209

dum da - tur ci - to fax fa - - -

da - - tur ci - to fax fa - - -

- tur ci - to fax fa - -

214

gum cu - - - ius a - gi - - -

- gum cu - - - ius a - gi - - -

ni - - o. Ar den -

- - gum

220

a - - gi - - tat po - pu - lum

- tat po - pu - lum ro - gi -

- - - tes - - -

224

ro - gi - ta - ti - o scan - de -

- - ta - ti - - o

- - - - - que mi - - -

scan - - - de -

228

- re - ce - lum et - pel -

scan - - de - re - ce - lum

- - - - - nas in - - - -

- re ce - lum et pel - - - lat

233

-lat pes - - tem - per - ter -

et - pel - lat - pes -

- to - - - - -

pes - - - tem per ter - -

238

S: ras... gens

C: tem per... ter... ras... gens

T: nat... An... tho

CB: tas

243

S: ca... nat.

C: ca... nat.

T:

CB: gens... ca... nat.

248

S: A... men.

C: A... men.

T: ni... o.

CB: A... men.

B.2. *Gaude virgo decus morum/Naraye jamais mieulx que jay* in I-VEc 755

Commentary

[Discantus]:

9.3: d' omitted in ms

10.2: g' appears dotted

11.3: g' semi-minim

30.3: d' minim

121.3: g' breve

179.3: Confusingly mistaken in this section. Beginning up a third, it ends up at the right pitch again by repeating a portion of the melody. The original reads f'-d'-e'-c'-e'-f'-g'-e'-c'-d'-e'-[c'-a'-b'-c']-a'-c'-d'-e'-c'-b'-a' (etc.). The bracketed portion is where the melodic formula of the previous four notes is repeated down a third, correcting the transposition error of the notes preceding it.

[Contratenor 1]:

74.4: f semibreve

181.4: The f minim appears to be a mistake, perhaps made to avoid a parallel with the inessential contratenor 2. There is no obvious solution: an e works contrapuntally but is not satisfying melodically. Perhaps the best solution against the discantus would be to replace the g-f-g minims with an f minim and g semibreve, but this creates parallel fifths with the second contratenor.

213.3: g semibreve as in ms is dissonant with the inessential contratenor. An f semibreve would work in both 3- and 4-part versions.

[Tenor]:

2nda pars: tenor is canonic with two iterations. The text as written fits with the text of the other voices only in its second cursus.

178.1: The manuscript places the tenor d long after the repeat sign, suggesting that it should only occur once, after the second cursus. However, it is contrapuntally necessary also to sing it here, at the end of the first cursus, as a long in the new mensuration, Ċ. This also allows for the correct number of rests between the two cursus.

[Contratenor 2]:

*This voice is contrapuntally inessential, resulting in a few awkward dissonances and leaps.

16.1: g minim

16.3: a omitted

18.1: e minim

119.1: a breve as written is dissonant with the contratenor 1, but it is difficult to fix without creating parallels.

209.1: e breve

228.1: all four minims omitted but presumably necessary.

Gaude virgo decus morum/Naraye jamais mieulx

Anon. in I-VEc 755

First system of musical notation (measures 1-5). It features a vocal line in treble clef and two piano accompaniment lines in bass clef. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are: Gau - de - vir - - - - - de.

Crescit in duplo

Second system of musical notation (measures 6-9). The lyrics continue: go - de - - - - - cus - - - - - mo - vir - - - - - go - - - - - de - - - - -.

Third system of musical notation (measures 10-13). The lyrics continue: - - - - - rum cus - - - - - mo - - - - - rum - - - - - Na - - - - - cus mo - - - - - rum - - - - - cu - ius - - - - -.

14

cu - ius no - mi - ne est flaus

cu - ius est no - mi -

ra - ye ja - mais

no - men est flos

19

flau - rum, flos a - mo -

ne flos flo -

mieux que jay

flo - rum, flos

24

- rum, flos gau - di -

rum, flos a - mo - rum,

a - mo - rum,

28

um, flos e - ter * flos gau - di - i, flos flos gau - di - i, e -

32

e - ter ter

36

ni pa - la ni pa - la ni pa - la

40

ti - i. Gau -

45

- de vir - go

- de vir - go dul - cis - si -

vir - go dul - cis - si -

49

dul - ci - si -

- ma cu - ius

ma cu - ius

53

ma - cu - ius cor - pus

cor - pus

57

et a - ni -

et

cor - - - pus et

61

ma sin -

a - ni - - - ma sin - gu -

66

gu - la - re mi - ra - cu -

ma

- la - re mi -

70

lum

mi - ra - cu - lum spe - cu -

- ra - cu - lum

74

spe - cu - lum.

* lum.

lum.

spe - cu - lum.

78

Gau - - de - - - - - se - - - - -

Gau - - - - - de se - - - - -

Gau - - - - - de - - - - - se - - re -

83

- re - - na - - - - - do - mi - - - - -

- re - na do - mi - - - - -

- na - - - - - do - mi - - - - -

87

- - - - - na, splen - - - - -

- - - - - na, splen -

- - - - - na - - - - -

91

dor

dor

ve

splen - dor

ve - ri

95

ve - ri - ens

lux

ri - ens

lux

ens

99

di - ur

di

di - ur

lux

di

103

- ur

107

na, ce lum ce li

na, Ce lum

de si de

na, Ce lum ce

112

se re ni

ce li se re ni tans stel la

ra bi

- li se re ni tans.

117

tans. stel - la - - - - - rum - - - - - lis - - - - - da no -

123

stel - la - - - - - rum - - - - - cla - - - - - bis de - - - - - si - - - - - de -

128

ri - tans. Gau - de cu - - - - - cla - - - - - ri - tans. Gau - de - - - - - ri - um

134

- ius o - pe - ri -

cu - ius

139

bus

o - pe - ri - bus tan -

143

tan - quam ce -

quam ce - li si - de -

147

li si de ri

ri

152

bus

bus

157

Ni tet cor pus ec

ni tet cor pus ec

vi den di

163

- cle - si - e ves - ti -

- cle - si - e Ves - ti - - tur

te et

169

- tur rex jus -

rex iu - sti - ci - e. Gau - de

fi - - li - - - - -

175

- ti - - ci - - - - e. Gau -

vir - - - - go a - ma -

um.

180

de vir

bi lis to ta

184

de si de ra

188

go a ma

bi lis

193

bi - les - to - ta de - si -
da - no -
de - si - de - ra - bi -

199

de - ri - a - bi -
bis -
lis - da no - bis de -

204

lis, da no - bis
de - si - de - ri - um vi - den -
si - de - ri - um

210

de - - - si - - de - -

di - - te - -

vi - den - - -

215

-ri - - - um - - vi -

et - -

vi - den -

-di te et - - fi - - li -

221

den - - - di - - te - - et - - fi -

fi - - - li -

- di te et - - fi -

227

li - - - um.

- - - um.

-li - - - um.

- - - um.

B.3. *Humilium decus/Sancta Maria/Cent mille escus* in *I-Rvat* CS 15

Commentary

Bassus:

86.1: g minim

Humilium decus/Sancta Maria, succurre miseris

Anon. in *I-Rvat* Cappella Sistina 15

187v/188r

Humilium decus

Contratenor 1

Contratenor 2

Tenor 1

Tenor 2

Bassus

4

Humilium decus

C1

C2

T1

T2

B

Hu milium decus

7

A celo rum cardine

C1

C2 a celorum cardine

T1

T2 a celorum cardine missum

B a celorum cardine

10

missum dum domini memoras

C1

C2 dum domini memoras

T1

T2 dum domini memoras

B dum domini me moras

13

ancillam virgo

C1

C2

te ancillam virgo mari

T1

T2

te ancillam virgo

B

te ancillam virgo

16

maria

C1

C2

a aure capis

T1

T2

mari a aure

B

maria aure capis verbum

19

Aure capis verbum quod casta

Cent mille escus
Aure capis verbum

verbum quod casta concipis

San - - -

capis verbum quod casta

quod casta

22

concupis alvo

concupis alvo Et fac

- cta Ma - ri - -

concupis al vo

Et factum

25

et factum caro

C1 Et factum

C2 tum caro

T1 - - - a suc - - cur -

T2 Et factum caro

B caro gestas

28

gestas

C1 caro

C2 manen

T1 - re - mi - se - ris,

T2 gestas

B

31 188v/189r

Virginitate manente

C1 Et pariens

C2 te Et pariens

T1 Ju - - -

T2 Virginitate manente

B

34

et pariens

C1

C2

T1 - va

T2

B

37

tu perseveras

nomen habens

inviolata

pu - - si - -

et pariens tu perseveras

nomen

40

inviolata

matris

- la - - ni - mes,

habens

43

nomen habens

C1 cum

C2 nomen

T1 re - - - fo - - -

T2 nomen habens matris

B

46

matris

C1 virginitatis

C2 habens matris

T1 -ve

T2 cum virginitatis

B matris

49

cum virginitatis

hono

fle - - - - -

cum virginitatis

52

honore

re

honore

bi - les:

honore

honore

53 189v/190r

Simile ducas ad iubar

C1

C2

T1

T2

B

Simile ducas

60

altum

C1

C2

T1

T2

B

ad iubar altum

Simile du cas ad iubar

ad iubar altum

66

quo super astra

Cent mille escus

quo super

quo

O - - - -

al tum quo super astra

quo super astra

72

clares

astra clares

super astra

ra

clares haud

cla res

77

haud petimus

C1

C2

haud petimus

T1

pro po - - pu -

T2

petimus

B

haud petimus

82

cunctis prelata beatis

C1

C2

cunctis prelata beatis

T1

lo,

T2

cunctis prelata beatis

B

cunctis prelata beatis

87

cunctis prelaa beatis

C1 cunc tis prelaa

C2

T1

T2

B

92

leta

C1 beatis

C2

T1

T2

B

97

vides

C1

C2

T1

in - - - ter - - - - -

T2

leta vides

B

102

natum

C1

Leta

C2

leta vides

T1

- ce - - - - - de

T2

natum

B

leta vides natum quem dulci

106

dulci

vides na

dulci quem

dulci

lacte

111

190v/191r

Quem la

tum Aluisti

la Cte aluisti

pro cle - - ro,

Quem

alu Isti sed

117

cte

C1

C2

sed

T1

in - ter - - ce - - -

T2

lacte

B

votis

pia

122

aluisti

sed

votis

C1

sed

votis

C2

votis

pia

nostris

T1

-de

T2

Aluisti

B

127

C1: pia nostris
 C2: [rest]
 T1: [rest] pro
 T2: [rest] sed notis
 B: [rest] nostris

132

C1: [rest] nostris condescende
 C2: [rest] condescende
 T1: de - vo - to - fe -
 T2: [rest] pia nostris
 B: [rest] condescende

137

precamur

precamur

- mi - ne - o se -

condescende

condescende

142

xu,

preca

precamur

147

obtineas

C1 ob tineas nobis

C2 obtineas nobis viciorum

T1

T2 mur obtineas

B obtineas nobis

153

nobis viciorum rumpere

C1 viciorum rumpere

C2

T1

T2 nobis viciorum rumpere

B viciorum

158

fu nes

C1 funes liberi

C2 liberi ut

T1

T2 funes liberi ut

B liberi ut

163

liberi ut ethereas

C1 ut ethereas

C2 ethereas valeamus

T1

T2 ethereas valeamus

B ethereas valeamus

168

valeamus tendere

C1

C2 tendere sedes

T1

T2 tendere sedes

B tendere sedes

172

sedes Amen

C1 Amen

C2 Amen

T1 Amen

T2 Amen

B A men

B.4. *Odas clangat/Yesse produxit in Tr 89*

Commentary

Contra:

Opening sign appears to be a cut C, but has to be O.

Tenor:

114.1: d breve

Odas clangat/Yesse produxit

First system of the musical score. It features two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto) and two bass staves (Contra and Tenor). The Soprano and Alto parts are in treble clef and contain the lyrics "Odas clangat". The Soprano part has a flat (b) on the final note. The Contra and Tenor parts are in bass clef and contain whole rests.

Odas clangat

Odas clangat

Contra

Tenor

Second system of the musical score, starting at measure 4. The Soprano and Alto parts continue with the melody. The Soprano part has a sharp (#) on the final note. The Contra and Tenor parts continue with whole rests.

4

C

T

Third system of the musical score, starting at measure 7. The Soprano and Alto parts continue with the melody. The Soprano part has a flat (b) on the final note. The Contra and Tenor parts continue with whole rests.

7

C

T

10

C

T

13

C

T

16

C

T

Yesse produxit

19

C

T

Yesse produxit

22

Soprano (S) staff: Measure 22 has a whole note G⁴ with a sharp sign. Measure 23 has a whole rest. Measure 24 has a whole note G⁴.

Alto (A) staff: Measure 22 has a whole note F⁴ with a sharp sign. Measure 23 has a whole note G⁴. Measure 24 has a whole note F⁴ with a sharp sign.

Bass (B) staff: Measure 22 has a whole note E⁴. Measure 23 has a whole note D⁴. Measure 24 has a whole note E⁴.

25

Soprano (S) staff: Measure 25 has a whole note G⁴. Measure 26 has a whole note A⁴. Measure 27 has a whole note B⁴ with a sharp sign.

Alto (A) staff: Measure 25 has a whole note F⁴ with a sharp sign. Measure 26 has a whole note G⁴. Measure 27 has a whole note A⁴.

Bass (B) staff: Measure 25 has a whole note E⁴. Measure 26 has a whole note D⁴. Measure 27 has a whole note E⁴.

28

Soprano (S) staff: Measure 28 has a whole rest. Measure 29 has a whole rest. Measure 30 has a whole note G⁴.

Alto (A) staff: Measure 28 has a whole rest. Measure 29 has a whole note F⁴ with a sharp sign. Measure 30 has a whole note G⁴.

Bass (B) staff: Measure 28 has a whole note E⁴. Measure 29 has a whole note D⁴. Measure 30 has a whole note E⁴.

31

Soprano (S) staff: Measure 31 has a whole rest. Measure 32 has a whole rest. Measure 33 has a whole note G⁴.

Alto (A) staff: Measure 31 has a whole rest. Measure 32 has a whole note F⁴ with a sharp sign. Measure 33 has a whole note G⁴.

Bass (B) staff: Measure 31 has a whole note E⁴. Measure 32 has a whole note D⁴. Measure 33 has a whole note E⁴.

35

C

T

38

C

T

41

C

T

44

C

T

47

Soprano (S), Alto (A), Contralto (C), Tenor (T)

50

Soprano (S), Alto (A), Contralto (C), Tenor (T)

53

Soprano (S), Alto (A), Contralto (C), Tenor (T)

57

Soprano (S), Alto (A), Contralto (C), Tenor (T)

63

C

T

69

C

T

75

C

T

80

C

T

84

C

T

89

C

T

96

C

T

102

C

T

108

Soprano (S) and Alto (A) staves show a melodic line with a slur. The Contrabass (C) and Tenor (T) staves provide harmonic support with various chords and single notes. Measure 109 and 110 feature a flat (b) in the Alto staff. Measure 111 features a sharp (♯) in the Contrabass staff. Measure 112 features a flat (b) in the Tenor staff. Measure 113 features a flat (b) in the Tenor staff.

114

Soprano (S) and Alto (A) staves show a melodic line. The Contrabass (C) and Tenor (T) staves provide harmonic support. Measure 115, 116, 117, 118, and 119 feature a sharp (♯) in the Alto staff.

120

Soprano (S) and Alto (A) staves show a melodic line. The Contrabass (C) and Tenor (T) staves provide harmonic support. Measure 121, 122, 123, and 124 feature a sharp (♯) in the Alto staff.

125

Soprano (S) and Alto (A) staves show a melodic line. The Contrabass (C) and Tenor (T) staves provide harmonic support. Measure 126, 127, 128, and 129 feature a sharp (♯) in the Alto staff.

130

C

T

133

C

T

136

C

T

139

C

T

142

C

T

145

C

T

148

C

T

B.5. *Perpulchra Syon filia/[Pulchra es et decora] in Tr 89*

Commentary

[Discantus]:

66.1: f' breve before and after the page turn. Single barline fitted in immediately preceding the f' breve before the page turn. Voices are inconsistent, but I believe the better solution involves getting rid of the extra breve.

Contratenor:

66.1: f breve before and after the page turn. Double barline immediately preceding the f breve before the page turn, as in discantus.

Tenor:

66.1: Page turn as written.

Bassus:

66.1: Before the page turn, bassus has semibreve rest followed by three f semibreves. This is repeated after the page turn. I assume this is an unnecessary repetition: this would not fit into the space provided by the extra breve in the discantus and contratenor.

Perpulchra Syon filia/Pulchra es et decora

Per - pul - chra Sy - - - on fi -

Contra

Per - pul - chra Sy - - - on fi -

Tenor

Bassus

Per - pul - chra Sy - - - on fi - li -

6

- li - - a

C

- li - a in - ter ro - sas et li -

T

in - ter ro - sas et li -

B

- a in - - ter ro - sas et li -

11

for - mo - sa iu - ste mi - - -

C

- li - a for - mo - sa iu - ste mi - - -

T

- li - a for - mo - sa iu - ste mi - - -

B

- li - - a for - mo - sa iu - ste mi - li -

16

Soprano: li - a trac - tans na -

Alto: li - a trac - tans na -

Tenore: li - a

Basso: a trac - tans na -

21

Soprano: - ti te - ner - ri -

Alto: - ti te - ner - ri -

Tenore: - ti te - ner - ri -

Basso: - ti te - ner - ri -

25

Soprano: - me. O dul - ce in - ter

Alto: - me O dul - ce

Tenore: O dul - ce in - ter

Basso: me O dul - ce in - ter

30

Soprano: mi - li - a la - cti dans

Alto: in - ter mi - li - a la - cti dans

Tenore: mi - li - a la - cti

Basso: li - li - a la - cti

34

pu - e - - - ri - - - li -

C

8

pu - e - ri - li - - - a

T

dans - - - - - pu - - - - e - ri - - - -

B

39

- a

pre - cu - pi - ta vi -

C

8

pre - cu - pi - ta

T

li - - - - - a pre - cu - pi - ta vi -

B

- - - a pre - cu - - pi - ta vi - gi -

44

gi - li - - a Ihe - su ser - - - - vans

C

8

vi - gi - li - a Ihe - se ser - - - -

T

gi - li - a Ihe - su - - - - ser - vans - - - pul -

B

- li - - - - a - - - Ihe - su ser -

49

pul - - - cher - - - - ri - me ha - bes

C

8

vans pul - cher - - - - ri - me ha - bes

T

- cher - - - - ri - me

B

- vans pul - cher - - - ri - me -

54

Ihe - sum in - ter for - ris ma - ter

C

8 Ihe - sum in - - - ter fo - - - ris

T

B

59

ha - bes in - - - ter fo - ris

de - i fons de - - -

C

8 ma - ter de - i fons de -

T

B

63

- co - - - - - ris ha -

- co - - - - - ris

T

ha - bes

B

67

bes pro - pter cun - cte ho - ris et quod

ha - bes pro - pter cun - - - cte ho -

T

pro - pter cun - cte ho - - - ris

B

pro - pter cun - cte ho - ris et

167v/168r

71

re - - - stat le - ti - ti -

C 8 ris et quod re - stat le -

T

B quod re - - - stat le - ti - - - ti -

74

e O ce - les - te ple - - - na ro -

C 8 ti - ti - e O ce - les - te ple - -

T O ce - les - - te ple - na ro - -

B e O ce - les - te ple - - ne

78

-ris lo - - - cum da - re

C 8 na ro - ris lo - - cum da - re

T ris

B ro - - - ris lo - cum da - re

81

sol de - co - - - ris pu -

C 8 sol de - co - - ris pu -

T pu - - er -

B sol de - co - ris pu - er - - -

84

er - pe - rus ce - li cho -

C

er - pe - rus ce - li cho - ris

T

- pe - - - rus ce - li cho - ris

B

pe - - - - rus ce - - - - li cho -

88

-ris gra - tis - si - me

C

gra - tis - - - si - - - -

T

gra - tis - - - - si - - me

B

- - - - ris gra - tis - - -

91

re - - - ce - - -

C

- - - - me re - - - ce - - -

T

- - - - -

B

- - - - - si - me re - -

94

- pit te gau - de vir -

C

- - - pit te

T

gau - - - de vir - go

B

- ce - - - - pit te gau - de vir - -

98

-go sem - per gau - - de gau -

C

8

T

sem - - per gau - - - - -

B

101

go

de ma - - ter spon - -

C

8

T

-de gau - - - de ma - ter spon - -

B

104

sa plau - de gaud - de

C

8

T

- sa plau - - - de Gau - de

B

107

gra - - - ta di - - -

C

8

T

— gra - - - ta di - - -

B

110

S - na lau - - - - -

A - - - - -

T gna - lau - - - - -

B - - - - -

113

S - de per - pe - - -

A reg - - na - - tu - - ra per - pe -

T - de reg - na - tu - - - ra per -

B - - - reg - na - tu... per -

116

S - tu - e - ma - ter so - - lis - na -

A - tu - - - e ma - ter so - -

T pe - tu - - - e ma - ter so - lis

B pe - tu - - - e ma - ter so - lis

119

S - ta pro - lis que et co - lis al -

A - lis na - ta pro - lis que et co - lis al - ta -

T na - ta pro - lis que et co - lis al - ta po -

B na - - ta pro - lis que et co - lis al -

123

-ta po - lis re - a - li - ter al - lo - qui - -

C

8 po - lis re - a - li - ter al - lo - qui - -

T

lis re - a - li - ter al - lo - qui - -

B

ta po - lis re - a - li - ter al -

127

-tur ut [vi - de - ant] mi - tis - - si - -

C

-tur ut [vi - de - ant] mi - tis - - si - me

T

-tur ut [vi - de - ant] mi - - tis - si -

B

lo - qui - tur ut [vi - de - ant] mi - - tis - - si -

131

me et trac - tet su - a - - - vis -

C

et trac - tet su - a - - vis - si - -

T

me et trac - tet su - a - vis -

B

me et trac - tet su - a - vis - si - me

134

- si - me nos om - nis su - - a - re -

C

me nos om - nis su - a - re - qui -

T

- si - - me nos om - nis su - a re - qui -

B

nos om - - nis su - - -

137

qui - - - e re - - qui -

C

T

B

- a re - qui - - - - -

139

e. e. e. e.

C

T

B

e.

B.6. *Tota pulchra es*/Salve in GB-Lbl Royal 8.G.VII

Tota pulcra es/Salve regina

Anon. in *GB-Lbl* Royal 8.G.VII

Contra

Tenor

Bassus

6

Sal - - - - - ve

T

B

mi - ca me - - a et ma - - - - - cu -

mi - ca me - a et ma - cu - - -

10

Sal -

Sal - - -

T

B

la, et ma - cu - la non est in te et pul - cri

la et ma - cu - la non est in te

15

ve

ve

T

B

sunt gres - sus tu - i o - cu - li tu - i co -

quam pul - cri sunt gres - sus tu - i o - cu - li tu - i co -

20

Sal - - - - -

Sal - - - - - ve

T
8
- lum - ba - rum et co - mae ca - - pi - tis

B
- lum - ba - rum et co - mae ca - pi - tis

25

-ve

Sal -

T
8
tu - - i si - cut pur - pu - ra Re - - - gis col -

B
tu - i si - cut pur - pu - ra Re - - - gis

30

Sal - - - - - ve

- - - - - ve

T
8
lum tu - um si - cut tur - ris, si - cut tur - ris e -

B
col - lum tu - um si - cut tur - ris

35

Sal - - - -

Sal - - - -

T
8
- bur - ne - a quam pul - cra es

B
e - bur ne - a quam pul - cra

39

ve

ve

T et quam de - co - ra ca - ris - si -

B es et quam de - co - ra ca -

43

Sal - - -

Sal - - -

T ma ve - ni, ve - ni, ve - ni de li - ba - no, ve -

B ris - si - ma ve - ni ve - ni de li - ba - no ve - ni

48

ve

-ve

T ni de li - ba - no ve -

B ve - - ni de li - ba - no ve -

51

ni co - ro - na - be - ris.

T ni co - ro - na - be - ris.

B - ni co - ro - na - be - ris.

54

O pul - cher - ri - ma mu -

O pul - cher - ri - ma mu - li - e -

T

B

Sal -

Sal - - - -

60

li - e - rum sur - - ge pro - pe - ra a -

rum sur - - ge pro - pe - ra a - mi - ca

T

B

ve

- - ve

65

mi - ca me - - a co - lum - ba me -

me - a co - lum - ba

T

B

Sal - - - -

Sal - - - -

69

- a for - mo - sa me - a et ve - - ni et

me - a for - mo - sa me - a et ve - - ni et

T

B

ve

- ve

74

ve - - - ni os - ten - de mi - hi fa -

ve - ni os - ten - de mi -

T

B Sal - - - - -

78

ci - em tu - am so - net vox tu - - a in au - ri -

chi fa - ci - em tu - am so - net vox tu - - a in

T ve

B Sal - - - -

83

bus me - - is vox e - nim tu - a dul -

au - ri - bus me - - is vox e - nim tu - a

T Sal - - - - -

B ve

88

cis est et fa - ci - es tu -

dul - cis est et fa - ci - es tu -

T Sal - - - -

B Sal - - - -

93

- a de - co - ra de - co -

- a de - co -

T
8
ve

B
ve

97

- ra de - co -

- ra de - co -

T
8
Sal

B
Sal

100

- ra.

- ra.

T
8
ve

B
ve

**B.7. Japart, *Vray dieu d'amours/Sancte Iohanes baptista/Ora pro nobis* in
Canti C (1504³)**

Vray dieu d'amours - Sancte Johannes Baptista

Jo. Japart
transcribed from Canti C (1504^3)

First system of the musical score. It features five staves: a vocal staff (soprano), a Tenor staff, two Contralto staves, and a Bassus staff. The vocal staff begins with the lyrics 'Vray dieu da - mours'. The Tenor staff begins with 'Vray dieu'. The first Contralto staff begins with 'San - cte jo - a - nes bap - tis - ta'. The second Contralto staff begins with 'O -'. The Bassus staff begins with 'Vray' followed by a long horizontal line and then 'dieu'. The music is written in a style typical of 16th-century French chansons, with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature.

Vray dieu da - mours

Tenor
Vray dieu

Contra
San - cte jo - a - nes bap - tis - ta

Contra
O -

Bassus
Vray _____ dieu

Second system of the musical score, starting at measure 7. It features five staves: a vocal staff, a Tenor (T) staff, two Contralto (C) staves, and a Bass (B) staff. The vocal staff continues the melody. The Tenor staff begins with 'San - cte pe - - tre'. The first Contralto staff begins with 'ra pro no - bis'. The second Contralto staff begins with 'o - ra'. The Bass staff continues the accompaniment. The music maintains the same key signature and time signature as the first system.

7

T
San - cte pe - - tre

C
ra pro no - bis

C
o - ra

B

13

T

C

C

B

San - cte

pro no - bis

18

T

C

C

B

pau - - le San - cte

o - ra pro no - bis

24

T

C

C

B

an - dre - a

o - ra pro no - bis

29

San - cte tho - - ma o - ra pro no -

34

San - cte ni - co - la - e bis o - ra

41

San - cte sy - - mon pro no - bis

46

San - cte lu - -
o - ra pro no - bis

51

cha
o - ra pro no - bis