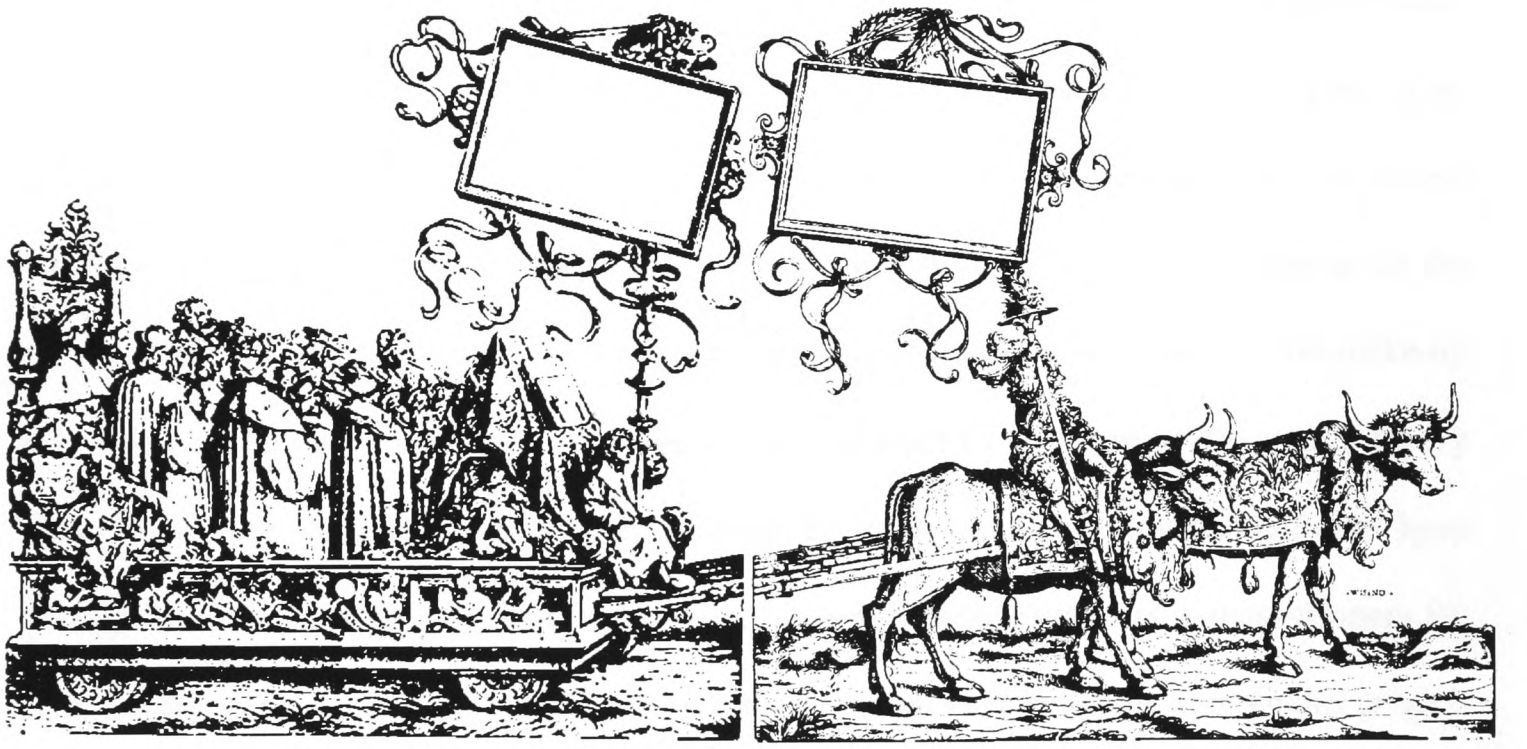
The Mass-Proper Cycles of Henricus Isaac:

Genesis, Transmission, and Authenticity



Volume I: Text

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THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The Mass-Proper Cycles of Henricus Isaac: Genesis, Transmission, and Authenticity

David J. Burn **D. Phil.**

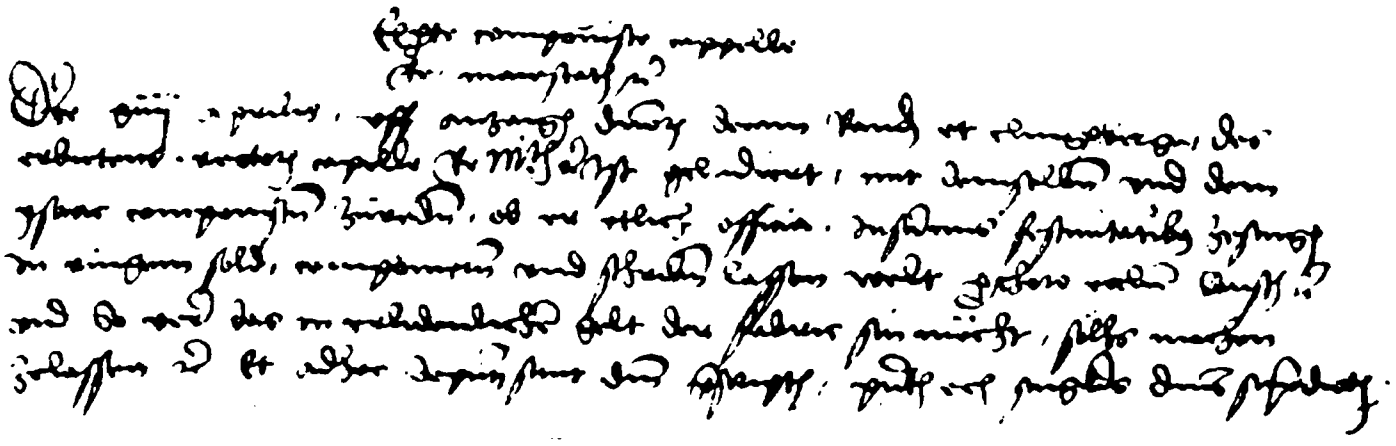
Merton College **Trinity Term, 2002**

This study reassesses the relationship between the monumental collection of Henricus Isaac's mass-proper cycles published as the *Choralis Constantinus* and the composer's original mass-proper projects. The first section charts changing views of Isaac as a historical figure, from his time to ours. Following this, the second section pursues the implications of recent redatings of major *Choralis* sources with a detailed investigation of the transmission of the *Choralis*'s music from composer to print. This analysis suggests new views for the make-up of each of the projects known to have been compiled together in the print: the earlier theory of a Constance Common of Saints is dismissed, whilst a mass-ordinary that may have belonged to the Constance project is identified; it is suggested that Isaac's mass-propers for the Imperial court cannot easily be seen as a single project, and that some anonymous proper-cycles not found in the *Choralis* may be Isaac's and may have belonged to Imperial repertory.

To shed further light on the original scopes of Isaac's mass-proper projects, the third section of this thesis investigates Isaac's non-*Choralis* mass-propers. Particular attention is given to the large collection of such items found in two related manuscripts from later-sixteenth-century Augsburg. Examination of the context and function of these manuscripts suggests that the *unica* they preserve attributed to Isaac are spurious. On the other hand, consideration of the *Choralis*'s transmission and the shape of Isaac's secure Imperial repertory suggests that some anonymous cycles in the manuscript WeimB A are Isaac's.

The final part of this study re-examines the attributions and de-attributions made in the first two sections at a music-stylistic level. No conflicting evidence is found. On the contrary, all earlier suggestions are reinforced.

a Dórámnak. Szeretlek...



Frontispiece: The 'Constance Commission Document'

Badisches Generallandesarchiv, Karlsruhe, Protokollsammlung 61/7237, fol. 104.

(Constance Cathedral Protocol No. 3366)

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Spelling, Citations, Abbreviations, and Manuscript Sigla

Documents are quoted, wherever possible, in their original language with their original spelling. Translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

References to pieces in the *Choralis* are made according to a standard format, giving firstly the volume, then the cycle number, followed by an abbreviation of the movement type, and section, if necessary, e.g. CCI/26. Comm. is the communion of the twenty-sixth cycle of the first volume of the *Choralis*, that is, for the first Sunday in Advent. Abbreviations denoting specific voice-parts follow as necessary. Full explanations of all abbreviations used in these references, and of other abbreviations used throughout the text, are given below.

When reference is made to the opening text of a piece that begins with a chant incipit, the incipit is separated by a slash, e.g. *Dominus/dabit benignitatem* (polyphony begins at 'dabit'). In the case of sequences, the first line of the text is always given, separated from that of the first polyphonic section, if these are not the same, e.g. *Verbum Sapientiae/O Narcisse promisse* ('Verbum sapientiae' is the opening line of the sequence, but polyphony begins at 'O Narcisse promisse', verse 19). It is to be noted that the alphabetical list in the *New Grove* gives sequences only according to their first polyphonic section, hence it is possible to find multiple settings of the same item under different titles if the polyphony does not begin with the same verse in each case.

Manuscripts are referred to by the abbreviations from Herbert Kellman et al., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400-1550*. Prints are cited by their RISM codes (with the exception of the *Choralis*, referred to as CC). Full references for the sources cited by both these codes are given at the end of this thesis. The standard abbreviations of the *New Grove* are used in citations of secondary literature.

None of the published editions of the *Choralis* gives bar numbers. When reference is made to these editions, bar numbers have been calculated according to the same system appiled in the transcriptions of Volume II of this thesis: counting begins at the first bar of

polyphony, and continues uninterrupted unless there is intervening chant (hence numbering returns to 1 for introit verses and for each sequence section).

Throughout the text, the word 'series' refers to a group of cycles, 'cycle' refers to all extant polyphonic parts of a particular proper, 'movement' to an individual part within the cycle, and 'section' to a constituent unit within a movement.

Abbreviations:

A.	Altus
All.	Alleluia
B.	Bassus
CC	*Choralis Constantinus* (print or edition specified as necessary)
Comm.	Communion
D.	Discantus
GP	*Graduale Pataviense* (Vienna, 1511; facsimile, ed. C. Väterlein, EDM 87)
Gr.	Gradual
incompl.	incomplete
Int.	Introit
mnm.	minim
sb.	semibreve
Sequ.	Sequence
T.	Tenor
Tr.	Tract
Vag.	Vagans
vs.	verse

Isaac: An Outline Biography

Isaac: Life and Work		Surrounding Events	
***c.* 1450-55**	Henricus Isaac born in the Low-Countries, possibly near or in Ghent. His father's name is Hugo.		
1470s	In employ of Duke Sigismund of Tyrol?		
***c.* 1476**	Earliest source of any music attributed to Isaac: three motets (*Argentum et aurum*; *Inviolata, integra et casta*; *Ecce sacerdos magnus*) in MunBS 3154, a manuscript of Innsbruck origin.	**1477**	Maximilian of Habsburg marries Mary of Burgundy.
1484, 15 Sept.	First documented reference: a payment in the Innsbruck court records to 'Hainrich Ysaac, componist'. Presumably he stayed there on the way to Florence. Payment related to Duke Sigismund's wedding in February, 1484? (cf. Strohm in *Grove*7).		

1485 First record of Florentine activity: a payment to 'Arrigo de Fiandra' in the records of the Singers of San Giovanni. Regular payments continue until 1493, when the chapel was disbanded.

1485-*c.* 89 Isaac marries Bartolomea Bello (b. 1464), daughter of a Florentine artisan; the wedding was arranged by Lorenzo il Magnifico, and the couple had their own house in the Via dell'Ariento.

× **1489, 27 Feb.** News reaches Isaac of his father's death (D'Accone, 'Heinrich Isaac in Florence', 477-78).

1492, 8 April Lorenzo il Magnifico dies; Isaac accompanies Lorenzo's son, Piero, to Rome.

1493-94 With the disbanding of the Singers of San Giovanni (March, 1493), Isaac presumably enters the private service of Piero de'Medici.

1493 Emperor Frederick III dies. Succeeded by Maximilian I.

1495-96 Isaac leaves Florence for Pisa; he there encounters Maximilian I, with whom he may have already been acquainted, and enters his service.

1497, 3 Apr. Two documents at Innsbruck, one by Maximilian, and one in Isaac's own hand, confirm the appointment, salary, and pension for his wife, should she outlive him.

1499, 25 Sept. In Florence. In Constance before?

***c.* 1500** CCI, Advent-Palm Sunday already in existence (WeimB A).

1500 Isaac in Innsbruck (Feb.), Augsburg (Apr.) and Nuremberg (Nov.).

1501 Isaac in Wels (March) and Nuremberg (Nov.).

1494, Nov. Medici exiled from Florence; Savanarola takes charge of the city.

1498 Savanarola executed.

1502, Aug. First will drawn up in Florence; in Ferrara shortly after.

1503 / 1505 In Constance with Maximilian?

1506, July In Florence again.

1507, early In Constance, for the Reichstag (Apr.-July). Still there in November, when he meets Machiavelli, and maybe stays there until mid-1509.

1508, Feb. Maximilian crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Trent.

1508, April 14 Constance commission for propers.

1509, May Care of Isaac's Constance music is entrusted to 'Johanness praeceptor'.

1509, 7 Aug. A delivery of grain to Isaac recorded in Florence.

1509, Nov. Isaac's Constance music is ordered to be tested.

1510, May Maximilian I loans Isaac property in Val Policella (near Verona); a few days earlier, Senfl received a benifice in Verona, suggesting he was with Isaac, and had been with him since Constance (Picker, *Guide*, 11).

1512 In Florence at start of year; remains there except for short periods until his death. Possibly has been in Italy already since 1509 without a break.

1512, Nov. 24 Second will.

1513 Composes *Optime divino/Da pacem/Sacerdos et pontifex*.

1512 Dürer becomes court painter to Maximilian I.

1512, Sept. 1 Medici restored to power in Florence.

1513 George Slatkonia made first Bishop of Vienna

1514, 10 May Giuliano de'Medici writes from Rome to Lorenzo, head of the family in Florence, asking for a pension to be arranged for Isaac. The request is granted on 30 May.

1514, 19 Aug. The administration of SS. Annunziata make Isaac provost – a sinecure.

1514, late Journeys to Innsbruck, to secure a pension from Maximilian; his salary is renewed (9 Oct.).

1515, 27 Jan. Salary again renewed; the wording suggests he may have fulfilled diplomatic missions in Florence.

1516, 4 Dec. Third will.

1517, 25 Mar. Isaac receives his final salary; probably dies the following day; payment for his funeral recorded on 27 March. Isaac requests commemorative masses sung annually at SS. Annunziata for ten years; church accounts show this was done as late as 1532.

1534 Isaac's wife Bartolomea dies.

1517 Luther's *95 Theses*.

1519 Maximilian I dies and is succeeded by Charles V. The Imperial chapel is quickly dissolved.

Acknowledgements

It is a pleasure to express my thanks to the many people who have supported me throughout the course of this thesis. My primary debt is to Professor Reinhard Strohm, who first put the idea of researching Isaac into my head. He has been enthusiastic, patient, and unstintingly generous with his time and expertise in supervising this work through to its completion. It has been an honour to have worked with him.

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I have been reliant on the resources and cooperation of numerous establishments and their staffs during the course of this project. My thanks go first and foremost to John Wagstaff, of Oxford's Music Faculty Library, for whom no request was too much trouble. My work was also immeasurably facilitated by the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg, the Universitätsbibliothek, Freiburg im Br., the Öffentliche Bibliothek and library of the Musikwissenschaftliches Institut, Basel, and the Staatsbibliothek, Munich. Dr. Hans-Otto Korth graciously welcomed me for several days at the Deutsches musikgeschichtliches Archiv, Kassel, where I had the opportunity to examine almost all the Isaac sources in microfilm.

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My work was enabled financially by a three-year Arts and Humanities Research Board Postgraduate Studentship. An additional travel grant from the Faculty of Music, Oxford, allowed me to visit a number of continental libraries. Further monetary assistance was provided by the Warden and Fellows of Merton College. I gratefully acknowledge their support.

Every thesis has its behind-the-scenes support team and mine is no exception. I would never have managed to finish without my family and friends, and I thank them for bearing with me through it all. My parents paid a high emotional and financial price keeping their son in education for yet another four years, but never stopped unquestioningly believing in me. I hope you think it's been worth it, once you get over the shock that it is actually over. Always wanting to steal the limelight, my sister gave me the distraction and responsibility of a niece nearly a year ago. Now I will have time to work in earnest at ensuring that she *will* play the harpsichord and like my sort of music. Evenings with my Grandmother, whose life-experience has been so different from mine, always helped put my problems in perspective. Tim, Vassilis, and Caroline all provided escape when it was needed, and have each been a source of musical adventures far removed from the sixteenth century. Barbara was always available to listen to my complaints. Jamie's LATs, SLATs, and SPLATs have fuelled a lot of this thesis, and I shall particularly miss them when I leave Oxford. My urban family at 9 Holywell Street was ideal company for the final year of writing up: watch out now that I am finally *cum trivetum stabilis*! Philip Morris provided essential and literal inspiration throughout, and TinNeE bUnNee eased many lonely hours of writing and correction. Most of all I thank Dora, my *édes barátnő*, who has enriched my life with more good things than I have words to describe. In the absence of any hostaged source material, this one's for you.

I

Introduction: Isaac in Theoretical and Historical Writings, Past and Present[1]

1. From Within Isaac's Lifetime to *c.* 1800

As with his great contemporary Josquin, Henricus Isaac has been a continual presence in music-theoretical literature, within his lifetime and after, as well as in music-history books from the time they first began to be produced in the later eighteenth century. If this is admittedly distinct from the maintenance of his music in the repertoire, that too, again as with Josquin, demonstrates an astonishing longevity. In any case, the examples of his music that continually circulated in theoretical and historical writings were available to anyone who cared to perform them. It is thus fair to assert that Isaac has had a firm place in the hagiography of Renaissance composers since he arrived on the musical scene. Given such currency, it is valuable to ask, at the beginning of a study devoted solely to him, what we understand to lie behind that name, what his historical and artistic importance is, what bases we have for this knowledge, and how far we can validly say we know Isaac at all. There follows, then, an investigation of the forces that have shaped and altered Isaac as a historical figure across time, and ultimately formed the picture that we ourselves receive.

Isaac entered documentary history in the Innsbruck court records of 1484, and the literature of his time in 1489 in the writings of Poliziano.[2] Within the wealth of citations that follow, clearly divergent trends are apparent, separating those made when he was alive from posthumous opinion. The former are of tremendous importance in both highlighting practical

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[1] Martin Staehelin's fundamental study, *Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs*, 3 vols. (Bern & Stuttgart, 1977) begins with a survey of scholarly engagement with Isaac from J. G. Walther onwards ('Einleitung: Überblick über die bisherige Forschung zu Isaac und Ansatz der vorliegenden Untersuchung', *Die Messen*, I, 1-16). The present section aims to complement Staehelin's essay by focussing on earlier periods and other perspectives.

[2] All known documentary evidence relating to Isaac, both biographical and theoretical, is laid out chronologically, with commentary, in Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II.

considerations and fleshing out our picture of Isaac's character. Most immediately memorable are his compositional facility in whatever genre was demanded of him and his affable nature, mentioned in the famous report of the Ferraran agent Gian of September 2, 1502.[3] Yet the figure of Isaac as a lasting historical character was decisively shaped by the latter group. It was the German theoretical and pedagogical tradition, beginning with Ottomarus Luscinius' *Musurgia seu Praxis musicae* (Strasbourg, 1536), that carried Isaac's name through the sixteenth century. The citations that belong to this pedagogical group at first either consist of general praise, or name Isaac as part of a list of noteworthy composers. However, a radically new tone was struck with the publication, in Basel in 1547, of Henricus Glarean's *Dodecachordon*.[4] Although this treatise was prepared in manuscript twenty or more years before being published, it was through the printing-press that Glarean achieved his most far-reaching impact, and succeeded in targeting the greatly increased readership that was opened up by this powerful technology. The *Dodecachordon* was written with an aim quite different from that of earlier treatises. Whilst previous writings, including Glarean's own much slimmer *Isagoge in musicen* (Basel, 1516), were intended as primers for young pupils at Latin school, the *Dodecachordon* set itself the much more ambitious goal of informing a far wider audience than hitherto, an audience including not only musicians themselves, but also the intellectual élite and the educated amateur.[5]

The pervasive impact of Glarean's text, particularly centring around his theoretical discussion of mode, has long been recognised, but his centrality to our perception of composers as historical figures is of potentially equal importance.[6] Glarean's status as a leading humanist scholar, coupled with his far-reaching musical connections, placed him in a position of greater knowledge than many of his readers, with the result that the

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[3] A quotation from this document is given in Section I.4, below; see also Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II, 56.

[4] Modern edition, trans. Clement A. Miller, MSD 6, 2 vols. (American Institute of Musicology, 1965).

[5] See James Haar, 'Value Judgements in Music of the Renaissance', *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. Tess Knighton & David Fallows (Oxford, 1992), 18; Leeman L. Perkins, 'Prenez sur moi: Reflections on Canons, Catholica and Solmization', *MD* 44 (1990), 119-125.

[6] Clement A. Miller, 'The *Dodecachordon*: Its Origin and Influence on Renaissance Thought', *MD* 15 (1961), 155-66, is fairly exclusively concerned with the spread of Glarean's twelve-mode system.

Dodecachordon became a cornerstone of subsequent critical judgement, even up to the present day. His observations on Isaac are no different in this respect from those he made on other composers.[7] In quantity and depth they outweigh all previous ones, and they become in their turn the central reference point, and fundamental shaping force, for later writers' evaluations of the composer. Of the numerous mentions of Isaac, often coupled with quotes from his music and technical observations, this must be the most important for future opinion:[8]

> Henricus Isaac
>
> Sequitur haud imerito Symphonetas iam dictos et arte et ingenio Henrichus Isaac Germanus. Qui et erudite et copiose innumera composuisse dicitur. Hic maxime Ecclesiasticum ornavit cantum videlicet in quo viderat maiestatem ac naturalem vim, non paulo superantem nostrae aetatis inventa θεματα, Phrasi aliquanto durior, nec tam sollicitus, ut consuetudini quid daret, quam daret, quam ut elimata essent, quae ederet.[9]
>
> (Heinrich Isaac. The Germanic Heinrich Isaac follows very justly the aforementioned composers both in art and talent. He also is said to have composed innumerable compositions, learnedly and prolifically. He embellished church song especially; namely, he had seen a majesty and a natural strength in it which surpasses by far the themes invented in our own time. Somewhat rougher in *phrasis*, he was not so anxious to do something in the customary way as to bring forth the compositions which had been elaborated.)[10]

---

[7] Cf. Jessie Ann Owens, 'How Josquin Became Josquin: Reflections on Historiography and Reception', *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honour of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens & Anthony M. Cummings (Warren, Michigan, 1997), 273.

[8] Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II, 108-17 reproduces all relevant passages from Glarean in the original.

[9] Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II, 114.

[10] *Dodecachordon*, trans. Miller, vol. 2, 278.

The weight of direct experience behind these words lends them an overwhelming authority. Glarean was closely connected to the Habsburg court of Isaac's patron Emperor Maximilian I from an early stage in his career, when he was crowned poet-laureate at the Cologne Reichstag of 1512. If there is no evidence to support Glarean's personal acquaintance with Isaac himself, the possibility cannot be ruled out, whilst direct contacts with Isaac's devoted pupil Senfl, and his colleague Sixt Dietrich, can be proven.[11] Thus Glarean's statements can be seen to reflect the views of Isaac's closest circle, if not those of the master himself, regarding the composer's most important field of activity.

It should be noted that what Glarean says, singling out Isaac above all as a master of chant setting, is not attached to any specific repertory. Indeed, the careful wording suggests a broad acquaintance with Isaac's music, and an attempt to offer a pathway through which to judge an extensive and varied body of work. The highlighting of what must be considered Isaac's most valuable compositional contribution, the place where the truest and best of his style is to be found, must logically betray a wide knowledge of the music in question, both sacred and secular, typical and atypical. This breadth of knowledge is evident from the references made in the text to a wide variety of pieces, as well as by the number and type of musical examples Glarean provides. Whilst the majority of Glarean's examples are from Josquin, Isaac ranks relatively highly in having four pieces presented: two motets, *Anima mea liquefacta est* and *Tota pulcra es*, and two mass-proper movements, *Loquebar/de testimoniis* and *De radice Iesse* (CCII/25. Sequ. section 1).[12] These examples clearly demonstrate Glarean's familiarity with Isaac's work as a setter of chant in several genres. If Glarean's observations were primarily sparked by familiarity with Isaac's mass-propers, where chant setting is of most obvious and central importance, they need not necessarily refer only to this genre, but rather, are equally valid for at least some mass-ordinaries and motets as well.

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[11] Clement Miller, 'Glareanus, Henricus', *Grove*6.

[12] On the motets, see Emma Kempson, 'The Motets of Heinrich Isaac (*c.* 1450-1517): Transmission, Structure, and Function' (Ph. D. diss., King's College, London, 1998), 153-58.

Glarean's friend Heinrich Faber reiterated Glarean's views, in words similar enough to suggest dependency, in his *Ad musicam practicam introductio*, published by Montanus and Neuber of Nuremberg in 1550, but extant in manuscript at least two years earlier:[13]

> Adiiciam quoque ex Jsaaco exemplum, qui cum caeteri sui saeculi Symphonistae haberent animos occupatos in componendis thematibus proprio Marte inventis, cantum ecclesiasticum ut ornaret, multum operae studiique profuit.
>
> (I add also an example from Isaac, who, with other composers of his generation who had souls busy with composing themes as if found from Mars, made many learned works in order to decorate the chant of the church.)

Yet despite the parallels between the Faber and the *Dodecachordon*, Faber's words mark a stage of crystallisation in Isaac's reception in theoretical literature beyond that of Glarean. There is an identifiable reweighting of the values, achieved by a process of omission. In Glarean, the specific isolation of Isaac's approach to chant-setting rubs shoulders with technical observations on the qualities of his melodies and other favoured compositional tactics. In Faber, by contrast, there is a reduction to the bare essentials, in which chant-decoration is the only feature singled out for specific comment. Moreover, Faber continues by underlining the fact that Isaac's chant-treatments 'have been much imitated' by the next generation, chiefly Senfl, and concludes with an illustrative example.[14] A first stage in the gaining of pedagogical status for Isaac's chant-setting style is apparent here, as Faber's treatise was intended for school use. The other general comments, 'thematibus proprio...' and 'multum operae studiique...', receive no further expansion.

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[13] See Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II, 117-118; Miller, 'Glareanus'.

[14] The music, an otherwise unknown piece, is reproduced in Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II, 118-19; the unidentified chant in the discant voice is underlaid with words evidently for Christmas ('Hodie Deus homo factus est'), although the text says the piece is from the office of the Holy Trinity. Staehelin assumes the piece is supposed to be by Isaac, although Faber's text is ambiguous, and leaves open the possibility that it is by an imitator.

From a publishing house in the same city and in the same year as Faber's treatise, came the most momentous event of all in shaping Isaac's reputation: Hieronymus Formschneider's issuing of the long-promised first volume of Isaac's mass-propers under the title of *Choralis Constantinus*.[15] With the subsequent appearance of two more volumes to finish the collection, both in 1555, the overall quantity of music made available in the prints constituted a posthumous homage to a composer on an otherwise unknown scale. Not even Josquin, who, like Isaac, owed the continued circulation of his music through the mid- to late-sixteenth century to Germany, received treatment to rival this. As a statement of values of what Isaac stood for musically, the print's impact was, and still remains, vast. As the broad acquaintance with the totality of Isaac's music dwindled, Formschneider's publication brought a specific part of the composer's output into a much wider circulation than it had ever known before.

Precise details concerning the print, such as how many copies were made, what the costs were, and who it was principally aimed at, remain obscure. Still, some provisional hypotheses can be made on the basis of the surviving copies, and other documentary evidence. The market would seem to have been restricted to German-speaking areas. Not only the largest courts, but ambitious smaller ones, modelling themselves on the former's example, showed an interest in this music even before it was printed, thus Formschneider would have had a ready-made consumer-group with these institutions alone. Five complete sets of all three volumes of the print and some individual partbooks and fragments survive today.[16] Of the former, two sets bear indications of ownership: the words 'Su[m] ex biblioteca Ioh. Georgii à Werdenstein canonici' are written on the flyleaf of the CCI tenor partbook in the set now in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, whilst one of the partbooks of the set now in Uppsala University library has the words 'Sum Fransisci Schillingij Vicarij

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[15] Johannes Ott had announced the print in 1537; see Section II.5, below. All volumes of the *Choralis* are available in facsimile, with a foreword by Edward E. Lerner, Facsimile Series for Scholars and Musicians (Peer, 1990-94).

[16] See RISM A/1/4 189-91.

Moguntinij 1564. Velis quod potes' on its rear flyleaf, and 'Ex libris Muficis Sebastiani Stolz, nunc verò Thomae Schmithi Erphordiani' on its title page.[17] These indications reveal an additional consumer-group for the print. They also suggest that the three volumes of the print were received from the beginning, at least in some quarters, as a single, integral unit, and that they continued to be preserved as such as they were transferred from hand to hand. As far as may be traced, each volume of each set is of identical provenance. Such a pattern is in accordance with the prepublication reception that is documented in the so-called 'Heidelberg' Inventory of 1544.[18] Moreover, this pattern of understanding the three volumes of the print as a unity was implicitly claimed by the print to be valid back to the composer himself. This has been subject to re-evaluation only relatively recently in the *Choralis*' history.

In conjunction with the critical assessments of Glarean and Faber, the print provided direct musical evidence to uphold their claims for Isaac as the doyen of chant-setting. If the four successive theorists immediately following, Adrian Petit Coclico, Hermann Finck, Francesco Grazzini detto il Lasca, and Claudius Sebastiani simply continue to cite Isaac as part of a list, as a good composer, the fifth, Gallus Dressler, in chapter 15 of his *Praecepta musicae poeticae* of 1563/64, completes the process of pedegogical canonisation begun in Faber.[19] Indeed, Dressler's treatise is dependent on Faber's in many ways.[20] This new shift of balance in views of Isaac is evident from the fact that his chant-setting is no longer mentioned purely descriptively, but as pedagogical prescription. Isaac is held up as master and model for any hoping to compose in this genre:[21]

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[17] The Munich set was used for Lerner's facsimile edition; on the Uppsala set, see Rafael Mitjana, *Catalogue Critique et Descriptif des Imprimés de Musique des XVIe et XVIIe Siècles Conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'Université Royale d'Upsala* (Uppsala, 1914), vol. 1, nos. 100 and 101.

[18] See Section II.7, below.

[19] On the intervening theorists, and Dressler himself, see Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II, 121-27.

[20] Wilhelm Martin Luther, *Gallus Dressler: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des protestantischen Schulkantorats im 16. Jahrhundert* (Kassel, 1941).

[21] See also Owens, 'How Josquin Became Josquin', 272, on this text in relation to Josquin. Bracketed words in the quote indicate autograph additions.

Quandoquidem omnia principia (sua) sint gravia, elegant sibi Tyrones aliquem Symphonistam imitandum quorum, etsi multa sunt genera, tamen quatuor praecipua recenseri possunt.

1. Inter primum genus refertur Josquinus cum suis coetaneis, qui ex fugis extruunt harmonias, sed eorum cantiones quatuor sunt nudae.

2. Inter secundum genus numeratur Henricus Isaac (Senfel) et alii euisdem generis qui contrapunto fracto maxime excellunt.

3. Inter tertium genus refertur Clemens, Gombertus (Crequillus) cum aliis qui ad nostra usque tempora floruerunt. Horum cantiones non ex nudis sed ex plenis fugis constiuuntur, et eruditis auribus hactenus fuerunt probatae.

4. Inter quartum genus refertur Orlandus qui omnes suavitate antecellere videtur. Hic ad fugas ubique se alligare non patitur sed praecipue suavitatis est studiosus et verbis Harmoniam apte et convenienter per decorum applicat.

(Since every principle is important, the beginner chooses any composer to imitate, of which, although there are many kinds, four nonetheless should be particularly examined: i) the first kind comprises Josquin and his contemporaries, who draw harmonies from counterpoint, although their four-part songs are bare; ii) of the second kind is numbered Isaac (Senfl), and others of their kind, who greatly excel in *contrapunctus fractus*; iii) the third kind comprises Clemens, Gombert (Crequillon), with others who flourish even to our time. Their songs are made not from bare, but from full, counterpoint, and were hitherto approved by learned ears; iv) the fourth kind comprises Orlandus [Lassus], who surpasses all in sweetness. He suffers no impediment to the counterpoint, but is especially studious in sweetness and applies harmony appropriately and conveniently to the words by grace.)

We can presume with some justification that the substantiation provided by the print acted as a catalyst for this final stage, although no specific reference to it occurs: there would have

been little of the remainder of Isaac's works so readily available to counterbalance the picture.

A silence on the subject of Isaac lasting almost a hundred and twenty years occurs between a citation in Pietro Cerone's *Melopeo* (1613) and that in Johann Gottfried Walther's *Musikalisches Lexicon oder musikalische Bibliothek*, published in Leipzig in 1732.[22] In constituting Isaac's most persistent absence from the literature, this gap forms an evident rupture in Isaac-reception. It divides the writings clearly into early and later groups. It should be noted, however, that the absence of commentary in the interim period does not necessarily mean that Isaac's name was entirely forgotten. Glarean's *Dodecachordon* remained a standard reference text for music teaching for two hundred years after its publication.[23]

It is not sufficient to characterise the later stage of Isaac-reception by a new attention to the music and musicians of the past, as such an interest was not unknown before. Nonetheless, the renewed willingness, from Walther onwards, to include Isaac's name once again in contemporary music-history books is evidently significant. Insofar as Isaac's music had long since fallen silent, the context in which the writings of this later stage occur differs sharply from that of the earlier group. The first modern music-historians had little choice but to base their assessments of Isaac virtually entirely upon what Glarean had said in his text and presented in his examples. Without acquaintance with additional repertory, they could do little more than unquestioningly transmit Glarean's comments, in full knowledge of doing so. Because of this, the results of this resurgent interest initially show little surface variation from the pattern already established in the sixteenth century.

The first of the later-group citations, the entry on Isaac in Walther's *Musikalisches Lexikon* of 1732, clearly illustrates the continuing dependency on Glarean. The mention of other primary material is nonetheless welcome:

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[22] On Cerone, see Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II, 130.

[23] See Martin Bente, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik und die Biographie Ludwig Senfls: Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte des Reformationszeitalters* (Wiesbaden, 1968), 10.

> Isaac (*Henricus*) ein teutscher Componist, der viele sinnreiche Stücke über Kirchengesänge soll verfertiget haben. f. *Glareani*, Dodecach p. 149 und 460. item *Ottomari Luscinii*, Comment. 2 p. 94. *Angelus Politianus* lib. Epigrammat. p. 622. nennet ihn Arrighum Ifac.[24]

This was matched later in a similarly plain *Dodecachordon* summary given by John Hawkins in his *General History of the Science and Practice of Music* from 1776. Hawkins may, in addition, have cribbed from Walther. He clearly knew the latter's work, and in at least one instance, his remarks on Heinrich Schütz, simply translated from the German.[25]

In his *A General History of Music from the Earliest to the Present Times*, published in the same year as Hawkins' *History*, Charles Burney added additional, personal commentary to received opinion. Although he makes his reliance on earlier authors quite overt, the elements of individual engagement and independent investigation make this text more significant than those of the previous two authors:

> Tinctor was at the head of the Neapolitan school, and Josquin of the Roman, about the same time as we meet the name of Arrigo Tedesco, in the writings of Politian, and other Florentine authors of the fifteenth century. I always imagined this last must have been a German composer, but was unable to meet with any specimens of his works till I discovered from a passage in Glareanus, p. 348, that ARRIGO TEDESCO and HENRY ISAAC were the same person...Glareanus has preserved several of Henry Isaac's compositions, 'in which', he says, 'great genius and erudition are discoverable. Henry Isaac', he continues, 'embellished the Ecclesiastical Chants, in which he found any majesty or force, with such Harmony, as made them superior to any new subjects of modern times['].[26]

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[24] See reprint in facsimile, ed. Richard Schaal (Kassel & Basel, 1958), 332.

[25] See Allen B. Skei, *Heinrich Schütz: A Guide to Research* (New York, 1981), xix.

[26] *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Times*, 2 vols. (London, 1776/89; repr., ed. Frank Mercer, London, 1935), I, 759 (page number from modern ed.).

Burney continued by offering some scathing remarks about one of the Isaac examples given by Glarean, *Anima mea liquefacta est*:

> [from this] we are enabled to judge...of this author, on whom Glarean bestows such warm praises, how remote the art of music was from perfection when his *Dodecachordon* was written. There is indeed some ingenuity in the imitations of a movement...but no grace in the melody, or remarkable sweetness in the harmony: one is rendered uncouth, the other crude by too close an adherence to the mode, which he is pleased to call *Mixolydian*.[27]

The model of organic growth behind Burney's remarks is strikingly at odds not only with modern-day historical thinking, which no longer supports such a value-system in any way, but also with subsequent nineteenth-century assessments of Isaac, which classed him as sufficiently developed, and of sufficient importance to later developments, to warrant more praise than Burney was prepared to give. However, Burney's talk of 'schools' with their 'heads' gives early evidence for a historiographical model that was to be of significance ever since it was formulated, for both Isaac and a host of other composers. For the discussion of the above citations of Isaac in isolation should not mask the fact that he entered modern historiography, via Glarean, not as an individual, but accompanied by a group of contemporaries – above all, Josquin, but also Tinctoris, Agricola, Brumel, Obrecht, etc. – all valued in their day as artists of the first order, and who would later become known collectively as the 'Netherlands school' courtesy of Rafael Georg Kiesewetter's *Die Verdienste der Niederländer um die Tonkunst* (Amsterdam, 1829).

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[27] *General History*, I, 759.

2. *c.* 1800-*c.* 1940: Nationalism and *Innsbruck, ich muß dich lassen*

The defining criterion of a 'Netherlandish' school is evidently a nationalist one, based on the supposedly shared geographical origin and cultural context of the composers concerned. That this factor should assume such a prominent role in Kiesewetter's book is no surprise: it was written as an entry for, and ultimately won, a competition arranged by the government of the newly founded Belgian state to outline the contribution of Low-Countries musicians to the development of European music.

Although the supposed common heritage shared by the 'Netherlandish' composers may be less a question of historical 'fact' than the shaping of neutral historical data into a particular narrative with a particular purpose in relation any member of the school, Isaac's position in relation to the rest of the group was always taken to be distinct and unique. For, whilst Isaac's musical language could be seen, from the examples of his work given in Glarean and other theorists, to be as 'Netherlandish' as any of his generation in its inclusion of imitation and mensural artifice, Glarean's use of the epithet 'Germanus' when referring to him had given rise to the belief that Isaac was German by race.[28] The coupling of this with Isaac's strong Netherlandish credentials was a major force in his appropriation by German culture and scholarship at this time as an embodiment of the 'German national musical spirit'.

It is not surprising that throughout the nineteenth century Isaac's distinct musical contribution continued to be seen to be through his particular devotion to chant-setting. This is so, firstly, because of the weight of received opinion emphasising Isaac's work in this genre, and secondly, because it separated Isaac's output from that of his 'Netherlandish' colleagues, who barely cultivated this genre at all. Even though nineteenth-century scholars nonetheless added many new facets to the understanding of Isaac as a musical personality

[28] On 'Germanus', see Edward Lerner, 'The "German" Works of Alexander Agricola', *MQ* 46 (1960), 56-66.

through a genuine interest in the large-scale rediscovering of hitherto marginalised or forgotten parts of Isaac's output, his chant-settings were to remain a central and unchallenged part of Isaac's reputation.

Nonetheless, if it may initially seem that Isaac's legacy to history has been correctly received because the validity of building subsequent opinion around the kernel of chant-setting can be seen to be justifiable almost directly back to the composer himself, there may still be cause for concern with the transmission of this opinion in later times. For the apparently legitimate maintenance of Isaac as the master of chant-setting from one generation to another is in no way a neutral phenomenon. Whilst judgements regarding Isaac's musical priorities may not have changed, judgements regarding the value of those priorities may be subject to radical reassessment by later cultures. Such reassessment, which still resonates today, had already begun in the nineteenth century. Those who approached Isaac from this time onward and found something of value in his music were thus forced to adopt tactics that differed from those of previous commentators.

These complex cross-currents of thought come together in the writings of the first of the nineteenth-century music-historians to mention Isaac, Johann Nikolaus Forkel. Here may be witnessed a nationalist-based, decisive shift in Isaac-reception, with the most far-reaching consequences. Using Glarean as a starting-point, as had Walther, Hawkins, Burney, and Ernst Ludwig Gerber, Forkel, in his two-volume *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* of 1801, explicitly tied Isaac's work with German patriotism.[29] The closely linked forces of historicism and nationalism at the time, comprehensible in the face of the fall of the Holy Roman Empire and Napoleon's victories, led to a desire to uncover the past greatness of the German peoples. Such forces are equally evident in other historical writings of the time, including others by Forkel, such as his famous biography of Bach, of 1802, subtitled 'Für patriotische Verehrer echter musicalischer Kunst'. By placing Isaac, at a relatively early

[29] Gerber, *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1790/92); Forkel's *Geschichte* is reprinted in facsimile, ed. Otto Wessely (Graz, 1967).

stage, on a wave that was to take on ever-increasing force, and flow into the twentieth century, Forkel ensured that Isaac was swept along with it as a significant and powerful constituent element. His settling on Isaac as the most famous German composer of the fifteenth century is understandable: Isaac had an international reputation and a technical fluency almost unrivalled in his day.

Isaac's important role in the history of sacred music could readily be drawn into Forkel's agenda, by taking his polyphony as the *fons et origo* of the German School. Its influence on the great lineage of German composers could be directly traced through Ludwig Senfl, whose memory was in many ways more carefully preserved and treasured that Isaac's due to his connections with Luther, to Schütz, Bach, and contemporary times.[30] A return to the sources allowed Forkel to substantiate Glarean's remarks on Isaac by investigating not only Isaac's mass-ordinaries, but also the music that most vividly illustrated his chant-setting powers, the mass-propers of the *Choralis Constantinus*.

Nonetheless, to make Isaac's expressly German musical impulse fully convincing, Forkel had to move beyond the confines of the purely sacred output preserved in Glarean. The aesthetics of the time, flowing from the pervasive call for a return to the natural that had begun in the previous century, shunned the artificial in favour of purity, clarity, and simplicity of expression as the truest representation of the nation's musical spirit. Within a cultural environment that saw certain forms of music being used for increasingly political ends, these criteria meant a search, not only in Germany, but all across Europe, for musical roots in what were believed to be the songs of the land and of the people. The elevation of folksong to the highest status is as manifest in the publication across the century of numerous collections of so-called *volkslieder*, whether their contents were real folksongs or not, as it is in the apparently paradoxical cultivation by song-composers of the time of an idealised folksong style, consisting of simple melodies with minimal accompaniment.

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[30] See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 9-16.

To reinvent Isaac in accordance with these aesthetic criteria involved Forkel surveying his works for anything that matched them. He found what he was searching for in Isaac's German secular songs. This side of Isaac's work, preserved in practical sources rather than through theorists, had long lain dormant, but was resurrected through Forkel's examination of primary sources, chiefly Ott's *Hundert und fünfftzehen guter newer Liedlein*.[31] His description of the music that he found there clearly demonstrates his concerns with the aesthetic principles sketched above: giving Isaac's racy and highly texturally varied *Es het ein Baur ein Töchterlein* as illustration, he calls specific attention to the 'Klarheit des Gesangs', the 'so schön und richtig markirten Rhythmus' and the 'so vollkommene reine und zwanglos Harmonie' that is to be found in these songs.[32] Apparently unknown to him, though, was a song that embodied these qualities in an even purer form, a song that was to dominate the rest of the century and bring Isaac fame comparable only to that which he enjoyed in his lifetime, *Innsbruck, ich muß dich lassen.*

The history of Isaac-reception was to become powerfully caught up with the *Innsbruck* song eleven years after Forkel, at the hands of Ernst Ludwig Gerber. In his *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, published in four parts in Leipzig between 1812 and 1814, Gerber built on Forkel's work through a wider examination of sources of German secular song. Central to this was Georg Forster's five-volume collection of *Frische teutsche Liedlein*, published in Nuremberg between 1539 and 1556, the first volume of which is in fact the earliest surviving source of *Innsbruck*.[33] Gerber named Isaac as the composer, rather than simply the arranger, of this beautiful melody. Although the attribution has since been questioned in some quarters, some distinctly Italianate features of

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[31] Nuremberg, 1544; RISM 1544^{20}.

[32] *Geschichte*, II, 676.

[33] RISM 1539^{27}. Modern edition, ed. Kurt Gudewill, EDM 20 (Wolfenbüttel & Zürich, 1964). See also Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, '"Innsbruck, ich muß dich lassen": Eine Rezeptionsgeschichte des Isaakschen Liedsatzes', *Heinrich Isaac und Paul Hofhaimer im Umfeld von Kaiser Maximilian I*, ed. Walter Salmen & Rainer Gstrein (Innsbruck, 1997), 256 & n. 9; Walter Salmen, '"Innsbruck, ich muß dich lassen": Die Wandlungen einer populären Hofweise vom 16. zum 20. Jahrhundert', *Heinrich Isaac und Paul Hofhaimer im Umfeld von Kaiser Maximilian I*, ed. Salmen & Gstrein, 247.

the song fit Isaac's profile with an ease not found with any other composer of his time, and there thus seems little reason to doubt his authorship.[34] Whatever the case, links between Isaac's name and *Innsbruck* have been lasting. The song rapidly gained an established place in every published collection of old German *Lieder* both in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These collections only rarely reproduced Forster's version exactly, instead commonly offering new harmonisations and removing the repetition of the last phrase. 'Reconstructions' of the 'original' and comparative readings, juxtaposing several versions of the tune, also appeared.[35]

Innsbruck's fame seemed assured due to a potent mixture of qualities. In purely musical terms, several highly uncharacteristic features single *Innsbruck* out from the remainder of Isaac's German songs. The finely balanced melody is in the uppermost voice, rather than the tenor. The customarily densely imitative and quickly moving parts added around a long-note tenor are wholly absent. Instead, all voices move in near-homophony, whilst phrase-division by simultaneous rests in all voices lends the song a clarity much more typical of Isaac's Italian secular music. A comparison between *Innsbruck* and Forkel's example of *Es het ein Baur* makes these differences immediately clear, whilst similar comparison with, for instance, *Fammi una gratia, amore* or *Ne più bella* yield much closer resemblances.

The text of *Innsbruck* is also important in lending the song significance, as the mythology surrounding it attributed the original words to Maximilian I. Whilst this cannot be true, it is important to know that some people believed it to be so. Moreover, the text is profoundly different from the saucy lyrics of Isaac's other German songs in its emotional expression, with none of the 'Zweideutigkeiten' noted by Forkel in *Es het ein Baur* and

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[34] Reinhard Strohm supports Isaac's authorship in Strohm & Emma Kempson, 'Isaac, Heinrich', *Grove*7. I am grateful to Professor Strohm for a copy of this article prior to its publication. For arguments against it, see Martin Staehelin, 'Heinrich Isaac und die Frühgeschichte des Liedes "Innsbruck, ich muß dich lassen"', *Liedstudien: Wolfgang Osthoff zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Martin Just & Reinhard Wiesend, 107-19.

[35] Lindmayr-Brandl, '"Innsbruck"', 274-79, exx. 3-8.

judiciously replaced by euphemisms in Johannes Wolf's modern edition.[36] The attachment of the song's sentiments to a place rather than a person remains unusual, although an earlier version of the text with a different opening word, such as that put forward by Martin Staehelin, would ally the song more squarely with the courtly love-lyrics set by, for instance, Isaac's colleague Paul Hofhaimer.[37]

Finally, the fact that the melody had been integrated into the Lutheran chorale repertory leant it a meaning that extended beyond the confines of Isaac's setting. The lavish attention that the melody had received at the hands of Bach meant that, as the nascent Bach revival gathered pace, the song formed a link across the centuries between these two great (German) artists.

The establishment of Isaac's importance as a secular song writer alongside his initial reputation in sacred music lent his subsequent reception a duality in which either side may exclude, be favoured over, or support, the other. Gerber treated both strands with equal care: not only did he give *Innsbruck* to the world, but he also set out on the hitherto uninvestigated path of source-studies for the *Choralis*, and was the first to survey the important manuscripts of Isaac's propers in the Bavarian State Library in Munich.[38]

Forkel and Gerber laid a foundation for viewing Isaac that would be refined and expanded, rather than challenged, across the remainder of the nineteenth century. Archival research brought a more complete knowledge of Isaac's biography to light, and much of the remainder of his work, including motets, mass-ordinaries, Italian and French secular pieces, and instrumental compositions, was uncovered.[39] Since Ambros, Isaac's works had been clearly divided into national categories.[40] Yet the general picture of what constituted the main

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[36] Isaac, *Weltliche Werke*, ed. Johannes Wolf, DTÖ 14/i (Vienna, 1907); *Nachtrag zu den weltlichen Werke von Heinrich Isaac*, ed. Johannes Wolf, DTÖ 16/i (Vienna, 1909).

[37] Staehelin, 'Heinrich Isaac und die Frühgeschichte des Liedes "Innsbruck, ich muß dich lassen"'.

[38] Staehelin, *Die Messen*, I, 2. Bente's *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik und die Biographie Ludwig Senfls* is the largest study of these sources. His conclusions have recently been revised by Birgit Lodes. See Section II.4, below.

[39] See Staehelin, *Die Messen*, I, 3-6.

[40] *Geschichte der Musik*, 3 vols. (Breslau, 1862/68); vol. 4, ed. Gustav Nottebohm (Leipzig, 1878); vol. 5, ed. Otto Kade (Leipzig, 1882).

focuses of interest – the *Choralis* propers and his German songs, with the implicit value-judgement this entailed – did not alter. If the motets nonetheless gained a certain status, the mass-ordinaries were dismissed as not representing the mainstream of the master's work, and had to wait until Martin Staehelin for comprehensive editions and discussion. Whilst a nationalist agenda may not have been responsible for the direct creation of these values, its part in their maintenance and their specific emphasis is clear. As such agendas were to maintain or even increase in significance as a cultural force on the largest scale up to the end of the Second World War, Isaac-reception can hardly be expected to have become immune and to have detached itself from them. On the contrary, Isaac and *Innsbruck* were sufficiently deeply entrenched as national-musical symbols as to be impervious to all contradictory evidence. For instance, despite the discovery of Isaac's second will in 1886, in which the composer himself stated that he was 'de Flandria', Peter Wagner still called him 'spezifisch deutsch' in 1913.[41] National Socialism not only clearly played a part in Helmuth Osthoff's echoing of Wagner, in 1938, that Isaac 'germanischen Geblüts war', but also approved *Innsbruck* as an exemplary manifestation of the German musical spirit.[42]

3. The Post-War Period

As a reaction to earlier times, special efforts have come from post-War scholars, particularly in Germany, but also elsewhere, to offer a more nonpartisan assessment of Isaac's achievements that does greater justice to the composer's output as a whole. This redressing operates, broadly, on two fronts. Firstly, those areas of Isaac's output hitherto excluded from the picture have undergone a rehabilitation. Martin Just's Tübingen dissertation, 'Studien zu Heinrich Isaacs Motetten' of 1960 began this necessary process for the motets, showing that

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[41] See Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II, 10-11; Peter Wagner, *Geschichte der Messe I: Bis 1600* (Leipzig, 1913).

[42] Helmuth Osthoff, *Die Niederländer und das deutsche Lied (1400-1640)* (Berlin, 1938), 82. See also Lindmayr-Brandl, '"Innsbruck, ich muß dich lassen"', 258 & n. 21; Kurt Drexel, '"Innsbruck, ich muß dich lassen": Zur nationalsozialistischen Rezeption des "Innsbruckliedes"', *Heinrich Isaac und Paul Hofhaimer im Umfeld von Kaiser Maximilian I*, ed. Salmen & Gstrein, 281-86.

they comprised a much more substantial part of Isaac's work than had been thought, as well as providing a catalogue, chronology, and details of transmission. Just's work has recently been significantly revised, with new source information and approaches, in Emma Kempson's excellent study 'The Motets of Heinrich Isaac (*c.* 1450-1517): Transmission, Structure, and Function'.[43] William P. Mahrt and Martin Staehelin carried out similar enterprises for that other much-neglected genre, Isaac's mass-ordinaries.[44] Just as Isaac's work in hitherto neglected genres received new interest, so too did his work beyond the Imperial frontier. Frank D'Accone's archival researches in Florence unearthed valuable documents which have substantially added to our knowledge of Isaac's Italian activities.[45] An important study of the Italian secular music was produced by Wolfgang Osthoff in his *Theatergesang und darstellende Musik in der Italienischen Renaissance* of 1969.

The second front for revision consisted of deconstructing the recognised values of the *Choralis* and the German secular music themselves. In the latter case this meant a withdrawal from the spotlight to a position of relative neglect from which it is only now recovering.[46] The former, on the other hand, was subject to a close scrutiny that fractured its apparently unified status. In 1950, Walter Lipphardt was able to write that:

> Der „Konstanzer Choral" ist nicht eine Sammlung einzelner Proprien, die ohne Zusammenhang aneinandergekettet sind. Er ist bewußt nach einem festen, vom Geist des Kirchenjahres und des Chorals bestimmten Plan gestaltet worden. Darin liegt vielleicht seine höchste Bedeutung als litugisches und musikalisches Kunstwerk.[47]

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[43] Ph. D. diss., King's College, London, 1998; see also her Master's thesis, 'The Early Life and Works of Heinrich Isaac (*c.* 1450-1517)' (King's College, London, 1992).

[44] Mahrt, 'The *Missae ad organum* of Heinrich Isaac' (Ph. D. diss., Stanford University, 1969); see also Mahrt, 'Alternatim Performance in Heinrich Isaac's Masses', *Abstracts of Papers Read at the Thirty-sixth Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Toronto, 1970*, 40; Staehelin, *Die Messen*.

[45] 'The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the Fifteenth Century', *JAMS* 14 (1961), 305-58; 'Heinrich Isaac in Florence: New and Unpublished Documents', *MQ* 49 (1963), 464-83; 'The Musical Chapels at the Florentine Cathedral and Baptistery during the First Half of the Sixteenth Century', *JAMS* 24 (1971), 1-50.

[46] Staehelin, 'Heinrich Isaac und die Frühgeschichte des Liedes "Innsbruck, ich muß dich lassen"', 107.

[47] *Die Geschichte der mehrstimmigen Proprium Missae* (Heidelberg, 1950), 43.

Yet, six years later, this view was decisively contested by Gerhard-Rudolf Pätzig's dissertation, 'Liturgische Grundlagen und handschriftliche Überlieferung von Heinrich Isaacs "Choralis Constantinus"'.[48] Pätzig's scrupulous researches into liturgy, sources, and transmission showed that the assemblage of mass-propers contained in the *Choralis* print actually comprised (at least) two separate sets of cycles. In contrast to the previously held belief that the entire collection had been composed for a single institution, Constance cathedral, Pätzig showed that only what was published in the second volume of the *Choralis* could actually have been intended for that recipient. The remainder were for Vienna, whilst the whole was collected together after Isaac's death, by his pupil, Senfl.

Post-Pätzig, Lipphardt's statement could only remain true in the sense that the *Choralis* print itself was conceived, and could continue to be received in the way that it always had, as a single polyphonic gradual. But it had now to be accepted that it was not Isaac's intention to group the particular cycles contained therein together. Whether Isaac ever had plans to set the complete Church year to polyphony is a separate question, but what was certain was that this plan was not directly reflected in the *Choralis*.

Further *Choralis*-related issues were pursued by Martin Bente in his dissertation of 1966 on the choirbooks of the Bavarian court chapel from the time of Ludwig Senfl.[49] Amongst these volumes, now kept in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, is the most comprehensive manuscript collection of Isaac's music for the Imperial court, including not only many *Choralis* concordances, but also non-*Choralis* propers and mass-ordinaries. Although the importance of these sources for Isaac had been known since Gerber, Bente analysed them in hitherto unprecedented detail, uncovering scribes, datings, and relationships between the Bavarian manuscripts and concordant sources. With specific reference to the

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[48] 2 vols. (Ph. D. diss., Tübingen, 1956); summarized in Pätzig, 'Heinrich Isaacs *Choralis Constantinus*: Eine postume Werksammlung', *Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Kassel, 1962*, ed. Georg Reichert & Martin Just (Kassel, 1963), 114-16.

[49] Published as *Neue Wege*; summarized in Bente, 'Senfls Musik im Heidelberger Kapellkatalog: Ein Beitrag zur Repertoireüberlieferung im 16. Jahrhundert', *Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung Leipzig 1966*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus et al. (Kassel, 1970), 186-90.

Choralis, he offered new views on the division of the print's contents into Constantine and Imperial repertory.

In 1979, Manfred Schuler offered the most comprehensive picture to date of the transmission of the Constance part of the *Choralis*'s contents from the composer to the printing-press.[50] This issue was particularly problematic given the almost complete lack of sources for that music other than the print itself and manuscripts copied from it. Further archival research into the musical life of sixteenth-century Constance has allowed Schuler significantly to expand understanding of the background context that led to Isaac's commissioning.[51]

The vital accompaniment to all this research was the publication of Isaac's music itself. Activity in this field has opened up the possibility today of knowing Isaac through a far greater quantity of his music than would have been at the disposal of anyone passing judgement upon him before. The privileged status of this mode of knowledge must evidently be borne in mind when approaching earlier assessments, for it may potentially cause these earlier assessments to be seen as biased or ill-founded. Yet in Isaac's case this is not so: the editions may have enabled a wider appreciation of his output as a whole, but they have not challenged the long-recognised values in his work.

Significant amongst modern publications of Isaac's music, firstly, were editions of the *Choralis*. The issuing of the first part, edited by Emil Bezecny and Walter Rabl for the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* series in 1898 (DTÖ 5/i), stands as the first large-scale modern edition of any of Isaac's music. In the same series, Anton von Webern followed this up in 1909 with an edition of the *Choralis*'s second part (DTÖ 16/i). Although a modern edition of the third part did not appear until much later, its final arrival has nonetheless made the complete *Choralis* readily available for nearly half a century.[52]

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[50] 'Zur Überlieferung des *Choralis Constantinus* von Heinrich Isaac', *AMw* 36 (1979), 68-76 & 146-54.

[51] 'Die Konstanzer Domkantorei', *AMw* 21 (1964), 23-44; 'Der Personalstatus der Konstanzer Domkantorei um 1500', *AMw* 21 (1964), 255-86; 'Zur Liturgischen Musikpraxis am Konstanzer Dom um 1500', *Heinrich Isaac und Paul Hofhaimer im Umfeld von Kaiser Maximilian I*, ed. Salmen & Gstrein, 71-80.

[52] Isaac, *Choralis Constantinus III*, ed. Louise Cuyler (Ann Arbor, 1956).

All three volumes deserve some further comment, for, although we must be grateful to the scholars who produced them, the fact that we are still almost solely reliant on them is problematic. The fact that the original *Choralis* prints are now easily available in facsimile will go some way to correcting the problems of existing editions, but it has in no way rendered them redundant. The source situation for the *Choralis* is extremely complex (as will become clear in Section II, below). Not only does much of this complexity remain masked in the editions, but the individual editorial decisions can at times be curious in their own right.

The very earliest of the *Choralis* editions, Bezecny and Rabl's of CCI, is in many ways the best. Although it does not include the marking of ligatures and coloration to which we have subsequently become accustomed, it takes the variant readings of the manuscripts at Munich (if not elsewhere) into account. These variants are treated as diversions from the print as *urtext*. Nonetheless, they are included in the main body of the text, in superimposed smaller note-shapes, rather than being confined to the critical apparatus at the end. Neither Webern's CCII nor Cuyler's CCIII includes any consideration of manuscripts. It is true that the source situation of CCII is a particular problem, for the print in most cases preserves the only surviving version of a piece. Cuyler had less excuse, for significant manuscripts for a large section of her part of the *Choralis* were well-known by the 1940s. To ignore them was a serious flaw.[53]

Whilst editing CCII, Webern appears at times to have left the fingerprint of his own aesthetic principles on Isaac's music (the process is mutual, and it would make a fascinating study to examine the impact of Isaac on Webern). Amongst the features of the music outlined in the preface, a striking and unusual dissonance-treatment – an irregular entry causing a semitonal clash between A and B♭ on a weak beat – is justified through its long-range contrapuntal direction. Comparison with the plainsong (the dissonant voice is the chant-

[53] See Gerhard-Rudolf Pätzig, 'Das Chorbuch Mus. Ms. 40024 der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek Berlin: Eine wichtige Quelle zum Schaffen Isaacs aus der Hand Leonhard Pämingers', *Festschrift Walter Gerstenberg*, ed. Georg von Dadelsen (Wolfenbüttel & Zürich, 1964), 123.

bearing one), however, suggests that the possibility of a printing-error should not be ruled out, and that a C was intended instead.[54]

Cuyler's edition suffers from obvious pitch-errors – often mistakes in copying, rather than directly from the print itself – and an irregular approach to note-value reduction that complicates rather than clarifies.[55] Her decision to amputate the ordinaries that close CCIII for separate publication, although comprehensible in practical terms, leads to a misunderstanding of the nature of the print.[56] The ordinaries are not separate, additional works, but are as integral to the conception of the *Choralis* print as the remainder. Just as plainsong graduals of the time closed with ordinary-items, so too does this polyphonic one. Many other sixteenth-century sources of propers follow precisely the same format.[57]

Text-underlay is a difficult problem in all these volumes (and a perennial one for editing any music of this time). Whatever principles are adopted, the only certainty is that the print cannot be taken at face value as prescriptive. If there are cases where there may be several possible solutions, equally there are instances where the editions are plainly incorrect (e.g. CCII/14. Int., lower three voices). However, given the close relationship between polyphony and chant in the *Choralis*, this music could in fact provide a rich field in which to discover underlay principles, provided – and it seems reasonable to do so – that it is accepted that chant underlay matches that of polyphony.[58]

One final observation on editing the *Choralis* is necessary. Given the fact that variants exist not only within the readings of individual pieces, but of groupings of a cycle's constituent sections, and may include the works of other composers, editions of Isaac's mass-propers can take radically different forms, depending on what sources are privileged. Up to

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[54] See DTÖ XVI/i, preface, xix, and *Graduale Pataviense (Vienna, 1511)*, ed. Christoph Väterlein, EDM 87 (Kassel, 1982), f. 207. The case is not completely clear-cut, for the GP version of the sequence is not identical in all respects to Isaac's. Formschneider plainly printed B♭.

[55] See Thurston Dart's review, *M&L* 32 (1951), 82-85; and Walter Gerstenburg's, *Mf* 7 (1954), 116-19.

[56] The ordinaries were published as Isaac, *Five Polyphonic Masses*, ed. Louise Cuyler (Ann Arbor, 1956).

[57] See Section II.5, below.

[58] See Theodore Karp, 'Some Chant Models for Isaac's *Choralis Constantinus*', *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, ed. Bryan Gillingham & Paul Merkley (Ottawa, 1990), 346-49.

now, the *Choralis* print itself has predominated. In itself, this is not problematic, provided this is understood to be the format that Isaac's cycles took in the 1550s. However, if the aim of the edition is to present the cycles as they may have appeared in their original institutions or at other times, then the picture immediately becomes significantly more complex, and may demand the production of not one edition, but many. This is in fact much more than an editorial dilemma. It hinges on the loose relationship of the mass-proper to the work-concept. There thus is no denying that the problem with editing this music is enormous, and it is not surprising that the task has produced a thesis of its own.[59]

In addition to the *Choralis*, further important publications of Isaac's music include Martin Just's edition, following his research on propers excluded from the *Choralis*, of the series of eleven six-voice introits from MunBS 31.[60] Martin Staehelin has produced exemplary editions of the mass-ordinaries.[61] Finally, a complete Isaac edition, under the auspices of Edward Lerner, in the Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae series, was begun in 1974. It has continued to grow over the last 25 years, but it is still far from finished, and currently consists only of the mass-ordinaries.[62]

4. Isaac and the *Choralis* in Anglo-American Musicology: Some Problems

It must be admitted that much of the important research on Isaac has remained confined to the preserve of specialists. An examination of Isaac's position in current Anglo-American musicology suggests that the cause for this may be more than just insufficient time for a 'trickle-down' effect to have occurred. On the one hand, the pan-European distribution of Isaac's music and the historically unique phenomenon of the *Choralis* testifies to a lasting

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[59] James David Feiszli, 'Performance Editions of Heinrich Isaac's *Choralis Constantinus*' (Ph. D. diss., Arizona State University, 1983).

[60] Isaac, *Introiten zu 6 Stimmen*, ed. Martin Just, Cw 81 & 119 (Wolfenbüttel, 1960 & 1973). See also Section III.2, Table 3 (a), below.

[61] Isaac, *Messen. Aus dem Nachlaß von Herbert Birtner herausgegaben*, ed. & rev. Martin Staehelin, Musikalische Denkmäler 7 & 8 (Mainz, 1971 & 1973).

[62] Isaac, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Edward A. Lerner, CMM 25 (American Institute of Musicology, 1974-).

reputation that cannot be ignored, yet, on the other, Isaac nonetheless refuses to be comfortably situated within the categories normally employed to describe Renaissance music history. The result is that he occupies a strangely precarious ground that resists full mainstream absorption.

A major proportion of modern historical discourse, not only concerning the sixteenth century, but also other periods both earlier and later, is governed by centre-periphery models.[63] There is nothing controversial or problematic with this in itself. Historiographical models in general are essential tools in enabling a historian to gain control of otherwise arbitrary data. They always entail some distortion or simplification, and cannot be taken to directly reflect a former reality. A centre-periphery model in particular can be an efficient way to tell history, as well as be directed to many ends. Problems arise not from the model itself, but from a factor that frequently accompanies it, that is, the attachment of value-judgements to either side of the dualism.[64] One version of this model, including such value-judgements, has already been encountered above: that of the 'Netherlandish' school claiming centre-ground, and transmitting its innovations to non-Netherlandish peripheries. With different terms, the model persists and is unfavourable to both the geographical location and the genre in which we locate Isaac's most valuable legacy.

The centre-periphery model is inherent in the concept of 'Renaissance' itself, entailing Italy radiating innovation to surrounding areas.[65] Germany cannot avoid occupying a secondary position by the very terms of the argument. Whilst a vested national interest can redress this imbalance, a quite different situation will apply in all other regions where that interest does not operate. For instance, without the prerequisite background context, Anglo-American musicology has always treated such foundational parts of Isaac's reputation as

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[63] See Reinhard Strohm, 'Centre and Periphery: Mainstream and Provincial Music', *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. Knighton & Fallows, 55-59; also Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (Cambridge, 1993), 5-10.

[64] Strohm, 'Centre and Periphery', 55.

[65] The literature on the Renaissance as a concept is extensive. See Leeman L. Perkins, *Music in the Age of the Renaissance* (New York & London, 1999), 21-54, and works cited there.

Innsbruck and his other *Lieder* as work in a marginal genre for a marginal place. However, the rest of Isaac's output, coupled with his uniquely cosmopolitan profile and distinguished contemporary reputation, make his categorisation distinctly troublesome. Interest in Isaac cannot be dismissed as nationalist prejudice, bestowing status on a composer of either moderate standing when seen from a wider perspective, or of high but only localised significance. The testimony of the historical documents will not allow such an easy solution. Isaac's music is too widely distributed, and too great in quantity, the praise of his contemporaries is too frequent, and the esteem in which he was held in Italy too great. Yet, within the framework of an Italian-centred model, it is by no means evident how to square this with the fact that he seems to have carried out his most historically resonant work in a peripheral place.

What is more, this work was in the peripheral genre of the mass-proper, for centre-periphery models apply not only to places, but also to musical forms. The reasons for classifying polyphonic mass-propers as peripheral rather than central may initially seem benign, and attributable to two causes. Firstly, in terms of sheer number, mass-propers are far outclassed by the other sacred genres, mass-ordinary and motet, hence their cultivation cannot be considered a priority of sixteenth-century composers. Secondly, and again in contrast to the ordinary and the motet, the composition of proper-cycles, if not of individual proper-sections, does not have a continuous history that can be traceable to the present day. Indeed, following Isaac, only William Byrd's *Gradualia* is regularly cited as a subsequent and comparable work (frequently as though the two were mysteriously linked), although a host of later-sixteenth-century German Isaac-imitators should not be forgotten. Further consideration, however, shows that these two explanations are not sufficient, and that there are more fundamental elements of resistance to the genre in standard historiography.

Firstly, Isaac's mass-propers are based on pre-existent chant. If the widely noted sixteenth-century view of Isaac principally as a chant-setter was originally entirely positive, this same quality is no longer received as such. When set against the wider context of

sixteenth-century music as a whole, it is inescapable to see music tied to a cantus firmus, even by the time of Isaac's death, as archaic. Cantus firmus-based pieces represent the end of a previous story, rather than the beginning of a new one, concerned with more sensitive responses to the expressive demands of the text.[66] The latter responses are possible only by shedding the constraint of pre-existent material, and removing all infringements on the composer's freedom. If Bernard Meier has observed that sixteenth-century music generally has often, and unfairly, been viewed as a nostalgic sort of *stile antico*, whose main concern is with notes rather than expression, this seems especially relevant when approaching Isaac's cantus firmus-based music.[67] Only the testimony of witnesses closer to Isaac's day may remind us that we do not necessarily treasure the same things in earlier music as did its more immediate receivers. It may also remind us, moreover, that we may no longer possess the essential background experience (in this case, of chant) on which the original reception was predicated:

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[66] On the ascendancy of words at this time, and the polemics surrounding the relative priorities of words and music, see Don Harrán, *In Defense of Music: The Case for Music as Argued by a Singer and Scholar of the Late Fifteenth Century* (Nebraska, 1989).

[67] Meier, *Die Tonarten der Klassischen Vokalpolyphonie* (Utrecht, 1974; trans Ellen Beebe, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony*, New York, 1988), 32.

Praeterea quia cu[m] auditur nota cantilena, varios in ea modulanda modos, quibus optimus cane[n]di artifex utitur, maiori cum voluptate percipimus, unde maiori etiam habentur in pretio celeberrima illa moteta Iodoci Pratensis; Inviolata; Benedicta es caeloru[m] regina; Praeter rerum seriem; quonia[m] ad cantus, qui a multis seculis in Ecclesia instituti, & ab omnibus audiri soliti sunt artificium plurium vocum adiunctum est, quam ea quorum ipse subjectum invenit.[68]

(Furthermore, when a familiar song is heard, we more pleasurably perceive in its sound the various modes which the good writer of music uses. Wherefore, those highly celebrated motets of Josquin, *Inviolata*, *Benedicta es caelorum regina* and *Praeter rerum*, are held in greater esteem than those of which he himself was entirely the composer, since to the songs that have been used for centuries in the church and are familiar to all, the intertwining of many parts was added.)[69]

Despite such statements, the use or not of a cantus firmus ties in at a fundamental level with ideas of a composer's autonomy and status. In this light, the judgement, arising from his use of cantus firmus, that Isaac as out of touch with the most progressive trends is reinforced from other quarters. A direct dualistic opposition between Isaac on one side, and the newer forces of change, embodied in Josquin, on the other, has arisen through the widespread circulation of a highly unusual report, first brought to light by Edmond Vander Straeten.[70] The letter, from the Ferraran agent Gian to Duke Ercole d'Este, and concerned with who should be employed at Ferrara, is justifiably highly prized for the rare critical insight it provides. There are precious few comparable documents from the same time:

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[68] Francisco Salinas, *De musica libri septem* (Salamanca, 1577; repr. in facs., ed. Macario Santiago Kastner, Kassel & Basel, 1958), 288-89.

[69] Translation from Robert M. Stevenson, 'Josquin in the Music of Spain and Portugal', *Josquin Desprez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival Conference, New York, 21-25 June, 1971*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky & Bonnie J. Blackburn (Oxford, 1976), 236-37.

[70] *La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe Siècle: Documents Inédits et Annotés*, 8 vols. (Brussels, 1867-88).

> ...a me [Isaac] pare molto apto a servir la Signoria Vostra, molto piu che Josquin, perche e de meglior natura fra li compagni, e fara piu spesso cose nove; vero e che Josquin compone meglio, ma fa quando li piace, non quando l'homo vole, e domanda CC ducati de provisione, e Isach stara per CXX, si che la Signoria Vostra facia quello li piace...[71]
>
> (...to me, [Isaac] appears very suited to serve Your Honour, much more so than Josquin, because he is of a better nature in company, and makes new things more often; it is true that Josquin composes better, but he does it when he pleases, not when one wants him to, and is asking for a provision of 200 ducats, whilst Isaac will come for 120; may Your Honour do what he pleases...)

The document is all-too-easily read as asserting the emergence of the individual composer, embodied in Josquin, as a figure of inspired creativity, commanding respect and doing as he pleases. Josquin was the genius, a central force of the musical 'Renaissance', whilst Isaac, on the other hand, was the craftsman, left behind by the times, making good but ultimately 'merely functional' music. Isaac's breathtaking stylistic diversity only confounds the issue further today. If this was singled out in his time as one of his chief virtues, it is hard now to avoid asking, however inappropriately loaded with overtones of Romantic self-expression the question may be, where the 'real' Isaac is located.[72]

As Josquin won the competition for the Ferrara job, and Gian clearly states that he composed better, it is almost impossible not to slight Isaac, and feel justified on historical grounds for doing so. Even recently, and in places where better may have been hoped for, the influence of this report is pervasive. Richard Sherr cannot resist closing his generally even-handed review of Staehelin's *Die Messen* with a final paragraph that firstly seems to blame Isaac for our lack of analytical tools, then concludes, 'All in all, however, I am still inclined

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[71] A more full extract is given in Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II, 56-57.

[72] For a report extolling this quality of Isaac's, see Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Lorenzo de'Medici, a Lost Isaac Autograph and the Venetian Ambassador', *Musica Franca: Essays in Honor of Frank d'Accone*, ed. Irene Alm, Alyson McLamore & Colleen Reardon (New York, 1996), 19-44.

to agree with the Ferraran agent Gian when he admitted that although Isaac was a nicer person, Josquin was the better composer.'[73] The reader is left to deduce the mysterious, but plainly negative, implications of this for himself.

On the other hand, few have emphasised that, as employers of the time are known to have ruthlessly head-hunted the musicians they desired, to have been placed only second to Josquin was in fact a significant accolade for Isaac irrespective of who was appointed.[74] A thorough attempt to read Gian's report in a way contrary to the traditional interpretation has recently been offered by Rob Wegman, although the consequences of this have yet to be widely felt.[75]

A second line of resistance to the mass-proper stems from the fact that, in relying on pre-existent chants in each of its sections, the mass-proper cycle lacks musical unity beyond traditional associations of the cantus firmi. The prevailing value-system, from the Enlightenment onwards, however, has championed unity above diversity. In so doing, the dominant narrative in the history of sacred music, from the second quarter of the fifteenth century onwards, has focused not on the mass-proper, but on the mass-ordinary, which was increasingly to incorporate binding musical elements into each of its constituent sections.[76] Such a process was never to occur in the mass-proper, and for obvious reasons. The cyclicity of mass-ordinaries may have originally been due less to an inherent urge towards musical unity than a desire to fingerprint the otherwise neutral ordinary sections as specific to a particular day or occasion.[77] The proper evidently had no need for such treatment.

The degree to which Isaac is felt to be out of touch with his time depends on one additional and critical factor. The (partly accidental) circumstances of the late appearance of

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[73] *JAMS* 34 (1981), 144-49.

[74] For an example of head-hunting, see Paula Higgins, 'Musical "Parents" and their "Progeny": The Discourse of Creative Patriarchy in Early Modern Europe', *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts*, ed. Owens & Cummings, 174.

[75] 'From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450-1500', *JAMS* 49 (1996), 409-79.

[76] See Andrew Kirkman, 'The Invention of the Cyclic Mass', *JAMS* 54 (2001), 1-47.

[77] See Strohm, *The Rise*, 229.

the *Choralis* print raise the question of where to situate the greatest influence of Isaac's mass-propers chronologically: in his own time, in the 1550s, or in both? The distinction is all the more important because, as earlier research has shown, the unified collection of propers in the *Choralis* did not exist for Isaac himself.

With an earlier placing, it is easier to fit Isaac's work into a longer narrative of composing proper-cycles that extends both before and after his time. On the other hand, although many people may have been aware of the existence of the cycles, direct acquaintance with this music was very limited at this time. The Imperial propers may have had restricted manuscript circulation, but the authorities at Constance guarded their music jealously, and allowed no copies to be made.[78] The striking lack of sources for the Constance music would seem to indicate that the ban was successful.

The appearance of the *Choralis* print between 1550 and 1555 is in many ways more attention-grabbing than the original context in which Isaac's mass-propers were produced. The publication demonstrates the high regard in which Isaac was held, and caused a significant second phase of reception. Yet the detachment of Isaac's music from the time in which it was composed has troubling consequences. When discussing the centre-periphery model, Reinhard Strohm pointed out that music 'ages more slowly' in some places, and, of course, within some institutions.[79] A slow ageing-process, particularly characteristic of Germany, and strikingly evident in Isaac's posthumous survival, almost inescapably brings with it the charge of conservatism: maintenance of older repertory betrays a lack of imagination, an inability to engage with the new. The preserved repertory may still be venerable, but its status as a throwback from a previous age in a time characterized by progress makes it appear all the more curious.

In addition to the self-contained historiographical problems, historical thinking about Isaac has not remained immune from subtle reinforcement from other areas of the discipline.

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[78] See Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II, 68 (Constance, Domprotokolle of May 18, 1509). Also Section II.3, below.
[79] Strohm, 'Centre and Periphery', 55.

The importance of pedagogical canonisation has already been observed in the sixteenth century, and it holds no less true today.[80] In the middle of this century, Isaac's reintroduction to the syllabus by that bible of notational studies, Willi Apel's *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900-1600*, has exerted a subtle yet potent influence upon our opinion of him.[81] This book greatly increased the circulation of Isaac's music. It brought, and continues to bring, many more students and musicologists into direct contact with what his music looks like, and what it is 'about', than might otherwise have been hoped. With no less than four examples, all drawn from the *Choralis*, Isaac is more represented than any other named composer in Apel's book. If this may seem a positive step, further examination shows that it is not unilaterally so.

The pieces given in Apel's examples are clearly not arbitrarily chosen. Rather, they are put forward to illustrate particular notational issues. More specifically, they demonstrate complexity or artifice within the domain of mensuration-signs. None is used simply to present the customary and unadorned notation of the time, although any number of Isaac's pieces could be so used. In emphasising Isaac's mensural experiments in particular, Apel could claim an impetus from history, most notably from Glarean. The latter had observed that Isaac composed 'et erudite et copiose', and Faber had also stated 'multum operae studiique profuit'. Since Sebald Heyden's *Musica, id est, artis canendi libri duo* (Nuremberg, 1537; repr. 1540), these were more than general statements. They were attached to one specific piece, not even a self-contained work in its own right, but the opening polyphonic section of the (*alternatim*) sequence for the Conception of the Blessed Virgin. This famous piece, beginning with the words 'De radice Iesse' (CCII/25), is by far the most widely cited work of Isaac's by sixteenth-century theorists.[82] It is truly remarkable for its welter of mensuration signs, and is clearly a very special and unusual piece. None of the four voices ever

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[80] See Owens, 'How Josquin Became Josquin', 278.
[81] Cambridge, Mass., 1953.
[82] See Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II, 89-130.

simultaneously share a sign, and all frequently change, in synchrony with the remaining voices. Glarean had criticised its complexity, offering a simpler renotation.[83]

If Isaac's canonisation, now as a master of notational trickery, has historical precedent, its twentieth-century reappearance nonetheless cannot be equated with former times. If it is true that mensural exploitation was distinctly archaic by the time of the *Choralis* print, and that Spataro and Aron discuss mensural complexities with apparently fond nostalgia already in the 1520s, this was not so for Isaac himself. Isaac lived through the heyday of these devices in the 1490s, and was not using techniques that were archaic *for him.*

Like Glarean, Apel also emphasised the artificiality of Isaac's mensuration practice in 'De radice Iesse' by pointing out that it is much less complicated than it appears. Whilst this is true, it gives no hint as to why Isaac made this piece so special, but rather simply gives the impression that Isaac enjoyed needlessly complex notational exploitation. The effect is all the stranger in that, in the chapter in which he appears, Isaac rubs shoulders only with Baude Cordier, as if he cannot keep company with his contemporaries. The exceptional nature of 'De radice Iesse' is blurred into apparent normality by prefacing it with three other Isaac examples, ostensibly illustrating the same practice albeit in a simpler form. However, the use of mensuration signs encountered in these three earlier examples is quite different from their pervasive application in 'De radice Iesse'.

Apel's first Isaac example, (Facs. 35; 'Ideoque quod nascetur', CCII/5. Tr. final section) shows Isaac's most typical usage of mensural change: to highlight an individual moment for special attention. In this case, the textual meaning leads towards announcing Jesus' name, with concomitant musical tension provided by a passage in coloration before the crucial moment. At the point where Jesus' name finally arrives, all voices change mensuration sign. The intention is made aurally clearer by choosing to withhold the entry of

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[83] There are problems with determining the exact signs Isaac originally used. See Philip Gossett, 'The Mensural System and the *Choralis Constantinus*', *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Music in Honour of Arthur Mendel*, ed. Robert L. Marshall (Kassel, 1974), 85.

uppermost voice until exactly here. The coincidence of several devices of rhetorical articulation, to leave the significance of the gesture in no doubt, is a common tactic of Isaac's. This little tangle reinforces the sense of closure: not only does it occur at the end of a section, but at the end of the whole tract. Apel's Facsimile 36 ('Piae vocis laudes canta', CCII/13. Sequ.) is similar. It contains almost a madrigalism before their time. For the single word 'maior', a change is effected in all voices to major prolation. If the full subtlety of the effect is largely visual, there is nonetheless a concomitant aural change, in the form of a momentary but substantial expansion of the pulse. In contrast to Facsimiles 35 and 36, the use encountered in Apel's Facsimile 37 ('Dico ego vobis', CCII/14. Int.) is intrinsically tied up with the long tradition of cantus firmus treatments. The cantus firmus-bearing voice is distinguished from the others by a signature at prolation-level, indicating augmentation. The use of this device is due less to conservatism than to the fact that the music preserves an intimate relationship with chant.[84]

The special status of 'De radice Iesse' and of Apel's other examples becomes readily apparent when taken in the overall context of the *Choralis*. Firstly, mensural artifice is not evenly distributed throughout the whole body of propers, but localised in much greater concentration in CCII, the Constance commission works. A similar focus of artifice is equally evident for other devices, such as canon, and may result from both the music's status as a commission as well as from the nature of the feasts treated. Secondly, even in CCII mensural artifice can hardly be classed as commonplace, but is reserved for special moments, such as those described above. Nor is it wholly abstract: it can make the musical surface itself more complex, and may have important implications for performance that 'simpler renotations' do not.[85]

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[84] M. Jennifer Bloxam, 'Sacred Polyphony and Local Traditions of Liturgy and Plainsong: Reflections on Music by Jacob Obrecht', *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge, 1992), 168, gives a case in which Obrecht uses apparently curious proportional signs in his *Missa de Sancto Martino* in order to keep the visual appearance of the cantus firmus as close as possible to that of plainchant.

[85] See Anna Maria Monterosso Vachelli, 'Alcune Osservazioni sulla Tecnica Compositiva di Heinrich Isaac', *La Musica a Firenze al Tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico: Congresso Internazionale di Studi*, ed. Piero Gargiulo, Quaderni della Rivista Italiana di Musicologia 30 (Florence, 1993), 281-97.

Returning to 'De radice' itself, a parallel with an equally famous piece of musical artifice is instructive. An almost identical situation of distribution and domination of theoretical discussion pertains to the second 'Agnus Dei' of Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*. Its artifice can still be admired today, but nonetheless, it is not here that we believe that we find the essence of Josquin's style. In Josquin's case, the picture can be readily counterbalanced to the extent that this 'Agnus Dei' is seen in a larger context as a curiosity. With Isaac, the opposite has occurred, and the curiosity has become part of his defining character.

5. Outline of the Present Thesis

In 1954 Walter Gerstenberg finished his review of Cuyler's edition of CCIII with the phrase, 'Es bleibt noch viel zu tun'.[86] Nearly half a century later, this statement is even more true. Not only does much of the extant work specifically concerned with Isaac's mass-propers remain to be followed up, but there have also been significant and separate shifts in a whole variety of related fields to which Isaac's mass-propers are attached.

At the broadest contextual level, the status of medieval Austria as a musical centre, and with it, the creative milieu into which Isaac stepped when he transferred to Maximilian I's court, has been dramatically altered in a series of articles by Reinhard Strohm.[87] Keith Polk has made major contributions to the understanding of German instrumental practice, both at the court of Maximilian I and elsewhere.[88] Furthermore, views of the culture in which Isaac worked are not all that has been revised. Research on the German Reformation and the

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[86] *Mf* 7 (1954), 119.

[87] See Strohm, 'Meßzyklen über deutsche Lieder in den Trienter Codices', *Liedstudien*, ed. Just & Wiesend (Tutzing, 1989), 77-106; 'Native and Foreign Polyphony in Late Medieval Austria', *MD* 38 (1994), 205-30.

[88] See 'Instrumental Music in the Urban Centres of Renaissance Germany, *EMH* 7 (1987), 159-86; *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages: Players, Patrons and Performance Practice* (Cambridge, 1992); 'Patronage, Imperial Image and the Emperor's Musical Retinue: On the Road with Maximilian I', *Musik und Tanz zur Zeit Kaiser Maximilian I: Bericht über die am 21. und 22. Oktober 1989 in Innsbruck abgehaltene Fachtagung*, ed. Walter Salmen (Innsbruck, 1992), 79-88.

activities of sixteenth-century German printing houses has similarly reshaped ideas of the culture into which he was posthumously received.[89]

With specific relation to Isaac, Emma Kempson' recent revision of Just's work on the motets has already been mentioned. Yet, since Pätzig, the mass-propers have only been tangentially addressed through research on sources, or have been used only as material through which to investigate other issues. Of the former type, Bente's work on the Munich choirbooks has already been mentioned, although a major re-evaluation of his conclusions has recently been offered by Birgit Lodes.[90] Jürgen Heidrich has carried out significant new research on the paper choirbooks from the chapel of Frederick the Wise of Saxony, now at Jena and amongst which is found the earliest source of music that was ultimately to be published in the *Choralis*.[91] Later sources of Isaac's mass-propers have also undergone similar reconsiderations, most importantly those from Bártfa, now in the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár in Budapest, investigated by Róbert Murányi.[92] Of the latter type, the last fifty years have seen the production of only two large-scale studies expressly concerned with the mass-propers, Feiszli's thesis on performance-editions, and Rebecca Wagner Oettinger's 'The *Choralis Constantinus* and the Creation of Liturgies in the Sixteenth Century'.[93]

Alongside the research cited above, a small number of more restricted studies have been devoted to examining isolated parts of the *Choralis*, and the issues they present. Next to Manfred Schuler's work on the print's Constantine parts, by far the most important of these

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[89] See, e.g., Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Aldershot, 2001); Mariko Teramoto, *Die Psalmmotettendrucke des Johannes Petrejus in Nürnberg* (Tutzing, 1983); Teramoto, 'Die Psalmmotetten von Heinrich Isaac', *Heinrich Isaac und Paul Hofhaimer im Umfeld von Kaiser Maximilian I*, ed. Salmen & Gstrein (Innsbruck, 1997), 179-87.

[90] 'Ludwig Senfl and the Munich Choirbooks', paper read at the Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Würzburg, October 2001. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Lodes for giving me a copy of this important paper.

[91] *Die deutschen Chorbücher aus der Hofkapelle Friedrichs des Weisen: Ein Beitrag zur mitteldeutschen geistlichen Musikpraxis um 1500* (Baden-Baden, 1993). For another view of these sources, see Kathryn Anne P. Duffy, 'The Jena Choirbooks: Music and Liturgy at the Castle Church in Wittemberg under Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony', 5 vols. (Ph. D. diss., University of Chicago, 1995). Both are discussed in Section III.5, below.

[92] 'Neure Angaben über die Bartfelder Sammlung', *SMH* 13 (1971), 363-70; 'Die Isaac-Offizien der Bartfelder Sammlung', *SMH* 17 (1975), 315-45; 'Die Bartfelder Musiksammlung in ihrer Zeit' (Ph. D. diss., Berlin, 1986); *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Musiksammlung von Bartfeld (Bártfa)* (Bonn, 1991).

[93] On Feiszli, see n. 59 above; Oettinger's thesis was submitted for the MM degree, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1994.

are two papers by Theodore Karp, 'Some Chant Models for Isaac's *Choralis Constantinus*' and 'The Chant Background to Isaac's *Choralis Constantinus*'.[94] These studies testify to a more widespread awakening of interest in sixteenth-century chant practices, a field of obvious significance to chant-based polyphony, and one that has remained largely unexplored until recently.[95] Karp's conclusions have done much to dislodge previously held misconceptions. The first problem for any investigation of chant and the *Choralis* is that of the specific chant forms used. For the Constance music in particular, it was long hoped that a 'Constance Gradual', or at least a small collection of such books, with all the chants exactly as Isaac employed them might be found. Karp has shown that this wish is doomed, not because such a source existed but was lost, but because it is fatally flawed on methodological grounds. In place of this phantom gradual, the status of chant-versions and their variants requires substantial reassessment, and new concepts of the relation between plainsong and the composer of polyphony are needed.[96] Besides research such as Karp's, the new and characteristic concern of medieval and Renaissance musicology since the 1990s with listening practices and music-as-heard certainly has much to contribute to this reassessment.[97] Moreover, Isaac's mass-propers, as a vast wealth of knowledge about chant as Isaac heard, understood, and enjoyed it, can play a major role in this expanding field.

The clearly discernible reticence in the studies cited above to address directly the issues posed by Isaac's mass-propers as a whole has readily apparent causes. This repertory presents obvious practical problems, given the sheer quantity of music involved. Even so, the

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[94] On Schuler, see Section I.3, above, and Section II.6, below. Karp's papers are found respectively in *Beyond the Moon*, ed. Gilligham & Merkley, 322-49, and *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the 7th Meeting, Sopron, Hungary, 1995*, ed. László Dobszay (Budapest, 1998), 337-41.

[95] The one exception to this statement is Mary Berry (Mother Thomas More), 'The Performance of Plainsong in the Later Middle Ages and the Sixteenth Century' (Ph. D. diss., Cambridge University, 1968); a concise version can be found in an identically titled article, *PRMA* 92 (1965-66), 121-34. Of recent scholars, M. Jennifer Bloxam has made major contributions to this field; see 'A Survey of Late Medieval Service Books from the Low Conuntries: Implications for Sacred Polyphony, 1460-1520' (Ph. D. diss., Yale University, 1987); 'Plainsong and Polyphony for the Blessed Virgin: Notes on Two Masses by Jacob Obrecht', *JM* 12 (1994), 51-75; 'Sacred Polyphony and Local Traditions of Liturgy and Plainsong'.

[96] Karp's conclusions are echoed by Kempson, 'The Motets', 164-72.

[97] See Charles Burnett, Michael Fend, & Penelope Gouk (ed.), *The Second Sense: Studies in Hearing and Musical Judgement from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*, Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts 22 (London, 1991); and two special editions of journals, *EM* 25/Winter (1997) and *MQ* 82/Fall-Winter (1998).

rewards for tackling it can be great, considering, on one hand, its central role for the understanding of Isaac, and on the other, its (uncomfortable) position in our historical outlook. With the variety of new directions that have come to light, to undertake research on Isaac, and the *Choralis*, at the present time should need little further justification.

The present thesis does not, indeed cannot, follow up every possible direction within the extensive network of issues open to the researcher of the *Choralis*. Rather, it draws on and combines the most important recent research to reassess and offer new views on the existing picture of Isaac's mass-proper output, as well as to begin to address the many issues that have not hitherto been considered at all.

Firstly, Section II analyses all extant sources of the music that was to be published in the *Choralis* print in the light of the most recent source-studies, in order to create as convincing a picture as possible of the transmission of the music from composer to printing-press. Consideration is also given to the surrounding manuscript-contexts in which *Choralis* music occurs, to draw new conclusions about the scopes and constitutions of Isaac's original mass-proper projects, as well as document their reception. In the process of doing this, this section aims to determine four basic issues that concern any researcher of the *Choralis*:

i) The relative chronology of the *Choralis* cycles.

ii) The original institution for which each cycle was intended.

iii) The relative statuses of variant-versions (when they exist).

iv) All pieces in the print that are not by Isaac.

The section opens with a background survey of the mass-proper prior to Isaac, and with a rereading of the documents and historical circumstances surrounding Isaac's commission from Constance cathedral.

Section III follows up the suspicion raised in Section II that the print does not encompass all the constituent parts of Isaac's original mass-proper projects with an

investigation of Isaac's mass-proper items outside the print. Firstly, the accepted corpus is re-evaluated, with particular attention to the large collection of such items found in two related manuscripts from later-sixteenth-century Augsburg, to see whether they may testify to Isaac's having composed a distinct Augsburg repertory. Secondly, two large collections of anonymous propers are tested for the possibility that they too may be by Isaac. Both these collections occur in sources that also contain cycles found in the *Choralis* (WeimB A and MunBS 29). Background knowledge of the former source in particular has recently been significantly revised by Heidrich, opening particularly suggestive possibilities for the music contained in the source in relation to Isaac's mass-proper provision for the Imperial court.

The final main section of this study, Section IV, re-examines at a music-stylistic level each of the pieces or groups of pieces raised in Sections II and III as problematic. Difficulties with the reliability of stylistic analysis are well-known. In this light, this section is to be understood as a supplement to the arguments put forward in those preceding it, rather than as an attempt to give definitive proof. A consideration of whether the pieces concerned can convincingly be attributed to Isaac or de-attributed from him on musical grounds is methodologically essential, indeed, the only available option once the sources have given as much information as they can, to support or raise doubt over the previously drawn conclusions.

II

'Lest the Work of this Great Man Perish':

Behind the Scenes of the *Choralis Constantinus* Print[1]

1. Introduction

It is virtually inevitable that any research into the music of the *Choralis Constantinus* must concern itself initially with the matters of sources and transmission. If such considerations are necessary for much Renaissance music, their particularly pressing importance for Isaac's mass-propers cannot be overemphasised. The obvious temporal distance between Isaac's death and Formschneider's print begs inquiry not only into how the music passed from composer to publisher, but also into what changes may have been effected upon it along the way. The fundamental nature of these questions is clear from the undeniably major role that source-studies have played in existing research into the *Choralis*, most significantly by Pätzig, Bente, and Schuler. Yet this can only serve to reinforce the fact that current literature lacks a satisfactory and comprehensive account of the genesis of the *Choralis* prints as a whole. Neither Bente nor Schuler had such an account as a goal in any case, for their objects of investigation lay elsewhere – in the choirbooks of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek for the former, and in only those parts of the *Choralis* connected to Constance for the latter. Pätzig, the earliest of the three, did aim for a broader coverage in his 'Liturgische Grundlagen'. His survey of all the sources known at the time he wrote, and the variant-readings they contain, still remains a central reference-tool. Yet his overall picture of the *Choralis*'s genesis has been so modified, both by Bente and Schuler, as well as by the most recent source information of Heidrich, Lodes, and others, that a fresh and up-to-date reassessment of the sources and transmission of the *Choralis* has become of primary urgency.

[1] Quote from Formschneider's preface to CCI.

However tempting it may be to minimise the effects of the time-gap separating Isaac from the *Choralis* print, and assume that the latter more or less represents Isaac's intentions – if not at the highest level, insofar as the print is a conflation of music for both Constance and the Imperial court, then at all others – closer investigation warns that this can in no way be taken for granted. A clear distinction must be made between Isaac himself, on the one hand, and the *Choralis* print as a cultural object prepared in the 1530s and received in the 1550s, on the other. The following study will show that the passage from Isaac to the printing-press was anything but direct, and that the validity of an equation between the two must be tested in the instance of each piece if more or less serious distortion or misunderstanding is to be avoided.

The picture rapidly assumes a daunting complexity, given both the *fait accompli* of the prints themselves which together contain some 380 pieces, and a source situation which spans the whole range, from the nonexistent to large manuscripts closely resembling what must have served as printers' models. Complications with the print and its sources operate at every level, from assessing the broad divisions of the repertory into items for the Imperial court or Constance, to dealing with variant orderings and assignments of movements, conflicting attributions, and more or less divergent readings of the musical texts. Any hope here for simple answers must quickly be abandoned. Moreover, when solutions can be found, they may on occasion give rise to new and unforeseen problems.

Within the voluminous corpus united in the *Choralis*, individual pieces, or groups thereof, compete to tell distinct and separate stories, whether complementing, or conflicting with, those around them. As the history of the *Choralis* must arise from the sum of the histories of each of its constituents, the untangling or reconstruction of these threads provides a vital framework within which to approach all the issues which Isaac's mass-propers raise. The nature and status of the relationship between what is preserved and Isaac's original plans must be known. No consideration, from wide historical contextualisation to analysis of individual pieces, is detached from the results of this inquiry.

The goal of the present chapter is, then, to offer the necessary up-to-date analysis of sources and transmission for the whole *Choralis*. In the process, this study aims to establish a

broad chronology of Isaac's mass-propers, the recipient institution of each piece, and the effects of transmission on the music itself. Preliminary outlines of the mass-proper before Isaac, and its place in his career, provide initial historical and chronological grounding.

2. Polyphonic Mass-Propers before Isaac

There is evidence of polyphonic settings of mass-proper chants for as long as we have written documentation of Western polyphony.[2] They appear equally in the first theoretical treatises, such as the *Musica enchiriadis*, as well as in practical sources, occasionally in large groups, such as that found in the Winchester Troper (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 473) from *c.* 1000.[3] The first sources with fixed rhythm, the so-called Notre-Dame polyphony manuscripts, show a similar preponderance towards the genre, so much so that the project of the *Magnus liber organi* is often cited alongside that of the *Choralis*. The formal principles by which these early mass-propers worked – the decoration or elaboration of a plainsong used as cantus firmus – was to remain a constant throughout the genre's history. Whilst mass-ordinaries partook equally of this plainsong basis and were stylistically indistinguishable from proper-items at this early time, they were to pursue a divergent course in subsequent centuries, replacing their original techniques with other formal processes never found in the proper.[4] With the occasional exception, most notably Byrd's *Gradualia*, propers uniformly stayed true to their roots.

Even after taking into account the possibility of source losses, the absence of any large collections of propers throughout the *ars nova* period points towards what must have been the usual practice with liturgical music, both before, during, and after that time: it was improvised over the cantus firmus. It has been suggested by Reinhard Strohm, for instance,

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[2] The two indispensible general histories of the mass-proper, despite their age, are Georg Eisenring, *Zur Geschichte des Mehrstimmigen Proprium Missae bis um 1560* (Düsseldorf, 1912), and Lipphardt, *Die Geschichte der mehrstimmigen Proprium Missae*. See also Strohm & Kempson, 'Isaac'.

[3] See Andreas Holschneider, *Die Organa von Winchester: Studien zum ältesten Repertoire von polyphoner Musik* (Hildesheim, 1968).

[4] See Section I.4, above.

that the 1405 statutes of the Sainte-Chapelle in Bourges, which assert that the introit, gradual, alleluia, offertory, and postcommunion should be sung 'in discant', may refer to just this kind of unwritten practice.[5] If today such improvised music is difficult to approach due to the lack of evidence it has left behind, and as a result tends to be sidelined in favour of written compositions, the practice was nonetheless vital. Skill in creating such music was amongst the highest abilities a singer could possess and constituted by far the largest part of the average individual's experience of polyphony. It is against this background that the written sources must be viewed. The continuous spectrum between written and unwritten music is of particular relevance for the mass-proper. Even later, in Isaac's time, the balance was not wholly in favour of the written. Improvisation still formed a major part of any professional musician's activities, whether singer or instrumentalist.[6] Traces of it may be found in certain stylistic features characteristic of Isaac's music in general, the *Choralis* in particular, and in other composers too, such as Obrecht. These include lengthy sequences, especially in conjunction with a sequential cantus firmus, fauxbourdon passages, or extended sections in parallel thirds or tenths, application of formulaic motifs, and a regular and predictable cantus firmus rhythm.[7]

Composed proper-settings begin to survive in increased numbers once more from the early fifteenth century. This resurgent interest in the form cannot be attributed simply to chance source survival and may have links to the successful application of liturgical reforms issued by the Council of Constance (1414-18).[8] These pieces are preserved either as individual movements (usually introits or sequences), as more complete cycles (introit, gradual, alleluia, sequence, offertory, communion, or some part thereof), or combined with ordinaries into plenary cycles.[9] The Habsburg court, the institution that claims our attention

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[5] See Strohm, *The Rise*, 178.

[6] On improvised music in the Renaissance, see Polk, *German Instrumental Music*, 163-213.

[7] In 1555, Vicentino complained about improvisation precisely because it contains too many parallels, which cause boredom. On regular chant-rhythm, see Reinhard Strohm, 'Heinrich Isaac und die Musik in Deutschland vor 1492', *Heinrich Isaac und Paul Hofhaimer im Umfeld von Kaiser Maximilian I*, ed. Salmen & Gstrein, 24-25.

[8] See Philip Cavanaugh, 'Early Sixteenth-Century Cycles of Polyphonic Mass-Propers: An Evolutionary Process or the Result of Liturgical Reforms?', *AcM* 48 (1976), 153.

[9] See Strohm, *The Rise*, 178; Strohm & Kempson, 'Isaac'.

by being the one at which Isaac was subsequently to be employed, started collecting propers and plenary cycles from the 1430s. Examples of the latter, by Dufay and Reginald Liebert, reached there at that time from the West along with significant numbers of individual proper-movements. Later absorbed as part of the voluminous repertory of the Trent Codices, these earlier Habsburg collections of propers form the immediate precedent of Isaac's *Choralis*.

The seven large manuscripts that comprise the Trent set, compiled across the middle decades of the fifteenth century, contain music for all situations, and are of major importance for the histories of each genre they contain.[10] Research by Reinhard Strohm and others has used their repertory to precipitate a radical reassessment of the hitherto-accepted musical scene in late-medieval Austria, the geographical area from the Tyrol to Styria. The usual dramatic narrative that music in Imperial territory was in a moribund state prior to rejuvenation by Maximilian I can no longer be accepted. In its place, a thriving fifteenth-century musical scene has been revealed, with important roles played by non-courtly institutions, notably the cathedral at Trent itself, but also others, such as monasteries, both importing music from elsewhere as well as cultivating home-grown repertory.[11] At a courtly level, Emperor Friedrich III (1440-93), Maximilian's father, was a powerful and enthusiastic patron of the arts, with far-reaching influence, and a preference for imported Western talent.[12] Besides the Imperial court at Graz and Wiener Neustadt, the court of Duke Sigismund of Tyrol, at Innsbruck, was also a significant centre.[13]

In a layer of Trent codex 88, datable to *c.* 1460,[14] is a localised and substantial set of eleven proper-cycles.[15] Although they are preserved anonymously, they are now believed to

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[10] Original shelfmark numbers from the capitular library of Trent Cathedral, 87-93, although numbers 87-92 are no longer housed there. On the chronology of the set, see the literature cited in Adelyn Peck Leverett, 'An early *Missa brevis* in Trent Codex 91', *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts*, ed. John Kmetz, 152, n. 1. Also Strohm, 'Native and Foreign Polyphony', 222ff.

[11] Strohm, 'Native and Foreign Polyphony'.

[12] See Adelyn Peck Leverett, 'Song Masses in the Trent Codices: The Austrian Connection', *EMH* 14 (1995), 211-12.

[13] See Strohm, *The Rise*, 518-20.

[14] Suparmi Saunders, 'A Dating of the Trent Codices from their Watermarks, with a Study of the Local Liturgy of Trento in the Fifteenth Century' (Ph. D. diss., King's College, London, 1983; Garland Series of Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities, ed. John Caldwell, New York & London, 1989).

[15] David Fallows, *Dufay* (London, 1982), 188-89, cites a series of introits by Brassart as the only earlier comparison.

be largely the work of Dufay, although regional products or Italian imports may be mixed in.[16] The set consists of three-voice settings, for the Blessed Virgin, de Angelis, the Holy Cross, Trinity, and the Holy Spirit, as well as for Saints Andrew, George, John the Baptist, Maurice and his companions, and Sebastian. The apparent unity of the set, caused by cross-referential quotation, prompted William Prizer and Alejandro Planchart to associate them with the weekly votive masses of the Order of the Golden Fleece.[17] Such origins need not necessarily have any bearing on their subsequent Tyrolean use, though if they were known, they would certainly have lent the set a prestigious status.

Thus when Maximilian I (1459-1519; King of the Romans from 1486; crowned Emperor in 1508) came to take over Imperial control on his father's death in 1493, he found that a firm artistic framework was already in place, and, moreover, that this framework could be used as a springboard from which to develop his own amibitions and projects. In particular, the chapel practices and traditions that Maximilian inherited were to receive his continued promotion.[18] This chapel's instrumental music, particularly for organ and wind instruments, was amongst the best in Europe. Moreover, the chapel had an extensive tradition of using polyphonic propers. Settings of introits and sequences, at least, were probably already used regularly in Friedrich III's chapel.[19]

It was into this context that Isaac stepped when he left Italy to enter Maximilian's employ in 1496. At Maximilian's behest, Isaac was to cultivate the mass-proper genre with an intensity unrivalled anywhere else in Europe. The influence of this focused activity was not to remain confined, but rather, spill out and touch other establishments in Maximilian's domain, both courtly and ecclesiastical. In order to uncover the full extent and nature of Isaac's mass-proper composition, we must first turn to an event that clearly demonstrates this influence, and that has claimed more attention than any other in relation to Isaac's production of mass-

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[16] See David Fallows, 'Dufay and the Mass Proper Cycles of Trent 88', *I Codici Musicali Trentini: Atti del Convegno Laurence Feininger*, ed. Danilo Curti (Trent, 1986), 46-59, and Fallows, *Dufay*, 188-89. Also Strohm & Kempson, 'Isaac'.

[17] See Leverett, 'Song Masses', 223 n. 30, and literature cited there.

[18] See Strohm, *The Rise*, 522; Kempson, 'The Motets', 201.

[19] Strohm & Kempson, 'Isaac'.

propers. This is the event responsible for giving the title to the *Choralis* collection when it was published in 1550/55, and the one long believed to have caused the creation of all the music it contains: the commission for mass-propers from the chapter of Constance cathedral.

3. Isaac, the Mass-Proper, and the Constance Commission

The precise circumstances of the Constance commission were uncovered by Otto zur Nedden in 1930, with the discovery of the document recording the chapter's resolution to ask for compositions from Isaac:

> [1508]
>
> Exparte componiste capelle
>
> Regiae maiestatis.
>
> Die xiiii aprilis, uff anzaigen dominorum decani Randegk et clingenberg des erbietens rectoris capelle Regiae Majestatis Ist concludiert, mit demselben und dem ysaac componisten zureden, ob er etlich officia In summis festivitatibus zesingen in ringem sold, componiren und schriben lassen welt pro choro ecclesie Constantiensis und so verr das in erlidenlichem gelt der fabric sin möcht, söhls machen zelassen – et ad hoc deputati sunt [...] domini praescripti.[20]
>
> (1508. Concerning the chapel composer of His Majesty the King. April 14, at the notice of the lords Dean Randeck and Lord Clingenberg, and of the request of the rector cappelle of the king [Georg Slatkonia], it is concluded, to speak with the same, and with Isaac the composer, to see if he will, for a little money, compose and have copied some offices for the highest feasts, for the choir of Constance cathedral, as far as that should be affordable from the Fabric's money, to let this be made – and to this are the aforementioned lords entrusted.)[21]

[20] Constance, Domprotokolle 3366, 14 April, 1508. See this thesis, p. i. Transcribed in Otto zur Nedden, 'Zur Musikgeschichte von Konstanz um 1500', *ZfMw* 12 (1929/30), 455; Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II, 67.

[21] I am grateful to Reinhard Strohm for help translating this and subsequent documents.

At the time of commissioning, Isaac would certainly have been no stranger to the chapter. Evidence that he had been involved in the musical life of Constance before 1505 is found in the Fridolin Sicher organ tablature, where his motet *Sub tuum praesidium* is headed with the words 'hainricus Jsaac Ex petitione Magistri Martini Vogelmayer Organistae tunc temporis Constancie'.[22] Vogelmayer's death in 1505 places that year as a *terminus ante quem*. It is likely that Isaac had stayed in the city, as part of Maximilian's entourage, during one or more of the latter's visits there, in 1499, 1503, and 1505. The earliest of these dates has not hitherto been considered due to the belief, held until recently, that Isaac had at that time been loaned to Frederick the Wise, and was therefore in Torgau. Jürgen Heidrich has now shown that this was not the case.[23] Isaac is documentable in Florence on September 25, 1499, but he could have travelled there directly fom Constance. Whatever may have been the case, after a visit to Florence in 1506, Isaac returned again to Constance around 1507, for the Imperial Diet, or Reichstag, that the city was to host between April and July of that year.[24] If the Reichstags were often lavish affairs, the Constance one of 1507 promised to be particularly brilliant, as Maximilian prepared to fulfil his longstanding ambition of being crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Rome, by the Pope. Maximilian was only later to know that he would have to settle for having the ceremony performed at Trent, by a Papal legate, in February, 1508.

At Constance, the splendour of Maximilian's establishment and, by implication, of Maximilian himself was to be on open display, with significant contributions from his musicians. Two motets by Isaac written specifically for the proceedings provide a tangible insight into the spectacular nature of the occasion: the bipartite *Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia/Imperii proceres*, and the imposing six-part *Virgo prudentissima*.[25] One further motet,

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[22] See Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II, 61.

[23] 'Heinrich Isaac in Torgau?', *Heinrich Isaac und Paul Hofhaimer im Umfeld von Kaiser Maximilian I*, ed. Salmen & Gstrein, 155-68.

[24] For a list of when and where all Maximilian's Reichstags occurred, see Walter Senn, 'Maximilian und Musik', *Ausstellung Maximilian I. Innsbruck, 1. Juli-5. Oktober 1969* (Innsbruck, 1969), 77. See also Georg Reichert, 'Die Preces-Primariae Register Maximilians I. und seine Hofkapelle um 1508', *AMw* 11 (1954), 106.

[25] See Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II, 64-66; Just, 'Studien', I, 66; Kempson, 'The Motets', 220-42, 262-67, 315-16.

the responsory *Quae est ista*, is obliquely cited by Glarean in connection with Constance, or at least its diocese:

> ...Quae est ista, quod in diocaesi Constantiensi frequens canitur. Sed in formula Hypophrygii, ad quam ab Henrico Isaac quatuor vocibus conflatum memini me videre, si nomen non mentiatur authorem.[26]
>
> (...Quae est ista, which is often sung in the diocese of Constance. But in the hypophrygian mode, of which I remember seeing a four-voice setting by Henricus Isaac, if the name of the author is not false.)

Despite Glarean's hesitancy, the authenticity of this motet has not been questioned.[27] It is unclear exactly how close a link to Constance may be established for this piece. Nonetheless, the source situation of Isaac's setting of this chant is unusual and suggestive. It is the only one of his responsories to be preserved outside central-European sources: besides its occurrences in DresSL 1/D/505, HradKM 17, and SGallS 530 (along with the *Sub tuum praesidium* mentioned above), it is also found in FlorBN II.I.232.[28] Close links between Constance and northern Italy fully permit an origin in Constance.

Isaac must have remained in Constance after the Reichstag ended, because he met Machiavelli there in the following November, apparently on diplomatic business. Although the commission for mass-propers dates from a further five months after this meeting, and a full nine months after the Reichstag's close, the wording of the commission document makes it clear that the composer was still in the city at that time. That neither Isaac, nor the 'rector capelle', Georg Slatkonia (1458-1522), to whom negotiations were entrusted, seem to have travelled in the interim period may indicate that they were expecting a summons from

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[26] *Dodecachordon*, 153; see Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II, 109.

[27] See Kempson, 'The Motets', 131-36.

[28] See Anthony Cummings, 'A Florentine Sacred Repertory from the Medici Restoration (Manuscript II.I.232 [olim Magl. XIX.58; Gaddi 1113] of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence): Bibliography and History', *AcM* 55 (1983), 267-332; Just, 'Studien', I, 60; Kempson, 'The Motets', 131-32.

Maximilian to attend the Imperial coronation, but were left waiting because Maximilian's plans were thwarted. Slatkonia was evidently chosen as an intermediary for the Constance commission because he was an acquaintance familiar to both parties. As director of Maximilian's choir since 1498, he was a long-standing colleague of Isaac's. Moreover, he was highly favoured by Maximilian, having been made bishop of Pedena in 1506, and would go on to become Vienna's first bishop in 1513, as well as Imperial Councillor in 1515, all without relinquishing his leadership of the choir. He had also had direct dealings with Constance, having already helped the chapter by acquiring singers for the cathedral. He was a guest at the chapter's traditional Ash Wednesday meal on March 8, 1508, on which occasion the idea of approaching Isaac may have been born.[29]

Isaac must have received the proposal and its conditions well, for the next document referring to the project, dating a year and a month after the commission, on May 18, 1509, records that music had been sent, and was to be looked after by the master of the choirboys:

> 1509 Ex parte cantus figurativi per ysaac pro fabrica composti. –
>
> Die 18 Mai ist capitulariter concludiret und daruff bevohlen dem Johanness praeceptori der knaben per iuramentum söhl gesang zu versorgen und nichts daruß schriben zelassen.[30]
>
> (1509 Regarding the polyphony composed by Isaac for the cathedral. – It is concluded by the chapter on May 18, and thereupon ordered, to entrust, under oath, Johannes, the master of the boys, with the care of these songs, and not allow any of them to be copied.)

One further entry in the chapter records, from November 29 of the same year, mentions Isaac's music, stating that the pieces are to be submitted for testing, and that Isaac is to be paid:

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[29] See Schuler, 'Die Konstanzer Domkantorei', 40-41; Bente, *Neue Wege*, 275.
[30] Constance, Domprotokolle 3664. See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 276-77; Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II, 68-9.

1509 Exparte Cancionalis per ysaac transmissi. –

Die 29 Novembris Ist capitulariter concludiret daz die Senger sölh cancional oder gesang besehen und ubersingen söllen und so verre sy dieselben gantz und gerecht finden So söllen procuratores fabrice den ysaac, den Schriber und den botten lutt des zugesandten zedels erlich entrichten etc. angesehen, dz man Im sölhs zemachen bevohlen und verdingt hat.[31]

(1509 Regarding the songs sent by Isaac. – It is concluded by the chapter on November 29 that the singers should check and try out this cancional or song, and in so far as they find them complete and correct, so should the guardians of the Fabric pay Isaac, the copyist and the messenger according to the papers sent honestly, etc., given the fact that one has employed him to make these songs.)

It has been generally agreed that the dates of the two records are closely tied to delivery dates of the music itself. The cathedral chapter met weekly, and hence it has been assumed that the matters they discussed must have arisen in the six days since their previous meeting. On this basis, Schuler was prepared to assert that Isaac fulfilled the commission in two parts, with a first delivery arriving sometime in the week prior to May 18, 1509, and a second sometime in the week prior to November 29.[32]

Although these conclusions seem reasonable, and it may not be fair to hypothesise protracted delays on the part of the cathedral chapter, a close reading of the documents does not permit events to be so firmly pinned down. The only secure facts are that some of Isaac's music must have been in the chapter's possession by May 18, 1509, and that the final settling of accounts planned on November 29 must indicate the latest concluding date of the project. The number of deliveries, and when they were made, remains unclear. This applies in particular to the November record, which states only that the songs should be tested and Isaac paid. It is thus possible that all of the commissioned music was in the chapter's possession by

[31] Constance, Domprotokolle 3809. See references in previous note.
[32] 'Zur Überlieferung', 68, n. 2.

a considerably earlier date than has previously been thought, and that this record was prompted only by the arrival of Isaac's bill. A consideration of Isaac's movements weighs in favour of this, without permitting other possibilties to be ruled out. There is no information on Isaac's location between his commissioning in 1508 and May 1509, by which date some music had been composed. It has thus been assumed that Isaac stayed in Constance during these months and conveyed his music to the chapter in person.[33] By August 7, however, Isaac was in Florence and may have joined Maximilian in his travels around Italy and southern Tyrol for the rest of the year.[34] If he was still working on the commission at this time, then he would have had to compose it between managing his other affairs and travelling, then despatch it from wherever he happened to be.

No precise figure is given for what Isaac was finally paid for his services, nor are there any more detailed descriptions of what the music consisted of, beyond the 'etlich officia in summis festivitatibus' mentioned in the original commission. In response to the latter problem, it has now long been realised that the commission music must occupy only a part of the *Choralis* print, and that the remainder was drawn from Imperial repertory. At the most basic level, not every feast in the *Choralis* classes as a 'summa festivitas'. An insight into this term nearly contemporary with the commission document may be drawn from the title page and contents of Isaac's six-voice introit series preserved in MunBS 31: labelled, 'Introitus summis festivitatibus', the manuscript contains settings for Christmas, its Octave, Epiphany, Purification BMV, Adventu Domini BMV, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity, Corpus Christi, and Veneration of the Virgin.[35] Determining which settings in the *Choralis* print belonged to the commission has been the subject of some debate. The first scholar both to decide that the print's contents had more than one origin and to offer a solution was Werner Heinz. In his 1952 Berlin dissertation, 'Isaacs und Senfls Propriums-Kompositionen der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München', he deduced on stylistic and logical grounds that only

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[33] See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 276.
[34] See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 277; Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II, 68.
[35] See Section III.2, Table 3 (a), below.

CCII could have been written for Constance. The conclusion was more thoroughly demonstrated, with the addition of the Trinity Sunday service (CCI/2) to the Constance music, by Gerhard Pätzig in 1956 through liturgical comparison and source-studies.[36] Martin Bente advanced the hypothesis of a Constantine origin for a further 51 movements from the beginning of CCIII.[37] Most recently, Helmut Hell has argued that all volumes were compiled from Isaac's papers, and thus that some of CCII may have been for the Imperial court.[38] The latter two suggestions are problematic. They will be fully assessed – and rejected – later in this thesis, leaving Pätzig's solution largely secure.[39] The possibility that the commission also entailed mass-ordinaries has hitherto remained unconsidered. This proposal will be supported through the source-studies later in this section. Whatever stance is taken with the Constance commission music, two points are clear. Firstly, the chapter was not expecting the setting of the entire gradual, and secondly, the Constance project must form a satisfactorily complete unit.

Although the Constance commission is strikingly unusual in its historical context, the benefit of hindsight makes the request seem less surprising. Under the direction of the ambitious and deeply artistically interested bishop Hugo von Hohenlandenberg (bishop from 1496-1528), the cultural and intellectual life of Constance was kept up-to-date with the most advanced trends. The cathedral chapter had been engaged for nearly a decade prior to the Isaac commission in the creation and development of an élite choral institution in possession of a worthy musical repertory.[40] The value placed on the production of new music for this purpose throughout this whole period is clear from the numerous documents in the cathedral archives charting the matters under consideration at the weekly chapter meetings. The employment contract of Sebastian Virdung in 1507 specifically mentions composing amongst his duties. Sixt Dietrich was later subject to similar conditions, given time during the day to

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[36] 'Liturgische Grundlagen'.
[37] Bente, *Neue Wege*, 117-35.
[38] 'Senfls Hand in den Chorbüchern der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek', *AJMw* 4 (1987), 89.
[39] See Sections II.6 and III.4, below.
[40] See Schuler, 'Die Konstanzer Domkantorei', esp. 38-39.

devote specifically to composing, and even allowed to pay his debts with new music.[41] The coincidence of Isaac's long-term presence with this environment could hardly avoid stimulating the Constance authorities into action.

Equally unsurprising in hindsight is that Constance's request was for mass-propers, rather than some other liturgical genre. If it has long been known that Isaac had composed propers sporadically well before 1508 – one of the famous 'Ysac de manu sua' manuscripts, bound into BerlDS 40021 and datable to *c.* 1500 presents a sequence for St. Katherine[42] – the most recent research has added substantially to this picture. Whilst Isaac's life prior to a document recording a casual payment to him in Innsbruck in 1484 remains largely shrouded in mystery beyond the fact that he was born in the Low Countries, the presence of three of his pieces (the motets *Inviolata, integra et casta*, *Argentum et aurum*, and *Ecce sacerdos magnus*) in a layer of MunBS 3154 datable to between *c.* 1476-84 suggests an early association with German-speaking lands, in particular with the Tyrolean court of Duke Sigismund of Austria.[43] The 1484 Innsbruck document itself is from Duke Sigismund's court, and may suggest more long-term acquaintance, during which Isaac could already have become familiar with music of the sort found in the Trent Codices, and with the traditions, specialities, and interests of the Ducal and Imperial courts. In this light, the styles and genres expected of him upon his engagement by Maximilian in 1496 would have held no surprises.

Jürgen Heidrich's recent redating of a substantial *Choralis* source, the manuscript WeimB A, to *c.* 1498-1500 means that Isaac began composing propers in organised sets, systematically providing for many days of the year, from his very first years in Maximilian's service, rather than *c.* 1505, as was previously believed.[44] WeimB A itself does not originate directly from the Imperial court, but was copied for Frederick the Wise of Saxony. An earlier,

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[41] See Schuler, 'Die Konstanzer Domkantorei', 30; 'Der Personalstatus', 260, 262.

[42] Only two of the three pieces claiming to be autographs can actually be so; see Martin Just, 'Ysac de manu sua', *Berict über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Kassel, 1962*, ed. Reichert & Just. See also Jessie Ann Owens, 'An Isaac Autograph', *Music in the German Renaissance*, ed. Kmetz, 27-53, and Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600* (Oxford, 1997), 258-90.

[43] The earlier dating is from Thomas Noblitt, 'Die Datierung der Handschrift Mus. Ms. 3154 der Staatsbibliothek München', *Mf* 27 (1974), 36-56; see also Noblitt's edition, EDM 80-82 (Kassel, 1987-94). The later dating has been advanced by Joshua Rifkin. See also Kempson, 'The Motets', 38.

[44] See Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 198-250.

Imperial source must therefore be hypothesised. Only settings of days from the temporal series between Advent and Palm Sunday are found in WeimB A, yet, given the thorough treatment, the supposition is compelling that Isaac must at this time both have lavished equal attention on the rest of the *temporale*, as well as furnished the Imperial chapel with settings of the highest feast days.[45] The source situation for the twenty-three Sundays after Pentecost supports the theory of an early date of composition, as a completion of the WeimB A series.[46] Reinhard Strohm has recently suggested, on logical grounds, that Isaac's series of eleven six-voice introits preserved in MunBS 31 must also number amongst Isaac's first tasks in mass-proper composition for Maximilian.[47] Whilst this cannot be directly supported in the sources – the music is unique to MunBS 31, a manuscript assigned by Birgit Lodes to 1520s Munich – the suggestion is nonetheless compelling.[48] Introits in particular seem to have been a basic requirement for polyphonic propers. An introit series by Brassart offers an important precedent for activity in this proper-genre. More contemporaneously with Isaac, Thomas Stolzer began a set of introits, fourteen of which survive, and MunBS 3154 preserves plenary masses of which the only part of the proper set polyphonically is the introit.[49]

By 1508, the provision of mass-propers at Maximilian's court must have been substantial, and have included many more items in addition to the four-voice settings of WeimB A and the six-voice introits of MunBS 31.[50] Aware of this, it seems quite natural that the ambitious authorities at Constance would seek to provide their own institution with something analogous. That they did not try to take copies of the Imperial music itself may have three possible explanations: the institutional pride of possessing their own set, liturgical difference, or lack of access. The enlisting of Maximilian's court-composer was a

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[45] Those of WeimB A may be by Isaac. See Sections III.5 and IV.5, below.

[46] See Strohm & Kempson, 'Isaac'; Section II.6, below.

[47] Strohm & Kempson, 'Isaac'.

[48] 'Ludwig Senfl'.

[49] On Brassart, see Fallows, *Dufay*, 188-89; on Stolzer, see Lothar Hoffman-Erbrecht, 'Stolzer, Thomas', *Grove*7; for MunBS 3154, see EDM 80-82, ed. Noblitt.

[50] Six-voice introits for the Common of Saints are cited in the 'Heidelberg' Inventory, but since lost. See Section II.6, below.

considerable coup. Viewed this way, the Constance music is a smaller, self-contained, and to some extent marginal by-product of the much more grandiose project of Maximilian's.

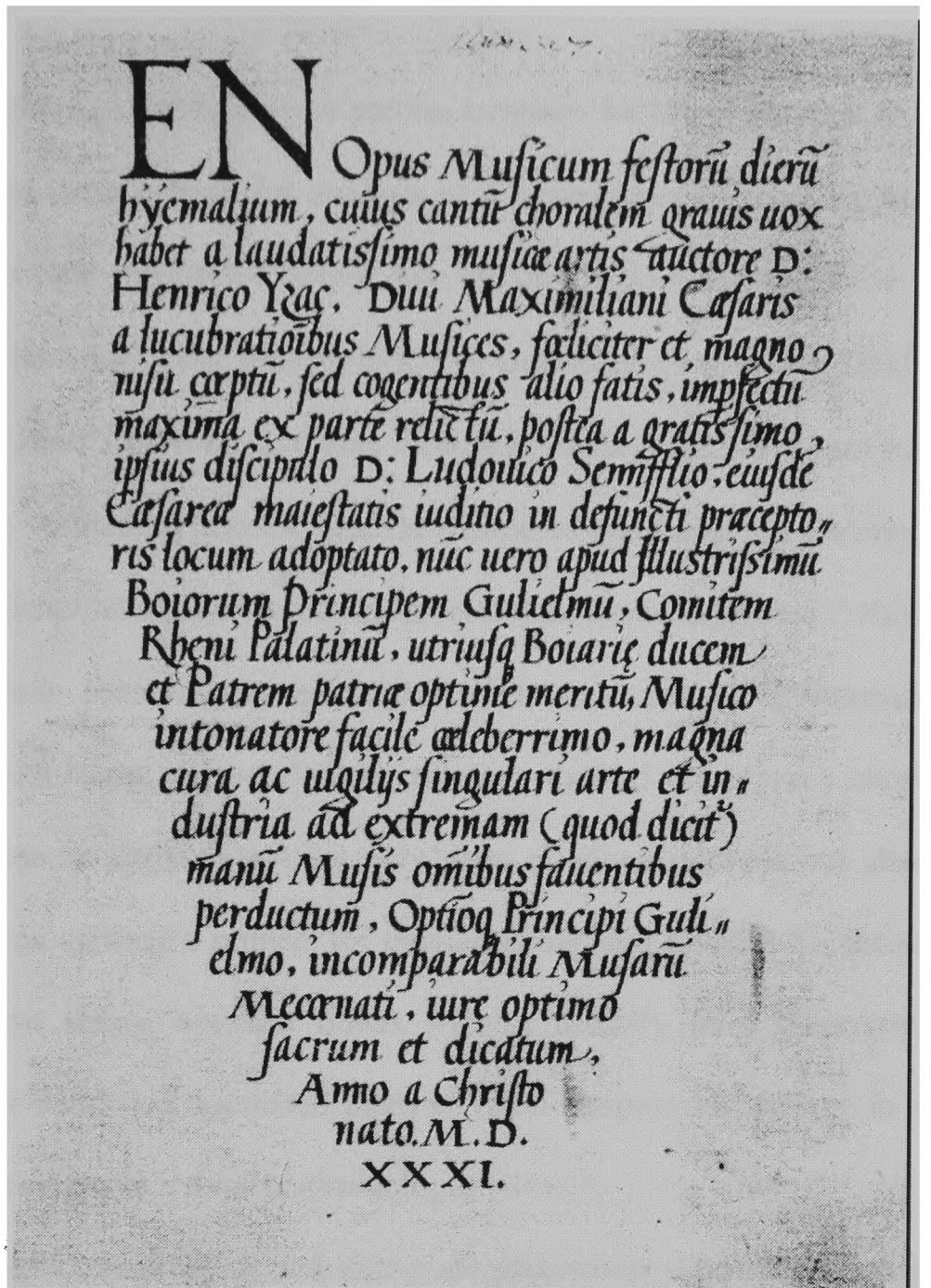
4. Isaac's Later Mass-Propers: The Evidence of the 'Opus musicum'

If the WeimB A temporal series and the six-voice introits make it clear that Isaac had already written an imposing body of mass-propers before the Constance commission, the surviving output as a whole, and reports from those associated with him, mean that he must have continued to produce cycles in this genre for the Imperial court after completing the Constance set. This is so despite the fact that, from 1509 onwards, his physical presence at the Imperial court can only be documented for very brief periods, and he appears to have spent the remainder of his life in Italy.[51] Isaac's later provision of mass-propers for Maximilian seems to have been focused on settings of feasts of the *sanctorale*. These settings would later form the foundation for the most important posthumous source of Isaac's mass-propers, the collection put together by Senfl in Munich in 1531, entitled 'Opus musicum' (MunBS 35-38), and would ultimately appear in CCIII.

Although the 'Opus musicum' dates from after Isaac's death, it provides unique testimony for Isaac's later mass-propers. The four large manuscripts that make up the 'Opus musicum' together form a set containing propers for the major feast days. The cycles are distributed by season into two pairs of volumes: MunBS 38 and 37 are respectively books 'A' and 'B' for Winter, whilst MunBS 36 and 35 are the same for Summer. The division into two parts for each season was governed by classifying the feasts into two groups. The books 'A' contain propers for feasts related to Mary or Jesus, whilst the books 'B' contain those of individual saints. The Winter book 'B' (and only that) contains ordinaries and settings of the traditional responsorial items from the mass. This organisational structure matches that of

[51] See Outline Biography, p. ix-xv; Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II, 68-88. A gap in documentation between 1510 and 1512 permits various suppositions. From 1512 at the latest, Isaac seems to have permanently resettled in Florence, returning north only briefly in 1514.

other proper-sources of the time, such as WeimB A and MunBS 39, which also end their series of propers with other necessary liturgical items. Indeed, manuscripts consisting solely of propers are almost unknown. In following this pattern, it can be seen that the four volumes were conceived as an integral unit. They are collectively known as the 'Opus musicum' due to the almost identical title pages found in MunBS 38 and 36, the first books of each of the pairs (see Illustration 1, overleaf):


EN Opus Musicum festorũ dierũ
hyemalium, cuius cantũ choralem grauis uox
habet a laudatissimo musicæ artis auctore D:
Henrico Yzac. Diui Maximiliani Cæsaris
a lucubrationibus Musices, fœliciter et magno
nisu cœptũ, sed cogentibus alio fatis, impfectũ
maximã ex parte relictũ, postea a gratissimo,
ipsius discipulo D: Ludouico Semfflio, eiusde
Cæsareæ maiestatis iudicio in defuncti præcepto-
ris locum adoptato, nũc uero apud Illustrissimũ
Boiorum Principem Gulielmũ, Comitem
Rheni Palatinũ, utriusq Boiariæ ducem
et Patrem patriæ optime meritũ, Musico
intonatore facile celeberrimo, magna
cura ac uigilijs singulari arte et in-
dustria ad extremam (quod dicit)
manũ Musis omnibus fauentibus
perductum, Optimoq Principi Guli-
elmo, incomparabili Musarũ
Mecœnati, iure optimo
sacrum et dicatum,
Anno a Christo
nato. M. D.
XXXI.

(Behold a musical work of winter [or: summer] feast-days, in which the lowest voice has the chant, by the most praiseworthy author in the art of music, Henricus Isaac, of the divine Emperor Maximilian; it was begun happily and with great effort, but through Fate necessitating otherwise, was left behind unfinished in its greater part; afterwards carried out with great care to the last hand (as one says), with the favour of all the Muses, by his most grateful pupil, Ludwig Senfl, who by judgement of the same Imperial majesty adopted his teacher's post, but is now at the court of William, most illustrious prince of Bavaria, Count of the Rhine Palatinate, both duke of Bavaria and most deserving father of the country, and famous setter of music; to the best Prince William, incomparable patron of the Muses, with the best of right consecrated and dedicated. A. D. 1531)

Illustration 1. 'Opus musicum' Title Page (MunBS 38)

The title page dating gives a precise terminus for the production of the books. When Bente examined these sources, his analysis of watermarks and scribes led him to propose that the title page's date constituted only a date of compilation, and that there were in fact four chronological layers in these manuscripts. The earliest of these layers dated back to *c.* 1510, that is, within Isaac's lifetime, and thus originated in the Imperial chapel itself.[52] This theory has now been refuted by Lodes, who re-examined the same watermarks, and found the matches with dated documents to be less precise than Bente suggested.[53] Having reopened the question of these sources' datings, Lodes went on to use other watermark evidence, in conjunction with liturgical speculations, to show that all the Munich choirbooks to which Bente had given an early date – not only parts of MunBS 35-38, but also MunBS 39, an important source of Isaac's propers for the *temporale*, and MunBS 31, the sole source of his six-voice introit series, amongst others – must actually have been copied in Munich, sometime after Senfl was appointed there in 1523. Despite this shifting in absolute datings, Lodes maintained Bente's relative chronology.

The implications of this new dating are particularly significant for Senfl, but there are consequences for Isaac as well. It is still most likely that Isaac's music was taken, in written form, to Munich by Senfl, then recopied as the surviving Munich choirbooks. The music must still be Imperial repertory. Yet, however good this pedigree may seem, the dismissal of the previously accepted view that many Munich manuscripts were directly inherited from the Imperial chapel means that these sources can no longer be given the status and authority they previously claimed. This must simply be tolerated for much of the music concerned because there are no further independent sources of any kind: such is the case with all Isaac's works in the 'Opus musicum' and MunBS 31. For the first part of Isaac's temporal series, however, the implications can be pursued further. This series is contained in WeimB A, with a variant version in MunBS 39. The latter was to be published in the *Choralis*, and was previously accepted as authoritative because it was thought to be an Imperial manuscript from *c.* 1510,

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[52] *Neue Wege*, 104.
[53] 'Ludwig Senfl'.

whilst the WeimB A version was considered marginal. With Lodes' dating, in conjunction with Heidrich's of WeimB A, the picture is turned on its head: WeimB A becomes much closer both chronologically and geographically to Isaac, whilst the MunBS 39 version may constitute a Munich revision, from the 1520s. This is explored further below.

A consequence of redating the 'Opus musicum' in particular is that it raises anew the problem of locating the propers that it contains by Isaac within the composer's overall career. The evidence from the sources suggests that Isaac's settings for the *sanctorale*, as found in the 'Opus musicum', were composed later than those for the temporal series. Firstly, this is because none of the 'Opus' cycles appear in early sources. None was taken by Frederick the Wise when he took the temporal series of WeimB A. Secondly, the 'Opus' cycles differ musically from the temporal series in that they set their cantus firmi in the bass voice. This technical difference seems to constitute a new and distinct approach to chant-setting. Thirdly, although precise pinpointing of when Isaac began work on his *sanctorale* settings is impossible, as the first sources are the 'Opus musicum' books, dating from after Isaac's death, two items of information suggest that, whenever Isaac may have begun work on the *sanctorale* series, he continued to work on it until his death. Such cannot have been the case with his temporal series.

The first testimony to Isaac setting mass-propers until his death, as well as to the fact that he did not finish his intended project, comes from the title page of the 'Opus musicum', which states that Isaac 'left the greater part unfinished' because 'Fate decreed otherwise'. The original Latin 'Fatum' denotes a serious event that can really only be interpreted as a euphemism for death. The claim that Isaac left the project unfinished, whether he actually continued composing proper-items right to the end or not is directly supported by an examination of the body of music left behind, and its subsequent reception history. The extant items of the *sanctorale* cannot be said to constitute a completed body not only because many days are not set at all, but also because many cycles do not contain all of the four elements – introit, alleluia, sequence, and communion – that comprise Isaac's customary complete service. Although the coverage is not as patchy as it initially appears, because some of the

items necessary to complete a cycle could be drawn from Isaac's separately preserved Common of Saints repertory rather than needing a specific setting, this is not so in every case.[54] Senfl himself, in the 'Opus musicum', and the compiler of the only other major surviving source of the *sanctorale* series, Leonhard Päminger, both felt obliged to provide their own completions to Isaac's cycles, as well as add their own, entirely new ones.[55] The four volumes of the 'Opus musicum' together furnish music for forty-nine major feast-days throughout the year, including cycles for Christmas, Epiphany, All Saints, and Marian feasts alongside individual saints' days, as well as the particularly high-ranking temporal feasts of Easter, Pentecost, and Trinity Sundays. All of the latter, and the majority of the pieces as a whole, were written by Senfl. Three classes of item in the collection may be distinguished, according to their composer: cycles solely by Isaac, cycles with movements by both Isaac and Senfl, and cycles of which Senfl was the sole author. Not all cycles contain the same number of movements, but for the purposes of counting, all the music for a specific feast, however many movements there may be, has been considered as a cycle. The number of jointly authored cycles in MunBS 37 includes that for the Christmas Vigil (see Figure 1):[56]

	Total cycles	**Senfl**	**Senfl & Isaac**	**Isaac**
MunBS 38:	13	10	3	0
MunBS 37:	14	7	1	6
MunBS 36:	11	7	3	1
MunBS 35:	11	4	4	3
Total	49	28	10	11

Figure 1. Authorial Division in the 'Opus Musicum'

Provided that the music of the 'Opus' is considered in isolation from the temporal series and that Senfl's additions are taken to fully represent the missing part Isaac intended but did not

[54] On the Common of Saints repertory, see Section II.6, below.
[55] On Päminger and BerlDS 40024, see Section II.7, below.
[56] See Section III.6, below.

complete, then the 'Opus musicum' title page's testimony that Isaac left the *sanctorale* series unfinished may be accepted.

The second item of evidence claiming that Isaac worked on his *sanctorale* series late in his life offers two more precise details in addition to those from the 'Opus' title page. A note appended to the final proper-item in the CCIII print, the sequence for St. Ursula, records that the piece was finished by Senfl because Isaac had died over it ('Additio Ludovici Senfls quia hic Isaac obiit mortem'). Thus this note, firstly, claims that Isaac was actively engaged with the project right up to his death, and, secondly, offers a specific piece as his last. However, the interpretation of this note is not quite as unproblematic as surface appearance would suggest. A similar remark appears in the 'Opus musicum' manuscript MunBS 35, simply noting Senfl's completion of the piece without further details ('Lud. S. ad finem deduxit'). Furthermore, the difference between the two sources is more than one of wording. The exact placing of the indication differs significantly between MunBS 35 and the print. Whilst CCIII implies that Isaac's contribution to the piece was fragmentary, and claims the majority of the piece for Senfl by attributing to him the final five sections of a total of eight, the 'Opus musicum' gives only the final section to Senfl. The relative reliability of these two versions of the remark may be addressed through the near-certainty that the *Choralis* print is itself dependent on MunBS 35. This implies that the latter's placing be trusted, and that only the final sequence-section was by Senfl.[57]

It is a separate issue whether Isaac left the St. Ursula sequence incomplete because of death or for some other reason. The assignment of greater reliability to MunBS 35 clearly raises an element of doubt over the status of the print's explanation that it was Isaac's death that prevented him from finishing the piece. If the print's claim is to be maintained, then further hypotheses or corroborating evidence are needed. Source dating remains neutral on the issue. The most recent and most convincing theory, from Lodes, that MunBS 35 was prepared in Munich in the 1520s, means that the remark was written after Isaac's death. Thus Bente's

[57] Heinz, 'Isaacs und Senfls Propriums-Kompositionen', supports this on stylistic grounds.

claim, on the basis of unreliable watermark analysis assigning the appropriate part of MunBS 35 to *c.* 1510, that Isaac certainly did not die over the piece can be rejected.[58] Yet nothing is resolved by this alone. Lodes' datings simply reopen the possibility of accepting the print's testimony, without in any way ruling out other explanations. If the print's account is to be accepted as truth rather than simply a later, fictive elaboration then some orally transmitted knowledge must be posited to have accompanied the remark. Such an eventuality is not impossible, yet it cannot be further supported in any way. The fact that the St. Ursula sequence is the last feast in the calendar that Isaac treated cannot be used to strengthen the argument that this piece was Isaac's last, because it relies on the assumption that Isaac worked systematically and chronologically in a single sweep through the year. Such an assumption is unsound, given the incompleteness of the *sanctorale* series. Irrespective of whether the year is judged to begin in Advent, or in January, as graduals typically do for the *sanctorale*, the feast of St. Ursula falls late, on October 21. If Isaac had really left the greater part unfinished then aspects of his working-method may be deduced from assessment of what would be necessary to complete the work. Senfl indicates precisely what was considered missing in the additions he made in the 'Opus musicum'.

Firstly, these additions relate to the *sanctorale* itself, rather than to some other class of items. Secondly, they do not all follow on chronologically after the St. Ursula sequence, but slot in the gaps in the calendar between each of Isaac's cycles. In this light, the theory that Isaac worked in one single chronologically directed sweep through the entire *sanctorale* collapses, and with it goes any particular preference for presuming the St. Ursula sequence to be his last mass-proper item. If Isaac ever had any intention to go back through the year and fill in gaps, then there is no guarantee that he had not already done precisely this in respect to the existing music, composing firstly days which were most important, or for which there was an immediate need, then dealing with others as he saw fit, and with no governing logic other than ultimately to reach as complete a setting of the *sanctorale* as practically possible. As this

[58] *Neue Wege*, 105-8 & 112, n. 1.

theory allows Isaac to have stopped at any point in the *sanctorale*, it does not directly refute the possibility that the St. Ursula sequence was last, but it does mean that the acceptance of this amounts only to faith in the print passing on reliable, but hearsay, information. Those who wish to accept the print's explanation must address the alternatives, for which there is as much (or as little) support. Such alternatives include the inadvertent loss of Isaac's setting of this final section, or that Isaac did not make a setting of the section through plain oversight or use of a version of the sequence that did not contain this verse. Of these alternatives, inadvertent loss is perhaps the most tempting. Bente documents three pieces presumed to have occupied the outer leaves of the manucripts in which they were preserved, and which were subsequently lost or damaged to the point of needing wholesale replacement.[59] The final section of the last cycle in Isaac's *sanctorale* could have occupied an analogous place in the source from which it was copied into the 'Opus musicum', and have suffered an analogous fate.

Admitting that Isaac did work on his *sanctorale* until his death, whatever his final piece may have been, two issues regarding the manner in which he worked remain to be addressed. Firstly, an intriguing by-product of the Constance commission documents and the deduction of what the commissioned music comprised is that it allows the calculation of compositional speed. Accepting Pätzig's outline of the commission's makeup, the dates provided in the Constance records mean that Isaac composed at least twenty-six propers in one-and-a-half years.[60] Moreover, these settings are of the most substantial kind, for all but one (CCII/5) contains a sequence, as well as an introit, alleluia, and communion. Uniquely for Isaac, CCII/6 also sets the gradual.[61] On average, this means one proper every three weeks, or one movement every five days, although, as this figure is dependent on equal application throughout the entire period, it is surely too high. More realistic figures must be around a day

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[59] See *Neue Wege*, 156.

[60] Pätzig's conclusions are supported over Bente's and Hell's more recent theories in Sections II.6 and III.4, below. It is further suggested in Section II.6, below, that at least one ordinary was included in the commission music. This is discounted in the present calculation so that the figures are the lowest possible ones.

[61] The one other gradual in the *Choralis*, in CCIII/1, is by Senfl. There is no reason to doubt Isaac's authorship of that found in CCII/5.

or less for simple movements like communions, slightly longer for introits and alleluias, and slightly longer still – perhaps three or four days at most – for the longest movements, the sequences. Given the possibility that Isaac had assistance with the laborious process of making fair copies, these figures and are not without parallels with other composers, such as Bach, who composed a new cantata every week during his first two years at Leipzig. They show that agent Gian's observations on Isaac's compositional facility were not misguided.

On the basis of the speed at which the Constance commission was written, a generous estimate of the time it would have taken Isaac to compose the entire *sanctorale* with Common of Saints that was later to make up CCIII is about two years. Even allowing the extreme case of a late, post-Constance commission date of *c.* 1510 onwards for all of this music, the supposition that Isaac was occupied with these pieces until he died produces a remarkably leisurely pace of activity of around one-and-a-half movements per month. This contrasts strikingly with Isaac's other documentable phases of mass-proper composition, that of the Constance commission, and that of the *temporale* series, which must also have received quite focused activity to have been in existence by *c.* 1500 as WeimB A shows. It is thus hard to escape the impression that, whether through other pressures or simple desire to rest in his old age, Isaac worked only sporadically on mass-proper composition after his return to Florence between 1509-12. It thus may be that, whilst he never formally declared that he would write no more, his last additions to his *sanctorale* series were not from his very final years.

Secondly, Bente suggested, on the basis of his datings of the 'Opus musicum', that Isaac's work on the *sanctorale* was, from its inception, in collaboration with Senfl. As Lodes has now convincingly rejected Bente's datings, placing the copying of the entire 'Opus musicum' to after Isaac's death, the immediate support for Bente's theory is now nonexistent. With Lodes new datings, a cautious interpretation would not be in favour of collaboration, but place the provenance of Senfl's settings found in the 'Opus musicum' close to that of the manuscripts, that is, in 1520s Munich. Alternatively, a posthumous completion by Senfl could be located, partly or wholly, in the Imperial chapel, during the time between Isaac's death and the chapel's disbanding in 1519 when Senfl was officially appointed to his deceased master's

post. Support for Senfl's noncollaborative, posthumous completion may be drawn from reading the 'Opus musicum' title page's statement that as Isaac had left the greater part unfinished, it was 'afterwards carried out to the last hand [=completed] by Ludwig Senfl' as implying that Senfl's contribution was exclusively after Isaac's death.

However, in theory, Lodes' new datings do not rule out a collaboration of the kind Bente proposed. Rather, they simply open up the previously rejected possibility that Senfl's contribution entirely postdates Isaac's death without ruling out alternatives. An exclusive reading of the 'Opus musicum' title page is not the the only possible interpretation. The fact that Senfl brought the project to completion after Isaac's death is not challenged by allowing Senfl to have contributed to the set during Isaac's lifetime. Sheer practicality suggests that this may at least occasionally have been the case. With Isaac physically removed from the Imperial court later in his life, it was Senfl who unofficially took on his absent master's responsibilities, only being properly appointed to the job that he must have been already doing for several years once Isaac died. It is hard to imagine that there was never an occasion during this time when a proper-item was required yet there was not sufficient time to have one sent from Isaac. In addition, given that some cycles by Isaac are incomplete, additional movements would have been required if they were to have been of any practical use during Isaac's lifetime. These arguments are only supposition, and there is no further evidence to marshal for settling the situation. As such, it may be preferable to adopt the most cautious hypothesis.

To conclude the present discussion, it remains to examine the overall relationship of Isaac's mass-propers to each other and to any large-scale project or projects. The Constance commission is unproblematic in this respect, in that it comprises a complete and self-contained body. The relation of the Imperial series to an overall plan, however, is more complex. The securely attributed propers belonging to this institution comprise the temporal series (partially present in WeimB A, and found in CCI), and the sanctoral series (partially present in the 'Opus musicum', and found in CCIII). The possibility that some cycles

preserved anonymously and not published in the *Choralis* are Isaac's, and also belong to this repertory is explored later in this thesis.

The 'Opus musicum' title page's statement that Isaac left 'the greater part unfinished' suggests there existed a plan that was unfulfilled. Yet it is unclear exactly to what this statement, and this plan, relates. There are two possibilities that must be weighed against each other. Either Isaac's entire mass-proper output for the Imperial court belongs to one single guiding plan, or these cycles comprise several separate projects. Four items of evidence from the 'Opus musicum' suggest that, contrary to current opinion, the latter was the case, and the relationship between the temporal series and sanctoral series is not quite as self-evident as it may intially appear.

Firstly, the conclusions given above regarding the chronology of the temporal and sanctoral series, and Isaac's working-method on each, suggest that the two series were composed under sharply differentiated situations. Whilst the temporal series was produced rapidly, and early in Isaac's Habsburg years, the sanctoral series occupied him sporadically for a much greater period of time, and was later.

Secondly, it is difficult to relate the 'Opus musicum' title page's statement that 'the greater part was left unifinished' to the temporal series at all, for the latter is intact, at least for every Sunday of the year, if not for the more important weekdays as well.[62] If the temporal series is taken into account alongside the *sanctorale* settings, then compared to the number of settings that Senfl felt it necessary to add in the 'Opus musicum', the quantity of missing music can no longer be considered to be 'the greater part'.

Thirdly, the 'Opus musicum' title page claims the mission of its settings is to set feast-days with the chant in the 'gravis vox', the lowest voice. The fact that this technical distinction is singled out for comment, and placed, moreover, in the title page's second line of text, demonstrates that it must have been considered of particular and special significance. All the settings of the 'Opus musicum' accord precisely to this description, but those of the

[62] See Section III.6, below.

temporal series do not.[63] The latter, and all the settings of the Constance commission, for that matter, uniformly assign the principal cantus firmus-bearing role to the discantus. This difference between *temporale* and *sanctorale* is readily apparent from the chant intonations that begin the introit and communion, but applies equally to the subsequent polyphony. The motivation for treating the cantus firmus in these different ways is not clear. It cannot be related to festal rank, because there are some pairs of cycles for identical feasts, set once in the Constance commission (CCII) with the chant in the discantus, and once for the Imperial court (CCIII) with the chant in the bass. One possible reason that has been tentatively suggested is an attempt to follow Pope John XXII's famous Bull of 1324-25, where the only polyphonic liturgical practice approved is that of chant with 'simple concords above it'.[64] If this proposal is tempting simply due to the sheer absence of any other explanations beyond compositional whim, it is nonetheless not clear why Isaac should suddenly decide to follow an old decree to the letter after he had already composed a great deal of proper-settings that do not accord with it. There may have been appropriate causes, but they are lost beyond recovery. Whatever the case, the *temporale* and the *sanctorale* consistently and exclusively follow different musical treatments of their cantus firmi. What is more, as far as we are told by the 'Opus musicum', the musical work that Isaac left unfinished was defined by its observance of only one of these procedures.

Fourthly, if the temporal series was considered an integral part of the proper-series as it appears in the 'Opus musicum' then it would be reasonable to suppose that it should have been bound in with the existing volumes, or at the least placed in a fifth volume of the set. Neither of these happened. Some have argued that Senfl did not have the later part of the temporal series to hand, because he himself set the first eleven Sundays after Pentecost (in MunBS 25) sometime after arriving in Munich.[65] Yet this argument is weak. In any case, at least the first half of the temporal series definitely was available, because it was copied, in the

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[63] There is one exception in the 'Opus' to the 'gravis vox' treatment, the cycle for the Christmas Vigil. This piece has a unique source situation, and is discussed further in Section III.6, below.

[64] Franz Körndle, 'Forbidden Music and Forbidden Notation in the Late-Medieval Church: John XXII and Later Reform Attempts', seminar given at All Souls' College, Oxford, February 1, 2001.

[65] Bente, *Neue Wege*, 161.

1520s, into MunBS 39. More may also have been at hand in a predecessor to MunBS 29, if that choirbook is the end of a chain of in-house copyings, as it seems to be.[66] If it may be thought that the existence of MunBS 39 at least was sufficient in itself, this argument is counterbalanced by the fact that at least one of its cycles, that for the Christmas Vigil, was recopied into one of the 'Opus musicum' books (MunBS 37). It must thus be accepted that the temporal series was expressly excluded from the 'Opus musicum'. Yet it may still be argued, with Lodes' new datings of the sources, that the 'Opus musicum' manuscripts cannot be taken to reflect anything about former Habsburg plans, but rather, that they comprise an entirely Munich-based project of building an impressive liturgical repertory for the Bavarian court chapel in the 1520s. Certain aspects of this are irrefutable, yet attributing the shape of the 'Opus musicum' entirely to its Munich context does not resolve some of the other issues mentioned above, nor does it mean that its shape cannot bear any traces of its earlier, Imperial origins. Indeed, Senfl's provision of a worthy liturgical repertory for the Bavarian duke seems very much in imitation of Maximilian's projects. Senfl could not avoid being aware of the nature of the original Imperial projects, and could hardly claim that he brought it to completion with the greatest care if he had amputated more than fifty cycles belonging to the *temporale*.

It thus seems that Isaac's mass-propers for the Imperial court comprised not one, but at least two separate projects, differentiated technically, chronologically, and in the way they were executed. Nonetheless, it must be noted that these projects do not overlap in coverage, and may have resulted from an overall directive to provide polyphony for as many days in the year as possible. The precise details beyond this may have been left to Isaac's discretion. Whatever relationship is finally accepted between the Imperial series' constituent parts, the result was the creation of a liturgy adorned with polyphony on a scale of lavishness far beyond that of anywhere else. The political potency of this as an assertion of Habsburg ecclesiastical practice and authority cannot be denied.[67]

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[66] See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 156-57, and Section II.6, below.

[67] Pätzig, 'Liturgische Grundlagen', rejected a connection between the *Choralis* and Maximilian's other

5. The *Choralis* in Manuscript Sources: General Observations

The preceding discussion has outlined the production-contexts of Isaac's mass-propers and their place in his career as far as is possible on the basis of the surviving evidence. Yet, as the *Choralis* print itself bears witness, the history of this music extends well beyond its original context in Isaac's lifetime. Indeed, it has already become apparent above that much of the source material for any knowledge about this music is found only after Isaac's death. In order to understand how the music finally arrived at the printing press, and the changes that may have occurred along the way, it is necessary to evaluate the placing of the sources already mentioned in the overall transmissional framework, as well as consider sources not yet discussed. In doing this, it is possible to uncover further information about the original projects themselves. All known concordances with music in the *Choralis* print are given in Table 1, overleaf (extracted from the piece-by-piece summary in Picker, *Isaac: A Guide*, and rearranged chronologically to enable the complete contents of each source to be assessed):

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artistic projects, the *Weisskunig*, *Theuerdank*, and the *Triumphzug*. The idea has since been accepted. See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 105; nuanced in Strohm & Kempson, 'Isaac'.

Date	Source	Contents	Notes
1498-1500	WeimB A	I / 28-42	Many variants with MunBS 39 and CC print. See this thesis, Sections III.5 and IV.2.
1518-49	BudOS 23	I / 2 (Sequ.)	
mid-1520s	MunBS 39	I / 26 (Comm. differs), 27-42	Many variants with WeimB A. On This source's comm. to I / 26, see this thesis, Section IV.2.
mid-1520s	MunBS 36	III / 6, 9, 17, 22, 23	'Opus musicum', Summer, book A.
mid-1520s	MunBS 35	III / 13, 15, 18, 19, 21, 24, 25	'Opus musicum', Summer, book B.
mid-1520s	MunBS 38	III / 7, 8	'Opus musicum', Winter, book A.
mid-1520s	MunBS 37	III / 1 (In.[Senfl], Gr.[Senfl]), 3 (All. 9[Senfl]), 10-12, 14, 16, 20	'Opus musicum', Winter, book B.
c. 1530	DresSL 1/D/505	I / 2 (Sequ.)	Olim Annaberg 1248; copied in Annaberg.
c. 1534-43	KönSU 1740	III / Apostolis (no Christe II, Laudamus, Adoramus or Credo; Gloria of M. Solemnis); Paschalis (no Christe II, Laudamus, Adoramus, Tu solus or Credo; Gloria à5; Sanctus variant); Solemnis (no Christe II, Laudamus, Adoramus or Credo; Gloria of Apostolis)	The Gloria relates to ZürZ 169? Other features suggest dependency on print. Only bass part-book now extant.
c. 1535	VienNB 18745	III / 2 (Int., All. 1, Sequ., Comm. 1), 3 (Itn., All. 5 & 6, Sequ. 1 & 2, Comm. 2), 4 (Int. 1 & 4, All. 4, Sequ. 1 & 2, Comm. 1 & 2), 5 (Int. 1, All. 1, Sequ. 2, Comm. 1), 6 (Int. 1 & 3, All. 1, Sequ., Comm. 1), Tracts, 7, 8 (All.), 9 (Int., Sequ., Comm.) Apostolis (no Credo); Confessoribus; Martyribus (no Credo); Solemnis (no Credo)	See this thesis, Section II.6.
pre-1537	BerlDS 40024	III / 1, 2 (Comm. 1 attrib. Schach; Comm. 2 attrib. Slatkonia), 3 (no All. 9; Comm. 1 attrib. Block), 4-6, Tr. 1-4, 7-19	See this thesis, Section IV.2.
1537/40	Heyden	II / 25 (Sequ. vs. 1) III / Paschalis (Sanctus, part)	Other theorists copied from Heyden's examples.
c. 1540	ErlU 473/4	II / 8 (Int., All., Comm.), 10 (Int., All., Comm.), 12 (Int., All., Comm.), 13 (Int., All., Comm.)	Copied in the Cistercian monastery of Heilbronn; Isaac's are the only propers.
c. 1540	StuttL 42	I / 26 (Int.)	Copied in Stuttgart for the court chapel; includes propers and motets.
1540-47	MunBS 26	I / 26-42	Copied from MunBS 39.
1541	ErlU 473/1	II / 5 (Int., Comm.)	Dated in ms.; provenance as other ErlU mss.

Table 1. Chronological List of All Known *Choralis* Sources

1543	StuttL 32	I / 2 (Int. with differing verse, Sequ.) II / 6 (Int.)	Scribe is Nicolas Peuschel. Dated July 10 (see Schuler, 'Zur Überlieferung', 147); provenance as other StuttSL mss. These are the only propers.
[pre-1544]	'Heidelberg' Inventory books	CCI / compl. CCII / all but three CCIII / almost complete (missing 7 movements)	All cited manuscripts now lost. See this thesis, Section II.7. Some CCIII ordinaries may also have been present.
1545	ErlU 473/3	II / 8 (All., Comm.)	Provenance as other ErlU mss.
1545	RISM 1545/5	II / 1, 2 (Int., All.), 3 (Int.)	Via Sixt Dietrich.
1545	RISM 1545/7	II / 4 (Tr. vs. 2)	
1546-50	KlosA 70	III / 8 (All., Sequ.), 22 (Sequ.)	
1547	Glarean	CCII / 25 (Sequ. vs. 1)	From Heyden.
1547-50	MunBS 29	I / 43-46, 47 (Int. different), 48	Maybe the end of a chain of in-house copyings. On CCI/47. Int., see this thesis, Section II.6.
1548-50	DresSL Grimma 59	II / 1 (Int.) III / Apostolis (Kyrie only)	Copied in Leipzig by Wolfgang Figulus and others.
1549	RISM 1549/16	I / 33 (Tr. vs. 3), 35 (Tr. vs. 2), 37 (Tr. vs. 8-9), 42 (Tr. vs. 3) II / 5 (Tr. vs. 4), 15 (Sequ. vs. 4)	Collects all CCI duets.
pre-1550	StuttL 40	II / 9 (Int., All., Sequ.)	Provenance as other StuttL mss.; 1 plenary mass; rest is propers.
c. 1550	MunBS 47	III / Apostolis (no Credo); Confessoribus; Martyribus (no Credo); Solemnis (no Credo)	Must have been copied from an earlier Munich model; see Bente, *Neue wege*, 179-81.
c. 1550	MunBS 33	I / 26-42	Copied from MunBS 26.
c. 1550	BudOS 8	I / 2 (Int., All., Sequ.) II / 1, 2 (Int., All., Sequ.), 3-6, 7 (Int., All.), 8, 10, 14 III / Apostolis (Kyrie without Christe II); Paschalis (Kyrie I, Christe I & II; a different Kyrie II)	
c. 1550	BudOS 2	II / 1, 3-5, 6 (All.)	Copied from BudOS 8.

Table 1. Chronological List of All Known *Choralis* Sources

1550	Faber	III / Paschalis (Sanctus, part)	Dependent on Heyden.
1550	CCI		
1550	RegB C96	II / 1 (All.), 7 (All., Sequ., Comm.), 8 (In., All., Sequ.)	Probably copied in Regensburg; a mixed-genre compilation.
1552-3	ZürZ 169	II / 6 III / Paschalis (no Sanctus or Agnus; the Gloria à5 throughout)	From St. Gallen. The scribe was Clement Hör; see Schuler, 'Zur Überlieferung', 150. Only source for any CCIII credo.
1555	CCII		
1555	CCIII		
post-1555	BudOS 24	I / 2 (All., Sequ.) II / 1, 2 (Int., All., Sequ.), 3-5, 6 (Int., All.), 7 (Int., All., Sequ.), 8 (Int., All., Sequ.), 10 (Int., All.), 14 (All., Sequ.) III / Apostolis (Kyrie without Christe II); Paschalis (Kyrie I, Christe I & II; a different Kyrie II); Solemnis (Gloria, incompl.)	So dated because partly copied from print. Also dependent on BudOS 8 and/or 2. Must be copied from BudOS 8 or 2.
post-1555	BudOS P1	II / 1 (Int., All.), 2 (Sequ.), 3 (Int., All., Sequ.), 4 (Int.), 5 (Int., Tr.), 6 (Int.)	Must be copied from BudOS 8 or 2.
1558	LeipU 49/50	II / 1 (Int., All.), 14 (All., Sequ.) III / 18	
1560	RegB C100	I / 2 (Int.) II / 7 (Int.)	Probably copied in Regensburg; 12 masses, 8 proper-movements.
1560-75	DresSL Grimma 53	III / Apostolis (Kyrie only)	
1562	WrocS 92	I / 2 (Int.)	Formerly Breslau; lost since WWII; see E. Bohn, *Die Musikal Mss. der Stadtsbibl. zu Breslau* ,107.
1563	Wiflingseder	III / Paschalis (Sanctus, part; Benedictus, part)	Dependent on Heyden and print.
post-1564	BudOS 20	I / 2 (All., Sequ), 25-27, 28 (Int.), 33-36, 37 (Int., Tr.) II / 1, 2 (Int., Sequ.), 3 (Int.), 4, 7, 8, 10, 14 (All., Sequ.) III / Apostolis (Kyrie without Christe II)	First appearance of CCI Sundays in BudOS.

Table 1. Chronological List of All Known *Choralis* Sources

1566	RosU 49	I / 2 (Int.) II / 1 (Int. incompl.), 3 (Int.), 13 (Int.)	
1569-72	RegB A.R. 878-82	I / 2 (Int.)	Copied in Regensburg, probably for school use. Just, 'Studien', I, 55, relates to Stuttgart mss.
1569-78	RegB A.R. 894-907	I / 2	Provenance as RegB 880.
1571	DresSL 1/E/24	II / 1 (All.); Apostolis (Kyrie & Gloria only)	Central-German origin. Copied from RISM 1545/5? (see Just, 'Studien', I, 43).
1571-73	RegB A.R. 838-43	II / 1 (Int.)	Provenance as RegB 880.
1573	MunBS 3936	II / 20	
1575	AugsS 23	II / 1, 2 (Int., All., Sequ.), 3, 4 (no optional tract), 5 (Int., Comm.), 6, 7, 19 (Int., All., Comm.) III / 2 (Comm. 2), 5 (Int. 2)	See this thesis, Sections III.3 and IV.4.
1575-79	NurGN 8820Q	II / 1 (Int.)	
1576	AugsS 7	I / 1, 2, 24 (Comm.) II / 8, 9, [14 (Comm.)=I / 24 (Comm.)], 15 (Int., All., Sequ.), 17 (Int., Comm.), 18 (All., Sequ.), 21 (Int., Sequ. incmpl., Comm.), 23 (Int., Comm.), 25 (Comm.) III / 3 (Int. 2, All. 4, Comm. 5), 5 (Int. 1, All. 1), 6 (All. 1), 9 (Int.)	See this thesis, Section III.3 and IV.4.
1583-84	DresSL Glashütte 5	I / 2 (Int., All., Sequ.) II / 1 (Int., All.) III / Apostolis (Kyrie & Gloria only)	Probably from a Latin-school in Saxony.
1590	ZwiR 94.1	II / 1 (Int.), 7 (Int.)	
1648	BudOS P17	II / 5 (Int.)	

Table 1. Chronological List of All Known *Choralis* Sources

From Table 1 it can be seen that some propers are preserved in groups, some individually. Some sources offer genuinely fragmentary isolated movements, whilst others arrange movements from the print together in unique ways, or with otherwise unknown music. Textual variants in comparison to the print, whether casual or of a more fundamental kind, are continually encountered.[68] It is not immediately obvious from the table that a relatively sizeable proportion of the music found in the *Choralis* print – notably the twenty-three Sundays after Pentecost of CCI and much of CCII – has no extant prepublication source at all, leaving conclusions about its origins, chronology, and transmission open to speculation.

The sources that have survived can be divided chronologically into four groups:

i) Pre-1517, that is, those from within Isaac's lifetime.

ii) 1517-1537, that is, those between Isaac's death and the preparation of print models.

iii) 1537-1550, that is, those made from the print models, but before the print was published (some are also from independent paths).

iv) Post-1550/1555, that is, those which postdate the print.

Of these groups, the first is by far the smallest – only one out of a total of forty-six sources comprises it. The source concerned, WeimB A, shall be dealt with in a separate section below, although it should be noted here that Isaac may have been directly involved in its compilation, or, at the least, in direct contact with those compiling it. A comparison of WeimB A's production circumstances, dating, and repertory with the rest of Isaac's mass-propers suggests that it is safe to conclude that not only is this source the earliest by virtue of survival, but that it truly does preserve the earliest chronological layer of the proper-cycles which were finally to enter into the print.

In addition to the first half of the temporal series (the Sundays from Advent to Palm Sunday), WeimB A contains not only further mass-proper cycles, but also music in two other

[68] See Pätzig, 'Liturgische Grundlagen', II for a detailed treatment.

genres.[69] Firstly, the proper-cycles are followed by five ordinaries, graded according to festal rank. In presenting the necessary music for both the proper and the ordinary of the mass within the scope of a single volume, this layout matches the overall structure not only of the *Choralis* print as a whole, but also that of almost all other sources of Isaac's mass-propers (notably the 'Opus musicum', MunBS 39, and VienNB 18745). This format warns us not to place too strong a divide between these genres. Moreover, it suggests that Isaac's liturgical-musical projects included ordinaries (of the chant-based kind) within their remit.[70]

Secondly, WeimB A closes with a setting of various responsorial items exchanged between the celebrant and congregation during mass. The setting is fragmentary due to page deterioration, thus other sets may also have been present in the original volume. In contrast with mass-ordinaries, no settings of these items are included in the *Choralis*. However, they do appear in two important manuscript sources of Isaac's propers, the 'Opus musicum' (one set) and MunBS 39 (four sets). No response-sets can be securely attributed to Isaac, yet it would be no surprise if one or more of these sets were by him.[71] Indications that Isaac worked in the genre come from a list of the music-books in Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich's library in 1544, known as the 'Heidelberg' Inventory – two sets for four voices are given to him on fol. 24' (book 'C'), and the reference to the copy there of the CCI Sundays from Advent to 'Exaudi' Sunday precedes the 'Asperges me' with a set.[72] The ultimate lack of inclusion of any responses in the *Choralis* print may either be because they were considered easily available enough not to warrant it or simple oversight.

Whilst it is evident that losses have been high, the absence of any further sources contemporary with Isaac, either for his music found in WeimB A or for additional parts of the print's repertory, forces the conclusion that this music was not widely circulated during the

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[69] The possibility that the other propers in WeimB A may be by Isaac will be explored in Section III.5, below.

[70] See Section II.6 for further discussion.

[71] See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 149-50. The final response-set in MunBS 39 is from the second half of the sixteenth century, therefore nothing to do with Isaac or Senfl; the rest are anonymous, although Bente tentatively attributed some to Senfl.

[72] See Jutta Lambrecht, *Das 'Heidelberger Kapellinventar' von 1544 (Codex Pal. Germ. 318): Edition und Kommentar*, 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1987), I, 57 & 84. Fuller details of this important source are given in Section II.7, below.

composer's lifetime. Such a situation is explicable on two fronts. Firstly, the institutions themselves that used Isaac's mass-propers may have been unwilling to share them with others. Of the two establishments involved in what would become the *Choralis* print, the Imperial court and Constance cathedral, it is known that the authorities at the latter at first placed strict limits on who could make copies of their music. Such copying required permission from the chapter, and as a result, is documented in the chapter records. Only a small number of trustworthy people were allowed access to the cathedral's music, whilst others were expressly denied it. For instance, in 1510, Thomas Krebs was forbidden from copying motets and 'other special songs'.[73] It is not specified what the 'special songs' were, but if it was not Isaac's propers, then it begs the question of what other such music the cathedral had. The only other institution that may have had copies of Isaac's Constance music in his lifetime is that of his principal employer, Maximilian. There is no documentary evidence to prove the case, but it is possible, maybe even likely, that a condition of allowing Isaac to work for Constance was that Maximilian be given copies. If this was so, the Imperial court appears to have kept as tight a control on the commission music as did Constance.

Equally limited access seems to have been placed on the Imperial repertory itself. The early instance of WeimB A, representing a sharing of repertory with the Saxon court, need not speak against the personal and monumental significance of possessing Isaac's mass-propers, for it has been suggested that they were given by Maximilian as a prestigious and valuable gift.[74] Even without any express prohibition on its circulation, this music could have remained particular to its original institution due to the highly professional level of chapel necessary to perform it, and possibly also because it belonged to a certain use or rite that may have been incompatible with liturgies elsewhere without substantial modification.[75] There were many opportunities for musical exchanges to take place, especially in person at meetings, during

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[73] See Schuler, 'Der Personalstatus', 264.

[74] See Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 271 & 275.

[75] It is interesting that Frederick the Wise used Isaac's temporal series despite a conflict of rite. See Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 280.

Isaac's Imperial years. That his mass-propers did not generally take part in this process, whilst other genres did, is revealing.

The resultant lack of sources contemporary with Isaac raises important questions of authenticity. The phenomenon is not uncommon, but it is problematic, sometimes more so than has been admitted. A parallel between Isaac and Josquin may be revealing. Many Josquin motets survive only in posthumous German prints, yet the overenthusiastic attribution of music to this composer did not go unnoticed at the time (one print from the 1530s wryly observed that Josquin produced more after his death than during his life), and continues to plague Josquin-scholars today.[76] Despite the *Choralis*'s source situation, the majority of its music has never had its authenticity challenged. Relative authorial security is found for those parts of CCI in WeimB A (although, despite a concordance in MunBS 39, the attribution to Isaac is made only by the print), for CCII, because inauthenticity is unlikely in the Constance commission music, and for those parts of CCIII concordant with the 'Opus musicum', because the transmission path seems reliable even if the manuscripts are late. This still leaves questions about two groups of pieces that lack sources prior to the print: the twenty-three Sundays after Pentecost in CCI and parts of the Common of Saints that begins CCIII (2-6). These two groups are not equally suspicious. The well-organised and consistent nature of the former suggests reliability. The latter, on the other hand, has no such well-defined structure, and is easily prone to accumulating works by many composers across time. It would be no surprise if many more movements than those known about were not by Isaac. Indeed, it would pose no serious threat to Isaac's reputation if *all* of CCIII/2-6 was a later contribution by imitators. Such a situation would only demonstrate the willingness of subsequent generations to continue the work Isaac had started. Although such doubts, at least on a large scale, may not ultimately be profitable, they cannot be ignored.

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[76] See Joshua Rifkin, 'Problems of Authorship in Josquin: Some Impolitic Observations; with a Postscript on *Absalom fili mi*', *Proceedings of the International Josquin Symposium, Utrecht 1986*, ed. Willem Elders & Frits de Haen, (Amsterdam, 1991); Rob C. Wegman, 'Who Was Josquin?', *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford, 2000), 21-50.

Compared to the pre-1517 situation, the *Choralis* sources from between 1517 and 1550 are not only greater in number, but also show an observable geographic diversity. This is due to more than just chance survival. If Isaac's music had been kept more or less within the walls of a few institutions during his lifetime, his death heralded a breach of these confines and a new phase in sources and transmission due to its near-coincidence with major upheavals in both Constance cathedral and the Imperial chapel.

In Constance, religious reforms caused the cathedral chapter to leave its home city, firstly for Überlingen, on the other side of the lake, in 1527, moving to Radolfzell in 1542, and only returning to Constance again in 1549.[77] Although the choir remained intact as an institution, certain key members sympathetic to the Reformation were nonetheless left behind on the choir's first move. Of these, Sixt Dietrich was certainly in possession of a copy of Isaac's Constance music, and was a vital figure in its later dissemination.[78]

At the Imperial court, the death of Maximilian on January 12, 1519, at Wels, was followed by the disbanding of the chapel by the new emperor, Charles V, on September 12, 1520.[79] Relieved of their duties, the musicians left to find new employment elsewhere. This dispersal of personnel was inevitably accompanied by one of repertory, as both private copies and official choirbooks were taken either to sell or to offer as incentives to new employers. With copying as an important part of the choristers' training, many of the ex-Imperial chapel members, whatever their age, may have taken portions of Isaac's music with them to their new jobs. The most voluminous collection seems to have been that of Senfl, transported to Munich in 1523. Senfl was joined there by at least one other former colleague, Lukas Wagenrieder, through whom other repertory may also have become available.[80]

Following this initial dispersion of repertory shortly after Isaac's death, there is one further important landmark date in the interim period between compositon and the publication of the *Choralis*. There is evidence to suggest that many of the preparations for the print had

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[77] See Manfred Schuler, 'Konstanz', *Grove*6; 'Konstanz', *MGG*.

[78] See Schuler, 'Zur Überlieferung', 73.

[79] See Adolf Koczirz, 'Die Auflösung der Hofmusikkapelle nach dem Tod Kaiser Maximilians I.', *ZMw* 13 (1930-31), 531-40.

[80] See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 348-49. Wagenrieder (b. 1504) may have arrived at Munich before, or with, Senfl.

been made long before the final publication date of 1550/55. More precisely, they seem to have been ready by the year 1537, for it was then that Johannes Ott, a Nuremberg bookseller, announced, in the preface to his *Novum et insigne opus musicum* (RISM 1537[1]), his intention to have the *Choralis* published shortly:[81]

> ISAACI pauca habere potui, sed facile id pensabimus proxima editione, qua Choralem cantum constantiensem, ut vocant, vulgabimus: Insignem profecto thesaurum Musices, adeoque indignum, qui diucius lateat.[82]
>
> (I was not able to obtain much of Isaac, but we think that we will easily publish the so-called Choralis of Constance songs as our next edition: a truly notable compendium of music, and so far shamefully hidden from the light of day.)

It cannot immediately be taken for granted that the publication Ott was announcing was necessarily identical to the *Choralis* print as it finally appeared. Yet the implication from Ott's announcement is that the term 'Choralis Constantiensis' was readily understood to refer to a prescribed body of compositions. The clear match with the title of the final print is evident. Furthermore, a similar title is found in the manuscript BerlDS 40024, dating from *c.* 1538.[83] The latter manuscript concords with a large part of what was to be CCIII, and is arranged in such a closely matching way, that it must in fact be a copy of the print-models. As BerlDS 40024 involved not just the copying of Isaac's music, but also the composition and addition of a significant number of new chant-settings, and as there is other evidence to show that Ott must have had copies of the Constance music no later than 1537, it is fair to conclude that Ott possessed all the music he required, and that the print-models were in an advanced state of compilation closely resembling the final form of the *Choralis* when he wrote his

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[81] Ott did not himself own a printing-press, but rather, used that of Hieronymus Formschneider for all but one of his publications. See Marie Louise Göllner, 'Ott, Johannes', *Grove*6.

[82] See Staehelin, *Die Messen*, II, 106.

[83] This source is discussed in Section II.7, below.

advertisement.[84] The 'Heidelberg' Inventory places virtually complete manuscript copies of all the *Choralis* volumes there at the time the inventory was made, though these copies must have entered Ottheinrich's collection well before that date.[85] It would seem that only a very small number of pieces were added to the collection as it awaited publication, and that 1537 represents a cut-off point in the transmission path, before which all necessary preparations must have been made. If the construction of the print is directly dependent on any surviving sources, then they must precede this date. This obviously leaves a good proportion of the print's repertory unaccounted for. The vitally important task of uncovering the transmission and construction of the print as a whole, including those parts for which no pre-1537 sources exist, may be partially illuminated by later sources, whilst the transmission of some parts of the print are open only to hypothesis and speculation.

The remainder of this section is devoted to a discussion of each of the print's volumes in succession, with the role the sources of each played in transmission and with the most reasonable hypotheses for the transmission of the music that is not represented in earlier manuscripts. In the process of examining the contrasting ways in which the repertory is preserved and organised in the manuscripts and in the print, insight may be provided into the changing face of Isaac-reception across the earlier part of the sixteenth century.

6. Transmission from Isaac to the *Choralis* Print

CCI (1550)

CCI contains forty-seven proper-cycles for masses on the Sundays throughout the year, prefaced with a setting of the 'Asperges me', to be used at the beginning of each mass. The Sundays begin with Trinity Sunday, and continue through twenty-three Sundays after Pentecost before arriving at Advent, the traditional start of the liturgical year. There are then

[84] The evidence that Ott had the Constance set by this date is given in Sections II.6 and II.7, below.
[85] Discussed in Section II.7, below.

settings for four Sundays in Advent. After these comes the Sunday in the octave of Epiphany, those that follow it, those that lead up to, and occupy, Lent, and those that follow Easter. Easter Sunday itself is not included, nor is Pentecost. These are found in CCII.

Part of CCI is found in the earliest *Choralis* source, WeimB A, from *c.* 1498-1500.[86] This has been used above to suggest that the *temporale* was amongst the first of Isaac's mass-proper provisions for the Imperial court. Although WeimB A was prepared for Frederick the Wise of Saxony, it cannot have been written specially for him, or constitute a special Saxon repertory. This is due, firstly, to liturgical reasons.[87] Secondly, the readings it preserves of the tracts are fragmentary extractions of only the four-voice sections from the complete movements.[88] Both items of evidence force the existence of an earlier source outside Frederick's chapel. This must have been Viennese, and written almost as soon as Isaac entered Maximilian's service.

WeimB A is not the only source for the Sunday cycles between Advent and Palm Sunday. Settings of exactly the same series are found in a Munich choirbook, MunBS 39, as well as in two further Munich sources, MunBS 26 and MunBS 33, which are later, faithful copies of MunBS 39.[89] Like parts of the 'Opus musicum', MunBS 39 was believed to have been actually from the Imperial court until Lodes' new datings placed its copying in Munich, in the 1520s. The redating in this case is particularly interesting because the music the Munich source preserves does not always concord precisely with the versions found in WeimB A. In comparison to the latter source, some pieces in MunBS 39 are entirely different settings of the same chant, some pieces are evidently, but not systematically, related, and some are identical, but only in one voice part.[90] A number of the pieces in the last of these categories are distinctly curious, because the WeimB A versions include secular songs in counterpoint to the cantus firmus, whilst the MunBS 39 versions lack these references and instead use neutral material in these voices. Given the source datings before they were revised by Lodes and

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[86] See Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 198-255.
[87] See Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 280-81.
[88] See Section III.5, below.
[89] Bente, *Neue Wege*, 152. This conclusion is not challenged by Lodes.
[90] The precise details are discussed in Section IV.2.

Heidrich, and as it was invariably the MunBS 39 versions that were published in the print, the latter have always been accepted to be Isaac's originals, with those of WeimB A marginalised as later, Saxon variants.

The redating of MunBS 39 opens up the possibility that precisely the opposite was the case, and, moreover, offers a reason for at least some of the MunBS 39 revisions. Heidrich's conclusions regarding the proximity of WeimB A to Isaac led him to claim a status for its readings that was equal to those of MunBS 39 and CCI, irrespective of the then current belief that MunBS 39 dated from *c.* 1510.[91] Indeed, in one instance it was possible to show conclusively that the WeimB A version preceded that of MunBS 39: the relatively unsophisticated removal of a secular reference caused the amputation of the opening phrase of the chant itself, and it is this truncated form that is found in MunBS 39 (and the *Choralis* print).[92] It is now possible to further support Heidrich's findings by situating the MunBS 39 versions not in the Imperial court at all, but in a Munich that was becoming increasingly embroiled in the religious problems of the Reformation and reactions against it. In this light, the references to secular material in Isaac's original compositions may have seemed frivolous, to say the least, and their removal a necessary part of making the music suitable for its new home. This does not account for all the variants found, for not all involve secular songs, but there is no reason not to consider the possibility that some of the others are also Munich adaptations, whatever their motivation.

Of the sharply contrasting versions of the parts of CCI found in WeimB A and MunBS 39, only those of the latter played any role in the print. Some of WeimB A's music did continue to circulate. As the manuscript was housed in All Saints' church in Wittemberg, Georg Rhau, whose printing-house was in that same town, seems to have borrowed it for the Christmas and Epiphany services of his 1545 proper-collection (RISM 1545[5]).[93] Moreover, an intriguing concordance of an introit otherwise unique to WeimB A, in StuttL 40, indicates that

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[91] See Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 276-81.

[92] See Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 232-33.

[93] See Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 224 & 317; Georg Rhau, *Musikdrucke aus den Jahren 1538-45 in praktischer Neuausgabe XII: Officia de Nativitate*, ed. Franz Krautwurst (Kassel etc., 1999).

others too may have had access to this source. Yet the compilers of the *Choralis* print itself either only had access to, or preferred, the MunBS 39 versions in all instances. There is no reason to doubt that they actually took these, and the remainder of the repertory that that source could provide, directly from MunBS 39. Ott seems to have used Munich as a source for CCIII as well, and perhaps also for other parts of CCI. Bente's demonstration of this is not challenged by Lodes' redating of the Munich choirbooks.[94] Indeed, if the MunBS 39 versions of CCI/26-42 were produced in Munich, as suggested above, then a transmission path via Munich receives strong support.

A comparison of the textual readings of MunBS 39 and the *Choralis* offers no contradictions to transmission via Munich. The print must be at least at two removes from MunBS 39, because the music was first copied into a print-model, rather than transferred directly into the press from the Munich manuscript. Taking into account both this and the additional restrictions imposed by typesetting, the variations found in notation and texting are trivial. The print and MunBS 39 accord in all important respects, except for one movement, the communion for CCI/26. The difference may be accounted for through loss or damage to the print-model, for the movement offered at this point by the print is certainly spurious.[95] However, some curious features of the MunBS 39 version of this communion suggest the possibility that it too was not by Isaac. This may have been known by the compilers of the print-models, and the piece may thus have been deliberately omitted. Importantly, it is only through the print that Isaac's authorship of these propers is confirmed, for both WeimB A and MunBS 39 (and its copies) preserve the music anonymously.[96]

The place of MunBS 39 in the genesis of CCI thus seems assured. However, the story must be more complex, for that source could have provided only seventeen of the forty-eight items in the print. The transmission of the others remains more speculative due to lack of

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[94] Bente, *Neue Wege*, 152.

[95] See Heinz, 'Isaacs und Senfls Propriums-Kompositionen', 76; Bente, *Neue Wege*, 152; Martin Bente, Marie Louise Göllner, & Bettina Wackernagel (ed.), *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Katalog der Musikhandschriften I: Chorbücher und Handschriften in Chorbuchartiger Notierung* (Munich, 1989), 105; Section IV.2, below.

[96] The 'Heidelberg' Inventory references to its CCI copies are equally anonymous. The authorship indications are important, for they suggest the possibility that other propers by Isaac may also exist anonymously. See Section III.4, below.

sources. They must have been composed around the same time as those found in WeimB A, for it is extremely unlikely that one portion of the year would be so thoroughly catered for and the rest ignored.[97] The entire Sunday series is stylistically consistent and certainly belongs to Imperial repertory.[98] Whether the remainder in question here also existed in early versions subject to subsequent revision is unclear, although it could be investigated by comparing each movement with a chant model, to see, for instance, if there are further cases of initial cantus firmus truncation.

The sole extant source for CCI/43-48 is found in another Munich manuscript, MunBS 29. Although this source dates only from 1547, it is likely that it is the end product of a chain of copies produced in Munich from manuscripts brought from the Imperial chapel by Senfl, as were MunBS 26 and 33.[99] The absence of the earlier links in the chain in some ways makes more sense than their survival: a primary reason for recopying was the deterioration of older sources, and once a new copy was prepared, the older one could be disposed of. The possibility that MunBS 29 was copied from the print-models themselves can be ruled out. Not only is one movement wholly different (Dominica Vocem iocunditatis, introit), but the manuscript also contains ferial day-settings that may be Isaac's, but had no part in the print.[100] Thus it seems most likely that the final seven propers of CCI came to Ott through a Munich predecessor of MunBS 29. The differing introit mentioned above remains confusing. The two settings are examined from a stylistic perspective in a later section of this thesis.

Because the Sundays after Pentecost have no extant sources at all either before or after the print the transmission of this group is mysterious.[101] If the most likely route to Ott is the same as that taken by the rest of the contents of CCI – from Munich via Senfl – the fact that one of the Munich choirbooks, MunBS 25, contains music for these days composed by

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[97] Duffy, 'The Jena Choirbooks', 5-6, suggests the possibility that WeimB A had a now-lost companion volume for the remainder of the year.

[98] CCI/2 (Trinity Sunday) seems to have come from Constance.

[99] See Bente *Neue Wege*, 156-57.

[100] See Sections III.5 and IV.2, below.

[101] The concordance of CCI/24. Comm. in AugsS 7 (1576) is only apparent, and probably copied from the print in any case. This is one of three movements shared by both CCI and CCII, and it was in its latter context that it is found in AugsS 7.

Senfl soon after his arrival in Munich, has been used to suggest that he did not have Isaac's settings to hand at that time.[102] Yet the matter is by no means clear-cut. Senfl treated only the first eleven Sundays after Pentecost, although it cannot be ruled out that he treated the remaining ones in a companion volume to MunBS 25, which has since been lost (MunBS 25 is already nearly 200 folios). Even so, he approached his task in a musically different way from Isaac, by avoiding plainsong intonations, and instead using polyphony throughout. The cantus firmus is placed in the bassus voice. Moreover, Senfl placed a setting of the first Sunday in Advent in the same manuscript, despite definitely having Isaac's version in MunBS 39. Even if he really did not have Isaac's post-Pentecost Sunday series at the start of his term at Munich, it is impossible that he did not know of its existence. He could have made efforts later to acquire it from ex-colleagues of the dissolved Imperial chapel, or at the least have alerted Ott to its whereabouts. The outside possibility that these Sundays came from travelling musicians, as the Constance part may have done, or from a sale of Isaac's belongings after his widow's death, cannot be ruled out.

This leaves two pieces to complete CCI. The first, the opening 'Asperges me', is as free of surviving sources as the twenty-three Sundays after Pentecost – it is only found in the late AugsS 7 – and open to even wider speculations, for it is not obvious whether it has an origin in the Imperial chapel or Constance.[103] For the other, the setting of Trinity Sunday, a Constance origin seems assured, not only because the cathedral authorities would inevitably have expected a setting of this day amongst their 'officia in summis festivitatibus', but also from source evidence. Sixt Dietrich, a former member of Constance cathedral choir and in possession of a copy of the commission music, independently transmitted this service along with another commission-piece, into StuttL 32.[104] That it was the only part of the commission to be placed in CCI need cause no concern, but may, rather, explain why the volume takes Trinity, rather than the liturgically conventional Advent, as the starting point of the temporal

[102] See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 161-64.
[103] That the commission music did not consist only of mass-propers is explored later in this section.
[104] See Schuler, 'Zur Überlieferung', 147 n. 62 & 151.

series. Pätzig explained this ordering as a simple printer's mistake. Yet the title pages quite clearly state 'Dominicarum a trinitate usque ad adventum...' (Discantus, Altus, and Bassus partbooks; admittedly they may have been printed last, when it was too late to alter the volume's layout).

CCII (1555)

CCII contains twenty-five proper-cycles for high feasts, both of fixed calendar date, such as Christmas, as well as moveable, such as Easter and Pentecost. The major Marian feasts are included, but so too are those of saints of significance to Constance (St. Conrad, St. Geberhard, St. Pelagius). Despite the virtual nonexistence of sources prior to the print for any of CCII's music, its transmission is in some ways simpler to chart than that of either CCI or CCIII.[105] Pätzig has shown that the contents of this volume have a provenance not in the Imperial chapel, but, rather, comprise the Constance commission music. Having been composed in 1508-9 and deposited in Constance thereafter, this set cannot have been subject to the variant versions found for CCI, nor the complex compilation that will be seen in CCIII. It must have travelled in its entirety as a relatively stable collection.

The collection must have reached Ott no later than *c.* 1536, for it was indirectly via his copy that Sebald Heyden was able to include extracts in his treatise of the following year.[106] If the suggestion that it was this initial acquisition that set the idea of publishing a comprehensive collection of Isaac's propers into motion is to be believed, then an arrival date some years before 1536 must be proposed in order to leave time for the collection of Imperial repertory before *c.* 1537.[107]

The route taken by the commission music in coming to the publisher remains unclear. That it came, like CCI, via musicians from the Imperial chapel is not *a priori* inconceivable,

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[105] See Schuler, 'Zur Überlieferung'.
[106] See Schuler, 'Zur Überlieferung', 147.
[107] See Pätzig, 'Liturgische Grundlagen', I, 95.

for Isaac could have kept private copies and passed them on to his students, and, indeed, the Imperial chapel itself may have used some of the commission music. Nonetheless, there is evidence that makes this path seem unlikely. Manfred Schuler has shown that Senfl, the most probable agent for such a path, did not possess any of the Constance music at Munich, nor did the Bavarian court own a copy of it until after the print itself was published.[108] Had Senfl owned it in private manuscripts, they would have been found and taken on his death in 1543.[109] Ott's copy must, therefore, be directly or indirectly traceable back to Constance. While it cannot be ruled out with certainty that Ott was in direct contact with Constance musicians, or petitioned the cathedral chapter personally or through an agent, there is no record to prove it in this case. Certainly such modes of contact were not uncommon. The Duke of Württemberg sent a chapel-member, Wolf Ruh, to Constance specifically to collect music, and, later, Albrecht V went there in person to ask for the original *Choralis* manuscript.[110] The 'Heidelberg' Inventory shows that Ottheinrich had twenty-three of the commission propers in 1544, which he may have obtained directly from Constance, although it is far more likely that they came from Ott himself.[111] Ultimately, the most likely passage to Ott seems to have been via a travelling musician, who had made a copy whilst employed at Constance but did not follow the chapter to Überlingen in 1527. For anyone in possession of such a copy, it would have been obvious to gravitate towards Nuremberg, the centre of music-printing for the whole of South Germany, in the hope of profit. One musician in exactly this position, Sixt Dietrich, was not only the agent behind the *Choralis* pieces found in at least two manuscripts (StuttL 32 and ZürZ 169), but was also responsible for providing the Wittenberg printer Georg Rhau with parts of the commission for his 1545 print of *Officia (ut vocant) de Nativitate...etc.* (RISM 1545^5).[112] Dietrich himself is not traceable to Nuremberg at the

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[108] Schuler, 'Zur Überlieferung', 152. The existing Munich copies of the print only arrived there in 1594.

[109] Hell, 'Senfls Hand', 123, notes this in relation to other Senfl manuscripts.

[110] See Schuler, 'Zur Überlieferung', 147 n. 62, & 153.

[111] Schuler, 'Zur Überlieferung', 72 & 148-9. Whether Ottheinrich got the propers from Constance or not, Schuler's suggestion that they came to Ott from Ottheinrich must be ruled out, both chronologically (Ottheinrich only started forming his chapel in 1536), and because Ottheinrich was missing three of the propers (see below). Given that Ottheinrich definitely copied the print-models of CCI and III, it seems most likely that he took CCII in the same way.

[112] See Schuler, 'Zur Überlieferung', 147 & 150.

relevant time, but rather, appears to have stayed in Constance. However, once the watchful eye of the cathedral authorities had gone, he could certainly have let others make copies of his manuscript, which were then taken there. One final possibility is that the music came to Ott from Isaac's private papers kept by his widow and distributed on her death in 1534, possibly with other, Imperial proper-cycles. If there is no proof to support such a provenance, it nonetheless ties in chronologically with Ott's 1537 announcement. Isaac must certainly have kept a sizeable collection of his own music, if only for the practical purposes of showing potential patrons or reworking if time was short.[113] Whilst it is not known if Bartolomea Isaac maintained contact with German musicians who would have had an interest in acquiring parts of her husband's private composition collection, she must nonetheless have been well acquainted with some of his colleagues and pupils, such as Senfl. Machiavelli expressly records that he met with both her and the composer when he was in Constance in 1508, and she must also have accompanied the itinerant court chapel on many other occasions.

Within the final printed version of CCII, three pieces occupy a distinct status, in that they are shared with CCI. These are the introits of CCI/10 and CCII/4, the communions of CCI/24 and CCII/14, and the communions of CCI/29 and CCII/5. This sharing is most readily explained as a transfer from one volume to the other by the print's manufacturers to replace a loss due to damage or to fill a gap. In the first two cases, the direction of transfer cannot be determined due to a lack of sources for either member of each pair.[114] The last case is more suggestive, as the MunBS 39 version of CCI/29 contains the same communion as is found in the print (the WeimB A version of the cycle has no communion at all). Given Schuler's demonstration that Munich did not have the Constance commission music until the late sixteenth century, this would initially suggest that the transfer was from CCI to CCII. However, other possibilities are open. If the Constance commission music was used, even in part, by Maximilian, then an early transfer could have been made from the Constance

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[113] Hell, 'Senfls Hand', 89, suggests all the *Choralis* print came from Isaac's 'Nachlaß', without taking into account the case that a good deal must have come from Munich. Still, the existence of such papers, whatever their contents, seems plausible. They could equally have been dispersed in 1517.

[114] Bente, *Neue Wege*, 153 n. 1 & 156, assumes all transfers were from CCI to CCII. Strohm, in Strohm & Kempson, 'Isaac', assumes all were from CCII to CCI. There is no evidence to support either assumption.

repertory. The absence of a setting of this communion in WeimB A would allow this.[115] A final, if less probable option is that Isaac himself included an item of Imperial repertory in the commission music.

CCIII (1555)

All the settings in CCIII differ musically from those of CCI and CCII in that they place the cantus firmus in the bass voice, not the discantus. Despite this, in terms of the overall organisation of the print, CCIII is in many ways a direct continuation of CCII. The separation is little more than a practical and logical necessity rather than an express boundary. The third volume of the print has nothing more than a perfunctory title page and no preface or dedication at all. Those found at the opening of the tenor partbook of CCII were intended to do service for both, and the dating of Willer's preface there, October 28, 1555, the same year in which CCIII was to be issued, proves that the two volumes must have appeared within weeks of each other. The dating of CCII's preface must be a little earlier than the date when the volume was actually manufactured, leaving very little time until the end of the year for CCIII. This gap can only have been long enough to change the types in the presses.

CCIII is structured in three large sections. Firstly, CCIII/1-6 provide many settings for the Common of Saints. The Common of Saints was the conventional liturgical follower of the feasts set in CCII, further demonstrating the links between the volumes. The Common of Saints repertory in CCIII is organised by type (Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins, etc.). Within each type-grouping, each proper-genre is provided with a variety of settings of different chants, which can be extracted as appropriate and compiled together to make cycles of the music that is required for the specific day. A group of five tracts, which may be drawn upon for Common of Saints days that occur during Lent, falls between CCIII/6 and CCIII/7. CCIII/7-9 are Marian cycles, whilst CCIII/10-25 are given the overall heading of 'seorsum de

[115] Schuler, 'Zur Überlieferung', 150-51, makes a similar suggestion on different grounds.

sanctis' in the print. 'Seorsum', meaning 'separate' or 'apart', is used because this section contains settings for feasts of the same type as those already dealt with in CCII. Included in the *seorsum* are settings not only of days of a similar ranking but for which no setting was provided in CCII, but also alternatives for a number of days that were covered in the earlier volume. Of these latter, some offer settings of precisely the same chant items, whilst others do not. The difference is due to the varying prescriptions of contrasting liturgical uses, and it was on this basis initially that Pätzig succeeded in dividing the *Choralis* into Imperial and Constantine repertories. Five mass-ordinaries close the volume.

The transmission and compilation of CCIII is the most complex of all the *Choralis* volumes. The internal divisions of the volume into Common of Saints and *seorsum de sanctis* reflects a multilayered process of a kind not encountered in its companions. Martin Bente, whose research offers the only detailed picture to date of the production of this volume, has shown that the initial core-repertory unquestionably came from the Munich 'Opus musicum' manuscripts.[116] This conclusion is not challenged by the redating of these sources, nor are there any obvious alternative paths to weigh the suggestion against, as the 'Opus musicum' manuscripts are the only preprint sources for CCIII/7-25. From the 'Opus' books, Isaac's contribution was extracted unchanged and almost in its entirety, to make the *seorsum* and the three Marian offices which precede it. Only two pieces indicated as Isaac's in the 'Opus musicum', an alleluia and sequence for St. John the Evangelist (MunBS 38) were not included in the *seorsum*. This may have been oversight.[117] On the other hand, the *seorsum* contains nothing not also found in the 'Opus musicum'. Senfl's contributions to the 'Opus musicum' were almost all lain aside. This applies not only to his settings of entire cycles, but also to his completions of Isaac's, suggesting a desire on the print-compiler's part only to offer pure Isaac. Nonetheless, a small number of Senfl's pieces did creep in to both the *seorsum* and to the Common of Saints, whether by accident or because they provided items deemed

[116] See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 113 & 138.

[117] See Section III.2, below. It has not hitherto been noticed that the St. John sequence is polyphonically identical to that for St. Laurence, CCIII/21. Sequ. On these grounds the omission may have been deliberate.

particularly necessary.[118] It is significant that the pieces extracted from the 'Opus musicum' were kept together, and placed after the Common of Saints, despite providing alternative settings to some of the feasts in CCII. Bente used this phenomenon to support his unlikely proposal that part of the CCIII Common of Saints belonged to the Constance commission.[119] A much more probable reason lies in the importance of maintaining the distinct identity of the 'Opus musicum' extracts themselves.

Pieces drawn from the 'Opus musicum' account for only just over a third of CCIII's contents – only fifty movements out of the final 132, excluding the ordinaries. The remaining eighty-two movements, all belonging to the Common of Saints, pose much more difficult problems than those encountered so far. Fifty-one of the Common of Saints movements have no surviving source prior to the compilation of the print-models (BerlDS 40024, discussed below, is copied from these, rather than vice-versa). The remaining Common of Saints movements are found in a non-print-dependent manuscript, the partbooks VienNB 18745. Yet the place of the VienNB partbooks in the *Choralis*'s transmission is not straightforward, nor are the background contextual details of the source as clear as may be hoped.

The VienNB 18745 partbooks are dateable to *c.* 1533-35 through their watermarks, and through the fact that another partbook-set, VienNB 18810, with matching watermarks and scribal hand, bears the year '1533' in the tenor book.[120] Due to these shared characteristics, and the then-current belief that VienNB 18810 was written in the hand of Lukas Wagenrieder, Bente named him also as the scribe of VienNB 18745, with Munich then logically as their place of origin.[121] However, a reassessment of VienNB 18810 by Martin Staehelin has challenged the identity of its scribe, so that in turn that of VienNB 18745 is also no longer secure.[122] As the manuscript's place of origin was contingent upon the scribe being

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[118] See Table 2, later in this section.

[119] *Neue Wege*, 120.

[120] Bente, *Neue Wege*, 119-22.

[121] See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 120. The VienNB 18745 ordinaries are in another hand, although this may simply represent a division of duties (the watermark is consistent throughout), rather than an addition from another time.

[122] See Martin Staehelin, 'Aus "Lukas Wagenrieders" Werkstatt: Ein unbekanntes Lieder-Manuskript des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts in Zürich', *Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance I: Formen und Probleme der Überlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik im Zeitalter Josquins Desprez*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 6 (Munich, 1981), 75.

Wagenrieder, the matter must now be reopened. On the basis of watermarks in a scribally related manuscript, Staehelin has suggested the possibility that the sources once believed to have been written by Wagenrieder may have been produced in Augsbsurg.[123] Certainly the VienNB 18745 partbook set entered the Fugger library in that city soon after its compilation. That the second and third parts of the *Choralis* print were subsequently dedicated to J. J. Fugger is entirely unrelated.

Despite the possibility that the VienNB partbooks were not actually produced in Munich, the repertory preserved in them and related manuscripts shows a close link to Senfl and his Munich circle.[124] As such, there is nonetheless little doubt that the point of origin for the music contained in VienNB 18745 is Munich. Other, independent transmission paths seem distinctly improbable. Moreover, VienNB 18745 cannot have been copied from print-models for the *Choralis* print. This is so not simply for chronological reasons, because it is possible that print-models in some form did exist *c.* 1535. Rather, the print could not provide all the music the source contains. One proper item, the communion 'Laetabitur iustus', is in a setting unique to this source (the CCIII/4 version is quite different, although Bente mistakenly equated the two). In addition, the overall manuscript structure is identical to others mentioned above in following the propers with mass-ordinaries. Three of the seven ordinaries that are given in VienNB 18745 do not appear in the print. Whilst the *Missa Paschalis ad organum* is unique to VienNB 18745, the remaining two of these ordinaries appear to have been available at Munich. The *Missa ferialis* is also found in MunBS 39, whilst the *Missa de Beata Virgine* [I] may have been present in a predecessor to MunBS 47. Furthermore, whilst most of the VienNB 18745 repertory has no prior surviving source, seven movements are concordant with the 'Opus musicum'. As all the evidence points to VienNB 18745 drawing on Munich for its repertory, and as the partbooks postdate the compilation of the 'Opus musicum', it is reasonable to propose that these movements were actually copied from the 'Opus musicum'. This situation is particularly interesting because the 'Opus musicum' pieces were drawn from

[123] 'Aus "Lukas Wagenrieders" Werkstatt', 73-74.
[124] See Staehelin, 'Aus "Lukas Wagenrieders" Werkstatt', 75-76.

various locations in the collection and compiled together to make new cycles:

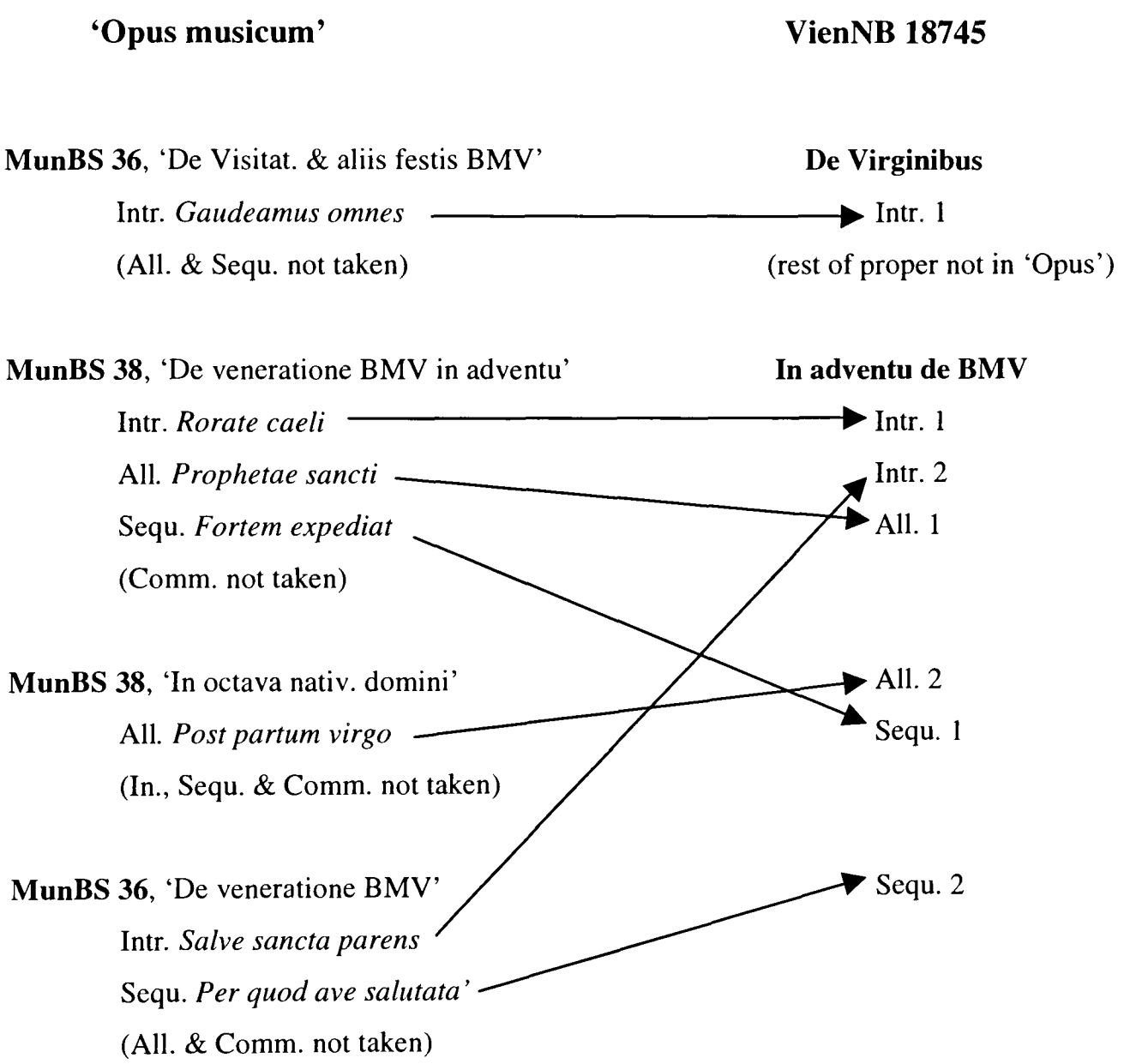

Figure 2. Relationship Between the 'Opus musicum' and VienNB 18745

The pinpointing of Munich as the provider not only of the repertory VienNB 18745 shares with the 'Opus musicum', but also of the rest of its music, raises a number of issues. Do the VienNB 18745 Common of Saints cycles, which present none of the dazzling array of choices given in the CC print, comprise the entire Munich Common of Saints repertory? If so, where did the much larger body of such pieces found in the print come from? Or, if all the CCIII Common of Saints does come from Munich, why does it have no source prior to the

print? Why was it not included in the 'Opus musicum', given that it shares the technical feature of setting the chant in the bass voice? The following paragraphs will attempt to address these issues.

In Bente's picture of the transmission and genesis of CCIII, VienNB 18745 was taken to represent all the Common of Saints music available at Munich. Bente used evidence of a five-voice Common of Saints repertory by Senfl, now lost but catalogued in the 'Heidelberg' Inventory, to further support the hypothesis that much of Isaac's music for these feasts was not available in Munich.[125] Following on from this, Bente suggested that CCIII was compiled as far as possible from the 'Opus musicum' and VienNB 18745, whilst all the remaining movements not covered in either of these two sources belonged not to Imperial repertory at all, but to the Constance commission.[126] This amounted to fifty-one movements, a significant addition to what was hitherto believed to comprise the commission music.

If the hypothesis of a Constance Common of Saints has not gained wide acceptance, it nonetheless remains to be properly addressed in existing research.[127] Consideration of the evidence for this theory shows that the basis on which it is founded is not secure. Moreover, a fresh examination of the sources allows an alternative to be advanced in its place.

Bente supported his argument with a brief liturgical and melodic analysis. However, neither is convincing, nor is any account taken of other important issues such as technical features of the music itself.[128] His reliance on a very limited selection of liturgical books is problematic – only the 1511 *Graduale Pataviense*, 1505 Constance Missal, and Hohenlandenberg Gradual are considered – for later studies have shown that perfect matches between repertory and liturgy are less frequent than may be hoped.[129] Services whose provenance can be precisely pinpointed by other means do not always accord with the service books, and the music of the *Choralis* need be no exception. In addition, the service books

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[125] *Neue Wege*, 112.

[126] See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 117-39.

[127] Schuler, 'Zur Überlieferung', 69, notes Bente's theory, but remains equivocal. No dismissal is given, even if he does not appear convinced. Strohm & Kempson, 'Isaac', tacitly deny the theory, but note musical differences between the *Choralis* volumes.

[128] See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 120-31.

[129] See e. g. Duffy, 'The Jena Choirbooks'.

themselves do not always agree with each other. This is strikingly exemplified by comparing the 1505 Constance Missal and the Hohenlandenberg Gradual. The former – and the 1511 *Graduale Pataviense* – were diocesan sources, apparently with the aim of creating a uniformity that did not hitherto exist. Bishop Hohenlandenberg's own gradual shows that the cathedral considered itself immune from the standardisation it was imposing elsewhere, and guarded a special and unique liturgy. That the Imperial chapel also guarded some special traditions, as Pätzig proposed, seems probable.[130] In this light, the evidence provided by the discrepancies Bente noted seems insufficient for coherent interpretation: the GP is lacking only six of the fifty-one items proposed as Constantine, whilst two of the fifty-one are only found in the GP and cannot be accounted for in the Constance liturgy.[131]

Chant-forms are equally vexatious, and more recent studies than Bente's, such as those by Theodore Karp, have plainly shown the dangers of a close reliance on a single chant source.[132] The matter is further complicated with the *Choralis* because the surviving Constance graduals from the first decade of the sixteenth century, including those used by Bente, are not notated with chants, but contain only the relevant texts. Although certain chant manuscripts with a provenance from within the diocese of Constance, such as the Sankt Gallen Sequentiary (Cod. 546), are valuable for specific genres, they must also be used with caution, insofar as they represent monastic practices rather than those of the cathedral.[133] As such, only variants from the GP rather than matches with a Constance gradual can be offered. In any case, Bente found only seven significant differences from the 1511 GP. Moreover, he was forced elsewhere to accept that one of the 'Opus musicum' sequences clearly belonging to the Imperial chapel does not match the GP.[134] A much more intensive study is necessary of the function of chant-books as imposers of uniformity or reflectors of practice, and of what right we have to expect a composer to use a chant-form specific to an intended recipient

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[130] Bente, *Neue Wege*, 131, questions this.
[131] See *Neue Wege*, 122-27.
[132] See Karp, 'Some Chant Models'; 'The Chant Background'.
[133] See Frank Labhardt, *Das Sequenziar Cod. 546 der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen und seine Quellen*, 2 vols. (Bern, 1959 & 1963).
[134] *Neue Wege*, 121.

institution, before the implications of discrepancies and parallels between chant-sources and the polyphonic settings can be understood.[135] Given the particularly elusive chronology of the Common of Saints music, any attempt to draw conclusions from their failure to match a chant-source from 1511 is seriously compromised.[136]

If the evidence Bente drew from the music to support his suggestion of a Constance Common of Saints is thus in itself questionable, so too is the assumption that led to it. Whilst there can be no question that the 'Opus musicum' played a vital role in the transmission of its music to the print-models, that it did this in conjunction with VienNB 18745 or another source identical to it in all respects, remains highly dubious. Most fundamentally, Bente at no point considers the chronological relation of the VienNB 18745 partbooks to his scheme, nor any aspect of their production. In addressing these questions, not only does a Constance Common of Saints become distinctly unlikely, but a different solution to the origin of this repertory emerges, with a number of surprising consequences.

That VienNB 18745 was written *c.* 1533-35 is difficult in itself – though admittedly by no means impossible – to reconcile with print models that were fully produced by *c.* 1537. More important, however, is the fact that the partbooks were not produced for use in the Munich court chapel itself, as is shown by their rapid incorporation into the Fugger library in Augsburg, yet they do appear to have drawn on Munich sources to obtain their repertory. Bente's implicit supposition that the entire Munich Common of Saints repertory is preserved in VienNB 18745 is, therefore, entirely without grounding. There is absolutely no reason not to suppose, firstly, that the print-models drew on exactly the same sources as VienNB 18745 rather than on VienNB itself, secondly, that these common sources were directly located in, and used by, the Bavarian court chapel, and thirdly, that these common sources had a significantly larger repertory than that preserved in VienNB 18745, including all fifty-one

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[135] Kempson, 'The Motets', calls for a wide-ranging reassessment of the understanding of variant chant-forms.

[136] A problem with Karp's studies, in the light of the chronology offered in this thesis, is that they work largely with CCI and the 1511 GP, which must postdate these settings by more than a decade.

movements to which Bente attributed a Constance origin. Indeed, there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that these three suppositions were precisely the case.

The first of these proposals, that both VienNB 18745 and the print-models share a common source, rather than a direct dependency, has three items of evidence to support it. Firstly, it was unnoticed by Bente that one proper-item in VienNB 18745 is not identical to the treatment found in the *Choralis*: the communion 'Laetabitur iustus' in VienNB 18745 for feasts 'de uno martyre infra pasce' does not concord with CCIII/4. Comm. 1, but remains a *unicum* of the Vienna source, and must be classed amongst Isaac's individual proper-items.[137] No clear relation is detectable between the two settings, for they show divergent approaches at all levels. The form of the chant employed as a model differs from one case to the other (compare phrase 3, 'et laudabitur'). In the VienNB setting, syntactic divisions of the text are clarified by being regularly preceded with reduced scoring, whilst these remain much less clearly defined in CCIII. This difference is tied to the contrasting disposition of cantus firmus-related material between the two settings. Whilst it is the bass voice in both pieces which primarily carries the cantus firmus, VienNB 18745 employs imitation (sometimes amounting to canon), and migration of phrases derived from the chant to all the other voices (see b. 13, A.; b. 18, T.; b. 22 & 25, A.; b. 39, S.; b. 46ff, B. and T.). 'Pre-imitation' of each chant-phrase before it appears in the bass is an observable phenomenon from the very opening (contrast CCIII, where the bass enters immediately). In CCIII, the upper three voices rarely contain elements attributable to the chant, although some phrases seem to be derived from the cantus firmus through decoration and diminished note-values, in a manner quite contrasted with that found in VienNB 18745 (e. g. b. 9-12, S.; b.37-40, S.). The mismatch of these two pieces does not directly contradict Bente's scheme, as it could be claimed that the *Choralis* version had a Constance origin, and that of VienNB 18745 was simply omitted. Nonetheless, it is an initial indication that the overlap between partbooks and print is not as neat as Bente imagined.

[137] See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 142. See Section III.2, below, and Vol. II, p. 19-22.

The second and third items of evidence against VienNB 18745 being a direct source for the *Choralis* print-models arise from a comparison of the manuscript BerlDS 40024, a comprehensive copy of the print-models from *c.* 1538, and the final published product.[138] Only two pieces from the whole Common of Saints section are missing from the Berlin manuscript: CCIII/All. 9 and the second 'Audi filia' tract.[139] Bente considers the former, a piece by Senfl taken from the 'Opus musicum', to be the final addition to the print-model, placed there after BerlDS 40024 was produced. He remains silent about the tract, however, because it is found in VienNB 18745.[140] He assumes its presence in the print-models and tacitly attributes its lack in BerlDS 40024 to the compiler of that manuscript. Yet not only does the comprehensiveness of BerlDS 40024 speak against any such omission on its part, but, moreover, both the tract and the alleluia were still absent from another copy of the print-models documented in the 'Heidelberg' Inventory.[141] The alleluia is clearly not listed, and it is reasonable to assume that the one 'Audi filia' tract mentioned is the same as that in BerlDS 40024, rather than that found in VienNB 18745. The only conclusion that can be drawn from this is that both pieces were not in the print-models at the time the BerlDS and 'Heidelberg' copies were made. It is unlikely that the print-models should initially omit one piece from VienNB 18745, but then return to collect it several years later, particularly as that source may by that time have been in the Fugger library in Augsburg. Much more probable is that the print-compilers returned to Munich, and collected both Senfl's alleluia and the tract from the same source from which VienNB 18745 originally drew it.

Thirdly, BerlDS 40024 attributes three communions to composers other than Isaac: CCIII/2 Comm. 1 is said to be by 'G. Schach', CCIII/2 Comm. 2 by Slatkonia, and CCIII/3 Comm. 1 by 'Georg Block'.[142] Whilst the piece attributed to 'Schach' is present in VienNB 18745, the other two are not. There is no good reason not to take these attributions seriously,

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[138] For more on BerlDS 40024, see Section II.7, below.

[139] Pätzig, 'Das Chorbuch', 123 n. 5, inaccurately notes that BerlDS 40024 is missing three pieces; he goes on to give the third in his incipit list.

[140] See *Neue Wege*, 122 n. 3.

[141] For more on the 'Heidelberg' Inventory, see Section II.7, below.

[142] See the discussion of BerlDS 40024 in Section II.7, below.

for there are other pieces in the *Choralis* print known to be by composers other than Isaac.[143] However, if these attributions are believed, then they must indicate an origin for at least some pieces in the CCIII Common of Saints beyond either VienNB 18745 (the pieces by 'Block' and Slatkonia are not in this source) and the Constance commission (which contained music only by Isaac).

The removal of VienNB 18745 from CCIII's transmission path obviously raises the question of where the Common of Saints repertory did come from. The indications in VienNB 18745 pointing towards a Munich origin for its contents makes that place by far the most likely source also for the CCIII Common of Saints. This makes immediate sense when taken in relation to the transmission of CCI and the CCIII *seorsum*. As these parts of the print were transmitted via Munich, the compilers of the print-models certainly had access to that institution's repertory in any case.

The final issue to which these conclusions give rise is whether Munich could have provided all the Common of Saints music, or whether, even with transmission direct from that city, only a limited repertory, such as that found in VienNB 18745, was available. At least four items of evidence indicate that what is preserved in VienNB 18745 is a selection compiled from a larger repertory available in the Bavarian court chapel.

The first suggestion that this is so arises from the relationship between VienNB 18745 and its only surviving prior concordances, in the 'Opus musicum'. Here, it is clear that only a very small selection is presented, and, moreover, that this selection was reshaped to fit with VienNB's specific context of offering slimmed-down and easily manageable Common of Saints cycles (see Figure 2, above). If the relatively stable propers of the 'Opus musicum' could be subject to such drastic and selective reordering, there is a strong possibility that the remainder of the VienNB 18745 cycles resulted from analogous procedures. Indeed, such recompilation is inherently part of the way in which Common of Saints services operated in their practical liturgical context. Commons services did not have chants entirely unique to the

[143] See Table 2, later in this section, below.

occasion, but rather, drew on a body of shared material, arranged according to the various and changing needs of the specific day. It is possible that book 'Z' of the 'Heidelberg' Inventory extracted smaller propers from the larger body of partbooks 'R' in this same way. The note to book 'Z' says, 'diser choral steet in den puchlen .R. und ist mehr Darin dan hir ingrossiert ist'. But it is hard to be certain about this as the book in question does not survive. Book 'Z' leaves out the *seorsum*, present in partbooks 'R' in any case.[144]

Secondly, the layout of the 'Opus musicum' itself suggests that it does not contain every item required, but was supplemented with additional items drawn from the Common of Saints 'pool'. For instance, the feast of the Division of the Apostles (July 16) is covered in the 'Opus musicum' only with a sequence. The introit, alleluia, and communion were drawn from the Common of Apostles, and were shared by many other services devoted to Apostles. VienNB 18745 shows that two of the necessary supplements (at least as prescribed by the GP), the introit 'Mihi autem' and the alleluia 'Non vos me elegistis', were available in the Munich Common of Saints repertory. The communion 'Ego vos elegi', however, would be lacking if VienNB 18745 represented all that was at hand. A setting of this item is included in CCIII. Bente assigned this latter a provenance in Constance, yet it is much more likely that it, and other such necessary items, were drawn from a Munich Common of Saints pool much larger than that of VienNB 18745.

Thirdly, more concrete evidence of a now-lost Munich Common of Saints repertory is provided by the 'Heidelberg' Inventory. Besides preserving the only proof of an extensive five-voice Commons collection by Senfl, the inventory records six-voice introits by Isaac for Apostles, Martyrs, and Confessors, along with the rest of his known proper-items for those forces, in book 'V' (fol. 7').[145] The 'Heidelberg' book 'V' was clearly copied from MunBS 31, yet the music for the Common is not found in that source, nor is it extant anywhere else.[146] The implication of this is that items for the Common were kept separately, perhaps unbound,

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[144] See Lambrecht, *Das 'Heidelberger Kapellinventar'*, I, 52, and below, Section II.7.

[145] Senfl's lost five-voice set is discussed further later in this section.

[146] See Lambrecht, *Das 'Heidelberg Kapellinventar'*, I, 50 (as her layout precisely matches the original, page numbers can be calculated by multiplying the folio number by two – counting versos as half – and adding 35).

to facilitate the combination of whatever was appropriate to the relevant feast. That unbound manuscripts were much more easily lost or damaged is self-evident. Comparison with another large collection of liturgical music, the Jena choirbooks, gives further evidence that the logically practical separation of Common items was employed in reality through a distinct manner of storage: whilst other mass-propers were arranged by date, the Common was preserved by genre.[147] This distinct storage-manner may also explain the absence of Commons items in the 'Opus musicum'. Examination of page deterioration patterns in the Munich choirbooks shows that many were used for some time as individual folio-manuscripts before being bound together.[148] It would clearly be much more convenient to leave multipurpose Commons items out of the binding process even if that music had a place in the 'Opus' and did not go against the technical observance of setting the chant in the bass voice. Further support for the proposal that the Munich Common of Saints pool existed as a loose and uncircumscribed repertory is found in the possibility, mentioned above, that a number of pieces appearing in the Common of Saints section of the CC print were not by Isaac. It is no coincidence that these pieces are concentrated only in the Common of Saints, rather than elsewhere, for this repertory in particular lends itself easily to the accretion of new contributions of diverse authorship.

The fourth item of evidence pointing to the transmission of all of the CCIII Common of Saints from a large Munich pool, and a pool, moreover, of diverse authorship, comes from examining the music of the print's settings themselves. Bente at no time considers musical features. He never explains why his 'Constance' Common of Saints sets its chants largely in the bass, when the Constance high feasts set them in the discant.[149] The distinction cannot be one of status, for the 'Opus' presents settings of some of the same feasts with the cantus firmus in the bass. Nor does Bente offer any explanation for the numerous other musical irregularities that are revealed by musical analysis of the Commons section, and that are

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[147] See Karl-Erich Roediger, *Die Geistliche Musikhandschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Jena*, 2 vols. (Jena, 1935; repr. Hildesheim, 1985); Duffy, 'The Jena Choirbooks', 6-7.

[148] See Lodes, 'Ludwig Senfl'.

[149] Strohm, in Strohm & Kempson, 'Isaac', notes further distinctions of scoring, cleffing, and range.

found nowhere else in the *Choralis* collection.

Whilst CCI, CCII, and the CCIII *seorsum* are all internally consistent in the voices to which intonations are assigned, and in vocal scoring, significant fluctuations of both occur in the CCIII Common.[150] The bass intonations customary in CCIII are disrupted three times: discant intonations are found in the first and second introits for the Common of Martyrs (CCIII/3. Int. 1, 'Multae tribulationes; Int. 2, 'Induant sancti tui'), and the communion for Confessors (CCIII/5. Comm. 1, 'Beatus servus').[151] The third introit for the Common of Martyrs (CCIII/3 Int. 3, 'Iusti epulentur') departs from the customary four parts by being consistently in five (D.A.T.Vag.B).[152] The matter is particularly intriguing, for there is no other five-voice music for the proper by Isaac apart from the extraordinary sequence in CCII/19 and a spurious setting in the late source AugsS 23.[153] The possibilities that 'Iusti epulentur' was an occasional work or part of a lost series of five-voice introits akin to those for six in MunBS 31 cannot entirely be ruled out, although there is no evidence to support either of these hypotheses. It seems unlikely that the piece was a reworking from a four-part original.[154]

Taking into account the evidence presented so far on the nature of the Munich Common of Saints repertory, an unexpected explanation for the setting in fact seems most likely: it is not by Isaac at all, but is the only surviving member of a now-lost series of five-part settings for the Common of Saints by Senfl, recorded in the 'Heidelberg' Inventory. The inventory records two books containing this music, one a choirbook, one a set of partbooks. They were related (the former copied from the latter), although they each contain some pieces not found in the other:[155]

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[150] There is one apparent and one real exception to the vocal groups. The first, CCIII/24. Comm. is given as a three-part piece in the print. Examination of its source, MunBS 35, shows that the altus voice was simply overlooked. This is not noted in Cuyler's edition or Bente et al., *Katalog*. A transcription with all voices is given in this thesis, Vol. II, p. 23-25. The second exception is CCII/19. Sequ., which should perhaps be considered as five-part, as it opens and closes with that number of voices.

[151] Pätzig, 'Das Chorbuch', 124, mistakenly says there are only two in such cases in CCIII. Bente, *Neue Wege*, 140-44, notes only CCIII/5. Comm.

[152] In the 'Heidelberg' Inventory, the piece is bracketed, along with all the others copied from CCIII, as 'four part'. This must be a simple lack of precision.

[153] On the AugsS sources, see Sections III.3 and IV.4, below.

[154] See the analysis in Section IV.3, below.

[155] See Lambrecht, *Das 'Heidelberger Kapellinventar'*, I, 54-55 (=fol. 9'-10) & 193-94 (=fol. 79-79').

fol. 9'-10: Book CC		fol. 79-79': Books a
Diß buch ist ingrossiert aus den lederfarben buch mit .a. verzaichnet		Fünff leder farbe buchlein. zweitzerisch gesang 5. Diser puechlein Choral ist ingrossiert im puech "CC"
Historia. de apostolis 5 Senfl[156]		de apostolis
Historiae	de martyribus 5 Senfl	de martyribus
		de uno martire. Aliud
	de sanctis infra pasche. 5	
	de martyribus. introit 5	
	de martyribus 5	de martyribus. Aliud
	de confessoribus. introit 5	de confessoribus [complete?]
	de virginibus. introit 5	
	de virginibus 5	de virginibus
	de veneratione BMV 5	de BMV
	pro defunctis 5	pro defunctis
	de apostolis. introit 5	de apostolis [complete?]
		pro defunctis. Aliud
	de confessoribus. introit 5	de confessoribus [complete?]

Figure 3. Comparison of the 'Heidelberg' Inventory, fol. 9'-10 and fol. 79'-80

This extensive repertory can only have come from Munich – this was a regular source for the 'Heidelberg' repertory, and it is impossible that Senfl composed the music for anywhere else. The existence of this set has been used to support the argument that Senfl had no music for these days by Isaac when he arrived in Munich.[157] However, the precisely opposite conclusion seems more coherent: five-voice versions, presupposing the existence of four-part ones, were added to the Munich pool for variety. As these settings were used on more than one day in the year, an extended and varied repertory of settings of the same chants would be desirable. Given the presence of Senfl's set in Munich, the complete lack of five-part music for the

[156] Page-break between first and second items – the composer-names are not just to the first two pieces, but meant to apply to the whole list. It was put at the start, and repeated at the top of the next page.

[157] Pätzig, 'Liturgische Grundlagen', I, 77ff.; Bente, *Neue Wege*, 112, used this argument to strengthen his Constance hypothesis.

proper by Isaac, and the manner outlined so far for the compilation of the CCIII Common of Saints, the possibility that one movement from Senfl's collection should be taken into the *Choralis* print-models should cause little surprise. As an introit 'de martyribus', the CCIII piece could be part of either of the two apparently complete services listed in the 'Heidelberg' partbooks 'a', or equally the isolated introit of book 'CC'. Stylistic analysis to support this conclusion is given below, in Section IV.3.

The presence of music by Senfl in the CCIII Common is hardly without precedent. So far as the genesis of the CCIII Common of Saints section is concerned, the picture most consistent with the sources, the nature of the Common feasts, and the music itself does not require a hypothetical Constance repertory. Rather, this section is a collation – around a core from Isaac – of a body of Munich repertory, mixed in its authorship and date of composition (see Table 2, overleaf, listing *Choralis* pieces not by Isaac):

Movement		Section	Composer	Notes	Literature
CCI	26	Comm.	?	Isaac's comm. is assumed by Heinz, and accepted by Bente, to be the one in MunBS 39; analysis in this thesis suggests this may not be so.	Bente *Neue Wege*; Heinz, 'Isaacs und Senfls Propriums-Kompositionen'; this thesis, Section IV.2
				[CCII is special in this respect - it should be wholly genuine, as it was a commission specific to Isaac]	
CCIII	1	Int.	Senfl	Attrib. in MunBS 37	
		Grad.	Senfl	Attrib. in MunBS 37	
	2	Comm. 1	Schach	Attrib. from Berl 40024	Bente, *Neue Wege*, 110, 136ff.
		Comm. 2	Slatkonia	Attrib. from Berl 40024	Bente, *Neue Wege*, 110, 136ff.
	3	Int. 4	Senfl?	See this thesis, Section IV.3.	
		All. 9	Senfl	Attrib. in MunBS 37	
		Comm. 1	Georg Block	Attrib. from Berl 40024	Bente, *Neue Wege*, 110, 136ff.
	8	Comm.	Senfl	"L. S." in MunBS 36	
	15	Comm.	Senfl	So indicated in MunBS 35	
	25	Sequ.	part-Senfl	Signalled in CC and MunBS 35	This thesis, Section II.4.

Table 2. Pieces Not by Isaac in the *Choralis*

The preceding arguments have called the proposal of a Constance Common of Saints into serious doubt, and advanced in its place a Imperial/Munich origin for this section of CCIII. Yet there may still be a part of the Constance commission in CCIII in a place no-one has yet thought to look: the mass-ordinaries which close the volume. If it has always been supposed that the commission's 'etlich officia' is to be understood solely to refer to proper-items, a great deal of evidence speaks to the contrary.

Firstly, a narrow definition of the crucial word 'officium' as solely denoting mass-propers is not supported by contemporary usage. Johannes Tinctoris' *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium* gives the word a primary meaning much wider than that now attached to it in the Constance commission document. For the definition, the reader is referred to elsewhere in the dictionary:

> Officium idem est quod missa secundum hispalos.
>
> (Officium is the same as mass, according to the Spaniards.) [158]

Turning to the definition for 'Missa' to which one is directed, one finds a description of the mass-ordinary (as indeed would be expected). Tinctoris clarifies the cross-reference by mentioning as part of the definition, that some use 'Officium' as a synonym:

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[158] *Dictionary of Musical Terms (Terminorum Musicae Diffinitorium)*, ed. & transl. Carl Parrish (London, 1963), 46-47; 81, n. 74, observes that this usage was not confined to the Iberian peninsula, even if it was primarily there that it was customary.

> Missa est cantus magnus cui verba Kyrie, Et in terra, Patrem, Sanctus, et Agnus, et interdum caeterae partes a pluribus canendae supponuntur, quae ab aliis officium dicitur.
>
> (The mass is a large composition for which the texts Kyrie, Et in terra, Patrem, Sanctus, and Agnus, and sometimes other parts, are set for singing by several voices. It is called the Office by some.)[159]

Tinctoris's definition of 'officium' is borne out by examination of the appearance of the term in other sources, both liturgical books, and manuscripts of polyphonic music. The word is simply another word for 'mass', and makes no distinction between proper and ordinary. It may denote either, or both combined together into plenary masses. It was in this latter sense that it was used in the manuscript BerlS 40021 (*c.* 1485-1500), and in the titles of two important collections issued by Georg Rhau later in the century, the *Officia Paschalia de Resurrectione et Ascensione Domini* (RISM 1539[14]) and *Officiorum (ut vocant) de nativitate, circumcisione, epiphania Domini et purificatione &c. tomus primus* (RISM 1545[5]).

The *Choralis* sources, Isaac's mass-ordinary production in general, and the liturgy itself tell us that the mass-proper and the mass-ordinary coexisted as a larger integral unit. Whilst fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts often contained only ordinaries, it has already been seen above in the sources for the *Choralis* that the preservation of mass-propers in isolation is rarely the case. The difference emphasises the primary necessity of ordinaries, as a base-level presupposed by the provision of polyphonic propers: WeimB A closes with at least four ordinaries (with a possible fifth in the heavily damaged closing pages), MunBS 39 contains one (appropriate to all its propers), the 'Opus musicum' ends with four, VienNB presents no less than seven, and clearly Ott himself considered that the *Choralis* print was incomplete without an adequate provision of ordinary items to go with the rest. That Isaac too clearly wanted to ensure that his propers had ample counterparts is reflected in his extraordinary cultivation of the *alternatim* mass, apparently to the exclusion of other mass-

[159] *Dictionary*, ed. Parrish, 40-41.

ordinary types, in his first ten years at Vienna. Although this mass-type was, internationally speaking, a marginal phenomenon, with few aspirations in comparison to the normal cantus-firmus mass at time Isaac arrived in Vienna, their foundation in plainsong in exactly the same way as mass-propers must have strongly appealed to him.[160] The proposal that the sections of these masses were interleaved with organ polyphony is not certain, and they work equally well in alternation with chant. Still, a combination with Hofhaimer's improvisations would have provided a spectacular and immediate demonstration of cooperation between the two most brilliant members of the Imperial chapel.[161] Taken as a whole, the *alternatim* masses show a thorough and systematic exploration of an overall scheme. They group into the following sets according to type and scoring:

	à3	à4	à5	à6
'ferialis'	✓	✓		
'de martyribus'		✓	✓	
'de confessoribus'		✓	✓	
'de apostolis'		✓	✓	✓
'Solemnis'		✓	✓	✓
'Paschalis'		✓(x2)	✓	✓
'de BMV'		✓	✓(x2)	✓
'de virginibus'			✓	

Figure 4. Types and Scorings in Isaac's Chant-Based Mass-Ordinaries

The existence of the three-voice *Missa Ferialis* is testified to by the 'Heidelberg' Inventory (loose item no. 145, fol. 98'). Staehelin has suggested that it may be identical to that found in MunBS 19.[162] It is unclear whether five- and six-voice treatments for those not provided with them once existed and have since been lost. Such special vocal groups would presumably not

[160] See Strohm's observations in Strohm & Kempson, 'Isaac'.
[161] See Mahrt, 'The *Missae ad organum*'.
[162] See Lambrecht, *Das 'Heidelberger Kapellinventar'*, I, 232; see Staehelin, *Die Messen*, I, 46-50.

have been warranted for ferial masses, nor would three-voice settings of the other, more important, ordinaries.[163]

Taking this information together strongly suggests that the delivery of a proper-series alone would have only been a half-fulfilment of what the Constance chapter had asked Isaac to do. A prestigious set of music for high-feast propers must surely have demanded ordinaries worthy to accompany them. An examination of the sources lends tangible support to this speculation. A transmission to CCIII via Munich, like so much of the other *Choralis* repertory, might be initially presumed for the ordinaries, yet this is supported in only four of the five cases. The late MunBS 47 (*c.* 1550), apparently the end-product of a chain of copies like MunBS 39-26-33 and MunBS 29, contains only the CCIII masses for Confessors, Apostles, Martyrs, and the *Missa solemnis*.[164] The only other non-print-model dependent source, VienNB 18745, again contains concordances only for these same four masses. VienNB 18745 must have acquired these four ordinaries, and the remaining three, from the same predecessor to MunBS 47 that was used in the transmission to the CCIII print-model. The lack of credos in VienNB 18745, MunBS 47, and presumably also its antecedants, was conventional. These movements were drawn, according to need, from a separate credo collection (MunBS 53), although none of the ones inserted into these masses in the CCIII print was drawn from there, nor has any prior source.

The one outstanding mass, the *Missa Paschalis*, however, occupies a very different position from the others. Whilst almost all the *alternatim* masses are preserved only in Munich sources, this mass is one of only two not found there. The other is also a *Missa paschalis*, for six voices, preserved only in sources with a provenance from Torgau and two of the Netherlands Court Complex ('Alamire') manuscripts. This suggests a special status for paschal masses. The unexpected absence of the CCIII *Missa Paschalis* in Munich sources could initially be accounted for in a variety of ways. However, its presence in another source, ZürZ 169, is suggestive of a particular explanation. ZürZ 169 also contains a part of CCII,

[163] See Strohm & Kempson, 'Isaac'.
[164] See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 180-81.

which Manfred Schuler has shown was transmitted to it from Constance, via Sixt Dietrich, without relation to Vienna, Munich, or the print.[165] Although the ZürZ 169 copy omits the Sanctus and Agnus Dei, it includes the Credo with this mass. In so doing, the source is unique in providing the only prepublication source for any CCIII Credo, suggesting the grouping was stable in a way different from the Imperial/Munich masses. It seems to be no coincidence that, of the most complete group of Isaac's *alternatim* masses, namely those in four parts, it was only the *Missa Paschalis* that received attention twice: once, as preserved in VienNB 18745, for the Imperial court, and once, as contained in CCIII, for Constance.

7. From Compilation to Publication, *c.* 1537-1550

Whilst the acquisition and compilation process just described had largely finished by *c.* 1537, the terminal stage, that of going to press, was so plagued with delays and unforeseen set-backs that it was to take another thirteen years before the first part of the *Choralis* print saw the light of day, and yet five more until the entire final product was available. The lengthy time-period between compilation and publication comprises a distinct and new phase in the distribution of Isaac's mass-propers. In that time, the print-models were copied by at least one individual and one institution. These sources are of great interest in that they record both alterations that were made to the print-models as they awaited publication and personal reactions to receiving the print.

BerlDS 40024

The first of these print-model copies, BerlDS 40024, has already been cited above in several contexts. This source is a private manuscript, copied by Leonhard Päminger (1495-1567)

[165] See Schuler, 'Zür überlieferung', 150. He makes no mention of the ordinary. The ZürZ version of the Gloria is in five voices, rather than the four given in CCIII. The adaptation was perhaps the work of the source's scribe, Clement Hör. Staehelin, *Die Messen*, III, 109, says the extra voice was not by Isaac.

sometime between 1529 and 1537 during his tenure as Rector of the Church School of St. Nicholas in Passau.[166] Watermarks identical to those of the manuscript can be found in documents from *c.* 1534-38, whilst other factors give additional support to a dating of no later than 1538. The source clearly stayed in the Päminger family's private collection until almost the end of the century, for words written on its title page by Leonhard's son Sophonias (1526-1603) indicate a transfer of ownership for the book from himself to the Senate of the city of Nuremberg in 1599.

The manuscript contains a repertory much closer in full overall content and layout to the CCIII print than either the 'Opus musicum' set or VienNB 18745. Indeed, BerlDS 40024 must be a copy from the print-models in an advanced stage for two reasons: the match between the print and BerlDS 40024 is too close to discount a relationship, yet BerlDS 40024 cannot itself have served as a model for the printers because it does not contain all the music found in CCIII. It cannot be established how Päminger may have had access to the print-models, yet the evidence that this did happen is clear. The ordering of the Common of Saints is by no means self-evident, yet BerlDS 40024 is nearly identical to the print.[167] This suggests that the print-models were bound, or numbered, if loose. Only a service 'de evangelistis' was later redistributed, partly to the Vigil of an Apostle, partly to the Common of Confessors. Furthermore, CCIII/7 onwards correspond exactly to their final form. The lack of the final six cycles would appear to be the result simply of a miscalculation of space, for musical notation extends even onto the manuscript's bindings.[168] Päminger could have owned copies of these missing cycles and the ordinaries in other manuscripts, for BerlDS 40024 must logically exist at two removes from its print-model source (see diagram below and subsequent explanation):

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[166] See Pätzig, 'Das Chorbuch'.
[167] See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 140-45.
[168] See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 110.

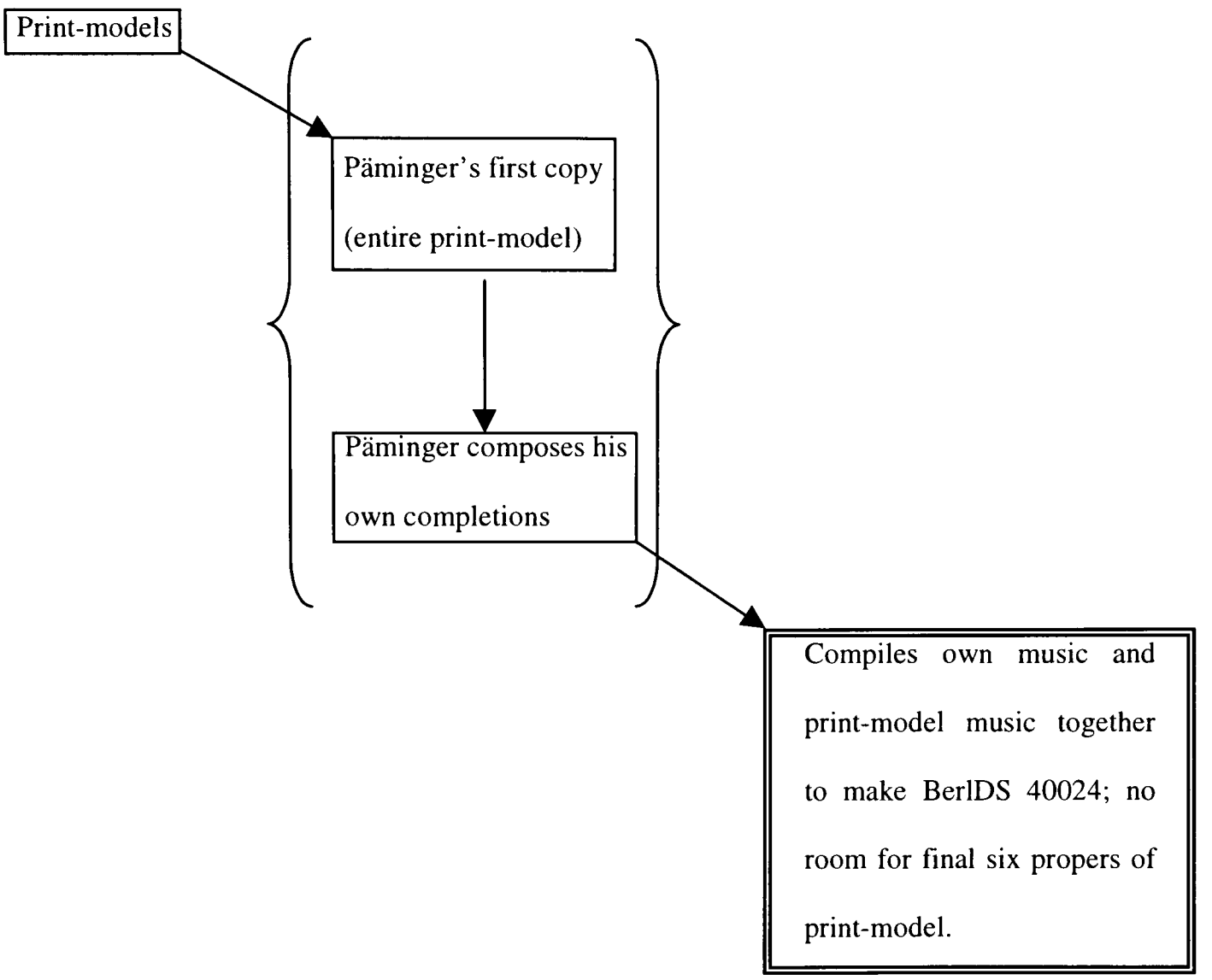

Figure 5. Creation-Process of BerlDS 40024

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What is most fascinating about the contents of BerlDS 40024 is not the concordances with CCIII, but Päminger's response to that music. Päminger's concern methodically to provide a vast corpus of liturgical music, not only mass-propers, for the whole church year is evident from a projected ten-volume set of his own compositions. Only(!) four of these were to be published, posthumously at his son's instigation, in Nuremberg in the 1570s.[169] Had the whole project been seen through to completion, it would have dwarfed every other comparable plan, including the *Choralis*. As it is, Isaac's and Päminger's published works stand in many ways as counterparts. Päminger's four books amount to a polyphonic antiphonal to parallel the polyphonic gradual of the *Choralis*, although items other than antiphons are also included.

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[169] RISM 1573^2, 1573^3, 1576^1, 1580^2.

It is in this light that Päminger's interest in Isaac's mass-propers must be viewed. Finding the collection incomplete as it stood – Senfl's contributions had obviously been expunged before the music came to him – he added extra movements of his own composition rather than let it remain fragmentary.[170] Moreover, insertions are found not only in the *seorsum de sanctis*, which had been rendered incomplete by the removal of Senfl's work when the print-models had been compiled from the 'Opus musicum', but also in the already-burgeoning Common of Saints. If the latter additions may have been compositions Päminger had already written before the *Choralis* music came into his hands, but which he decided to include for comprehensiveness, the former seem to have been composed specially for inclusion alongside Isaac's music. They systematically remedy each of the lacunae he encountered, yet complete cycles for these days entirely by Päminger and including these pieces are unknown. Of necessity they parallel exactly the movements of Senfl that had previously been suppressed. All Päminger's additions are scrupulously initialled individually and are announced at the beginning on the title page ('Addita...et alios/plurima per/Leonh[ard] Päminger').[171] Whether Päminger added the things he did out of functional necessity or entirely for personal satisfaction is not clear, although the parallel with his later publications suggests that he had a wider audience in mind. Päminger's additions clearly show that he considered the published *Choralis* to be a challenge of collaboration. If the propers as they appear in BerlDS 40024 lack the legitimacy of the master-pupil relationship in evidence in the 'Opus musicum', they nonetheless deserve consideration in their entirety, and in their own right, rather than as just a stepping-stone or tributary on the way to publication.

Turning to the CCIII concordances themselves, the few significant variant readings can be explained by changes in the print-model over time. Two of the inner parts differ entirely for the five-voice introit 'Iusti epulentur' (CCIII/3 In. 3). It was suggested above that this piece may be by Senfl. The altered inner parts of the CCIII print may reflect a revision by

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[170] Apart from the incipits given in Pätzig, 'Das Chorbuch', Päminger's pieces from BerlDS 40024 are unpublished. His other works are equally neglected.

[171] See Pätzig, 'Das Chorbuch', 127.

the composer for publication. Verse six of the sequence 'Clare sanctorum' (CCIII/2 Sequ., 'Aethiopes horridos') has two extra parts in Päminger's copy that were clearly omitted from the CC print through oversight, for not only does the CCIII reading lack musical sense, but the BerlDS 40024 version has a supporting concordance in VienNB 18745.[172] The tenor voice part for the verse of the introit 'Ne timeas Zacharia' (CCIII/12) was also accidentally omitted from the print, but is present in BerlDS 40024 as well as the 'Opus musicum' (MunBS 37). Two sections, the verse to CCIII/6. Int. 4 and the 'Alleluia' of CCIII/6. All. 2, differ entirely. Analysis of the latter two, given below, suggests that BerlDS preserves Isaac's music for these sections, and that the versions in the print replace losses.

A final, curious feature of BerlDS 40024 is that three of the pieces are attributed to composers other than Isaac: CCIII/2 Comm. 1 is said to be by 'G. Schach', CCIII/2 Comm. 2 by Slatkonia, and CCIII/3 Comm. 1 by 'Georg Block'. Of these, only Slatkonia can be firmly identified. Being intimately connected with both the Constance commission and the Imperial chapel, a contribution from him of one or more pieces need cause no surprise. He is described in BerlDS 40024 as bishop of Vienna, a post he only held from 1513, though that need not necessarily place a chronological limit on the piece. 'Schach' and 'Block' remain mysterious. It is possible that Schach is identical with Schachinger, an organist at Munich since 1531.[173]

In the attempt to uncover how Päminger could have obtained these names, a yet more striking fact must be taken into account. Despite his full awareness of Senfl's contribution, evident from BerlDS 40024's title page, which names both Isaac and Senfl as composers of the following music, he at no point assigns any movement to him. This is remarkable given not only the three other attributions, but also the careful marking of his own pieces. Both demonstrate Päminger's evident concern with indicating authorship to the fullest extent of his knowledge. The pride he took in indicating what he himself had contributed goes hand in hand with marking the work of others for comparison. It therefore seems highly improbable that Päminger would have refrained from drawing attention to Senfl's music unless he

[172] See Dart, review of Cuyler, *Choralis Constantinus III*; Pätzig, 'Das Chorbuch', 128.
[173] See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 136 & n. 3; Pätzig, 'Liturgische Grundlagen', I, 12.

genuinely did not know which pieces the latter had composed. Päminger must have been aware of Senfl's role in only the most general terms. It follows from this that Päminger cannot have maintained direct links to the Munich court, or obtained the three composer-attributions in his manuscript directly from there, for it is inconceivable, if this had been so, that he would not also have discovered which pieces were by Senfl, or, indeed, taken Senfl's additions to the 'Opus musicum'. Whilst other, independent paths of transmission for his attributions may be postulated, the absence of any atributions to Senfl militates against them, and by far the most probable explanation is that Päminger took his information from the print-models he copied. The print-models as he found them must have been silent regarding Senfl, yet have haphazardly preserved the other three composers' names.

The 'Heidelberg' Inventory

Along with Päminger, Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich (1502-59), at Neuburg, would appear to have had the opportunity to make copies of the entire set of print-models during the time between their compilation and their publication. Amongst the lost books of the 'Heidelberg' Inventory, recording the contents of Ottheinrich's library when he was forced into financial exile in 1544, are found mentions of almost all Isaac's propers from the *Choralis*, as well as other music that would not otherwise be known to have existed.[174] An almost-complete copy of the CCI series of Sundays is documented in the partbooks 'Z' (fol. 79) and loose-item no. 143 (fol. 96-97'). The successive choirbooks 'GG', 'HH', and 'II' (fol. 11-12) were copied from these partbooks with a few omissions. This preservation of repertory in two formats, with the partbooks as primary, applies also to many other 'Heidelberg' items. The end of the twenty-three Sundays after Pentecost in choirbooks 'HH' and 'II' is clearly only a fragment of the complete and fully described set in loose item no. 143. The only significant differences

[174] For a history of Ottheinrich and the Inventory, see Lambrecht, *Das 'Heidelberger Kapellinventar'*, I, 21-32. The books described in the Inventory appear to have been taken to Heidelberg, Ottheinrich's first residence in exile, and left there when he moved on in 1547. They could then have been destroyed in 1693 when the town was sacked by the French.

between the 'Heidelberg' copies of CCI and the print are the placing of the Trinity Sunday service with the other high feasts of CCII, and the potential absence of the Ash Wednesday music. The latter is not certain, for whilst it is missing in book 'GG', the numbering skips at that point from '16' to '18', suggesting that the partbooks 'Z', from which it was extracted, contained that item. The description of the latter is not sufficiently detailed to offer proof. Although all these books leave their music anonymous, there can be no doubt that their contents were the same as CCI.

Choirbooks 'T', 'X', and 'Y' (fol. 7' & 8-8') between them contain twenty-two items from CCII, as well as the Trinity Sunday service that begins CCI. Book 'T' is anonymous, but clearly a copy of part of CCII. The propers for SS. John and Paul, St. Geberhard, and Corpus Christi are missing from the books.[175] These omissions rule out Schuler's speculation that Ott could have acquired the Constance commission via Ottheinrich. The CCII copies contain three items in addition to those from the print-models: book 'T' closes with a proper 'de apostolis', book 'X' places a proper 'de martyribus' between the services for St. John the Baptist and SS. Peter and Paul, and a proper 'de confessoribus' between St. Mary Magdalen and St. Pelagius. Why these were put here is unclear. They were presumably extracted from CCIII. The possibility that these items were otherwise unknown propers would seem to be ruled out given their haphazard placing and the fact that the choirbooks listed in the inventory were generally compiled from more orderly partbooks also in Ottheinrich's library.

The possession of the music mentioned so far need not confirm that Ottheinrich's source was the print-model. He obtained much music directly from Munich, and may have approached the Constance chapter directly. It is known, for instance, that on April 25, 1535, Ottheinrich wrote to Gerwig Blarer, Abbot at Weingarten, that he had heard a rumour that the choir at Constance had been dissolved, and that he would like his help in procuring some of the redundant musicians. Whilst the rumour was false (the choir was performing its duties as normal, though in Überlingen), it shows that Ottheinrich had an interest in the situation, and

[175] Schuler notes only Corpus Christi, and Lambrecht only the two Saint's days.

could have taken up direct contact with the self-imposedly exiled Constance chapel.[176] However, the Inventory gives a detailed account of Ottheinrich's copy of CCIII, which can leave no doubt that it originated from the print-model. This suggests that the remaining music must have come via the same route. The detailed description of partbooks 'R' (fol. 73'-78) shows that they were all but identical to CCIII in content and order, although the ordinaries are left out and preserved elsewhere, in book 'N' (fol. 5).[177] Books 'Z', 'FF' and 'KK' were extracted from partbooks 'R'. Despite omitting six movements that are found in BerlDS 40024 (CCIII/3. Comms. 5-7; CCIII/4. Comm. 4; CCIII/5. Comm. 2; and CCIII/6. All. 2.) the partbooks 'R' must represent a copy of the print-model at a later stage than BerlDS 40024, because the opening order is now that of the final print.[178] The moved pieces still bear the title of 'de evangelistis', found in BerlDS 40024 but dropped in the print, in their new situation as part of the service for the Vigil of an Apostle.[179] It has already been mentioned that the two pieces of the CCIII Common of Saints not found in BerlDS 40024 are still absent in these partbooks, and must have been added after both copies were made.

In working out a more precise chronology of Ottheinrich's acquisition of Isaac's music, extreme boundaries are placed in 1536, when Ottheinrich founded the Neuburg chapel, and 1544, when the Inventory was compiled. Taking into account the latest possible date for BerlDS 40024, that is *c.* 1538, and allowing for the fact that the 'Heidelberg' copies must precede the inventory's compilation date by a substantial margin to have permitted recopying into choirbook format, the most likely time for this music to have entered Ottheinrich's library seems to be around 1538-40. Agents who could have been in contact with the printers, and brought back the copies are easy to find. It is known that Ottheinrich's chapel scribe and later secretary Hans Kilian travelled to Wittenberg, Leipzig, Augsburg, and Nuremberg, and doubtless brought music back from his journeys.[180] Ottheinrich's lutenist Sebastian

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[176] See Schuler, 'Zur Überlieferung', 149.

[177] Book 'N' contains another Isaac mass, 'de beata virgine', along with the CCIII concordances; see Bente, *Neue Wege*, 181.

[178] See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 133-34.

[179] Lambrecht, *Das 'Heidelberger Kapellinventar'*, I, 306, note to f. 9, line 3, says the 'de evangelistis' service is not in CCIII, but in BerlDS 40024. This is a mistake.

[180] Lambrecht, *Das 'Heidelberger Kapellinventar'*, I, 28-29, citing Adolf Layer, 'Hans Kilian: Ein Neuberger

Ocksenkun may present an even better candidate in the instance of Isaac's propers: born in Nuremberg, he remained a Bürger of the city all his life and provided links between the Neuburg court and his home-town.

Choralis Music in Other Pre-Print Manuscripts and Publication

No other sources from the interim period between the making of the print-models and the final emission of the print come close to rivalling BerlDS 40024 and the lost 'Heidelberg' books in their coverage of the *Choralis* propers. Only MunBS 26 and MunBS 33 are of significant dimensions, though they were just copies of MunBS 39.[181] Nonetheless, the situation does not render the smaller sources devoid of interest. Their blanket dismissal as secondary without further investigation is less an expression of actual status than one of their place in a scheme only concerned with tracing the passage from composer to print. The compilers of these sources were not all privileged with access to the print-models, nor even to copies of the print once it was made, and thus they reveal independent lines of transmission.

Róbert Murányi has shown that the relatively large collection from the church of St. Aegidius in Bártfa, housed in the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár in Budapest from 1915 (BudOS 23, 8, 2, and 24), stemmed from a non-print-related source, even if the internal copyings that relate these manuscripts together must have drawn on it for supplementary items, such as the CCI propers first found in BudOS 20 (post-1564).[182] No item of CCIII was ever absorbed into this collection. In beginning with a nucleus only of Constance commission items (including CCI/2), a provenance indirectly from that city via itinerant musicians, of the kind postulated for the transmission of the commission to Ott, seems plausible.

Komponist der Renaissancezeit', *Mf* 21 (1968), 316.

[181] See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 152.

[182] See Murányi, 'Die Isaac-Offizien', 345. Also Murányi, 'Neuere Angabe'; 'Die Bartfelder Sammlung'. Schuler, 'Zür Überlieferung', 149 n. 74 connects these manuscripts to RISM 1545^5, but makes no mention of Murányi. He gives the impression that they only contain concordances with RISM 1545^5, though this is not so.

The other comparatively large collection, AugsS 7 and 23 (1575-76), is studied extensively for the first time in this thesis.[183] It seems to be copied from the print, but contains interesting additions necessary to make cycles for local usage. Moreover, the fact that these volumes were considered worth compiling at all some sixty years after the composer's death is a startling example of Isaac's lasting posthumous reputation. All the other sources as well, whether dependent or not on the print and its models, provide vital information about the identities and number of people and institutions which maintained an enduring interest in Isaac's music. In placing Isaac's pieces in new contexts, and selecting from the corpus rather than attempting to preserve it all, a wider picture of reception can be formed than is possible from the very large sources. Very little of CCI and III was taken up, even in the Bártfá and Augsburg collections. On the other hand, the Christmas and Trinity propers were particular favourites and by far the most widely copied of any CC cycle.

The history of the print's final production remains to be outlined. There is no evidence of any further steps towards its issuing after the 1537 announcement until eight years later, in 1545. It was then that Ott received a printing privilege that can only refer to the *Choralis*.[184] The intervening time could have been spent securing the financial support necessary for such a large venture as the *Choralis*, putting the few final touches to the planned publication's overall shape and contents, as well as completing other works.[185] The plans with the *Choralis* were ultimately aborted, as Formschneider explained in the preface to CCI, by Ott's untimely death in 1546. Ott's widow continued her husband's enterprise, taking over the management of his shop and seeking to bring his unfinished work to completion. In 1549, Montanus and Neuber must have been allowed access to the print-models to procure parts for their duet collection *Diphona amoena et florida* (RISM 1549[16]). Perhaps this was via Formschneider, who worked in Neuber's wife's previous husband's workshop. Montanus and Neuber must have had the complete Sunday series that was to be CCI at their disposal, for

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[183] See Sections III.3 and IV.4, below.

[184] See Schuler, 'Zur Überlieferung', 74.

[185] Ott was not only interested in music; on his death, a book of masses and a book of medicine were outstanding in addition to the *Choralis*. See Göllner, 'Ott, Johannes', *Grove*6.

every duet-section contained within it was systematically extracted. In addition, two duets were taken from CCII, though their selection seems arbitrary.

Also in 1549, in the preface of his third volume of *Frische Teutsche Liedlein* (RISM 1549[37]), another Nuremberg publisher, Georg Forster, announced his hope of publishing the complete collection of Isaac's propers.[186] Through their similar interests and placing, Forster had evidently been acquainted with Ott in person. Still, it was not he, but Hieronymus Formschneider, who finally gained the printing contract and issued the first volume of the *Choralis* in 1550. It must have been through close personal attachment and old allegiances between Formschneider and Ott's widow that the opportunity to publish ultimately fell to him. When Ott was alive, it was Formschneider who had printed all but one of his books (Ott had no press of his own), whilst in 1550 Formschneider was named guardian, along with another Nuremberger, of Ott's children below the age of majority. Formschneider himself had worked for the Nuremberg city authorities between 1536 and 1542, before a quarrel with them resulted in his sacking and a two-week imprisonment.[187] From 1544 to 1549 he was employed in Georg Wachter's workshop, before setting up his own. The Isaac print of CCI would thus have been both a flagship production from his newly established business and a homage to his dead colleague, who had been unable fully to accomplish the project. Formschneider bore the cost himself, and envisaged the remaining volumes to follow in rapid succession. That yet five more years passed before CCI was joined by CCII and CCIII is owed both to financial difficulties and to a dispute with Ott's widow in his capacity as one of the guardians of her children.[188] Ott's widow gave up her shop in 1554 and sold the *Choralis* manuscripts to the book dealer Georg Willer of Augsburg. Willer returned to Formschneider in 1555 to have his purchases printed. This time, all the music outstanding was issued in quick succession. As an epilogue to the story, Albrecht V of Bavaria was not content to own the print, but went expressly and in person to Constance in 1556, to acquire the 'original'

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[186] See Schuler, 'Zur Überlieferung', 74. This source is not cited by Staehelin.

[187] For biographical details on Formschneider, see Marie Louise Göllner, 'Formschneider, Hieronymus', *Grove*6.

[188] See Schuler, 'Zur Überlieferung', 75.

commission manuscript. Chapter records indicate that he left satisfied, though no trace of the manuscript itself can be found once it entered his possession. The tale is fitting testament to the power Isaac's music still held, half a century after its composition.[189]

To conclude this section's analysis of the *Choralis* sources and transmission, the diagram overleaf collates the transmission paths and relations between sources that were outlined above. Thin lines denote individual parts of the *Choralis* repertory; thicker single lines represents all parts of the *Choralis*; dashed lines represent hypothetical possibilities; dotted lines show other relationships, not concerned with the *Choralis*. The diagram may be contrasted with that given in Pätzig, 'Liturgische Grundlagen', I, 99.

[189] See Schuler, 'Zur Überlieferung', 152-54.

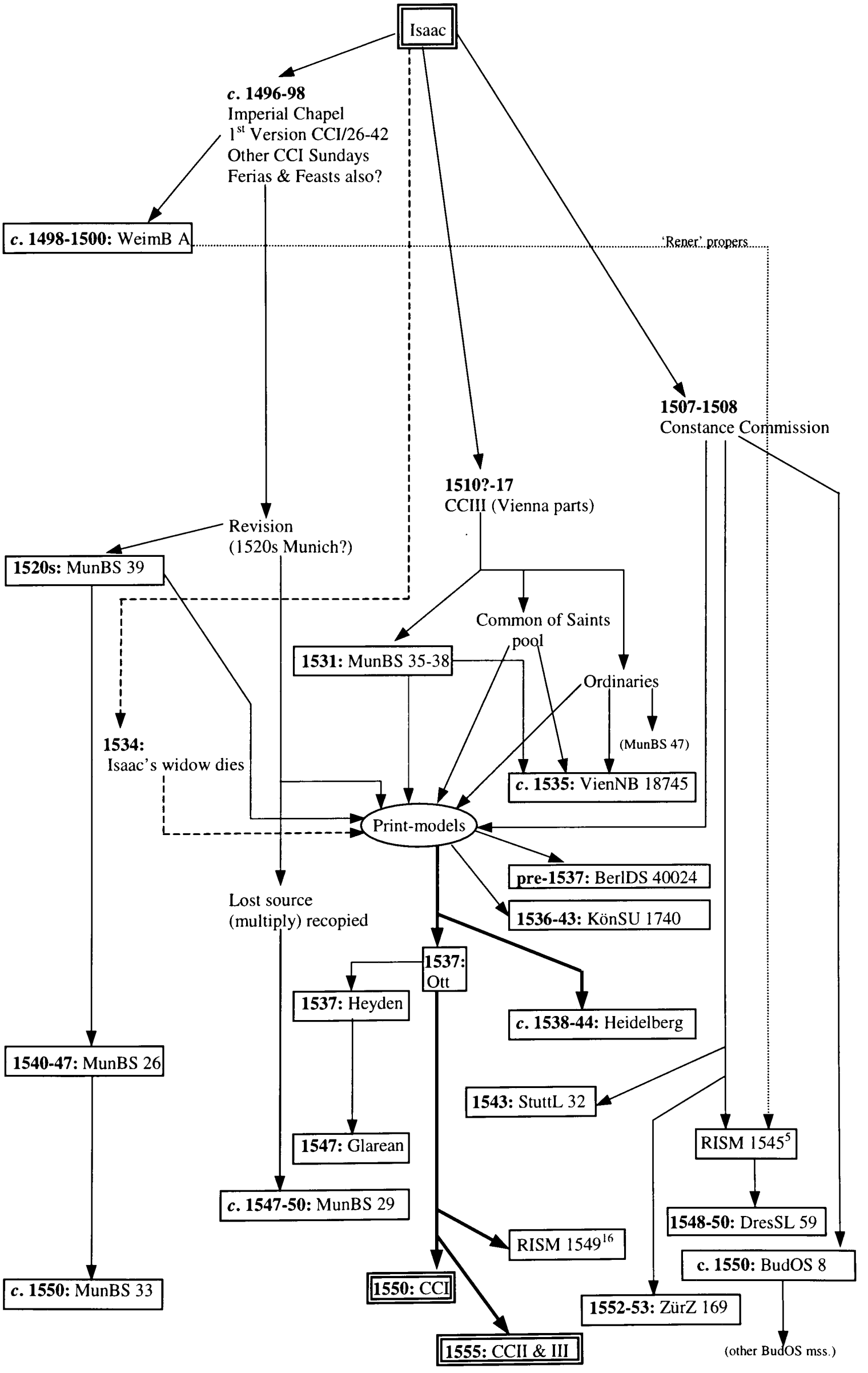

Figure 6. Stemma of Transmission and Compilation of the *Choralis*

III

Beyond the Boundaries: Isaac's Mass-Propers not in the *Choralis*

1. Introduction

The preceding discussion has shown that the relationship between the *Choralis* print, the surviving manuscript sources, and Isaac's own mass-proper projects is far more complex than has hitherto been realised. Nonetheless, a basic assumption that has previously received little detailed investigation has been left unchallenged. That is, for whomever they were intended, and whatever the circumstances of their composition, and notwithstanding the small group of pieces by other composers, the mass-propers of the *Choralis* print as a whole constitute virtually everything Isaac wrote in that genre. Arguments on two fronts conspire to give this view the appearance of security. Firstly, the sheer quantity of music in the print itself and the fact that Isaac's activity as a composer of mass-propers already far outweighs anyone else's suggest that it would be wrong to expect anything more from him. Secondly, sources as a whole, whether manuscripts or prints aside from the *Choralis*, offer little direct evidence to challenge the *Choralis*'s comprehensivity. This latter reason amounts in practice to the fact that there are few mass-proper movements or cycles bearing Isaac's name that are not in the *Choralis*, and, of these few, even fewer can be accepted without question. It was precisely due to this that Pätzig, as the first and only scholar to consider Isaac's mass-propers at the broadest level, wrote:

> Alle...studien übersehen jedoch eine bedeutungsvolle Tatsache, daß nämlich in handschriftlichen und gedruckten Quellen kaum Propriumsvertonungen Isaacs überliefert sind, die nicht zugleich auch im Druck F. erscheinen. Auch alle für die vorliegende Arbeit eingesehenen Quellen bestätigen, daß Druck F. einer 'Gesamtausgabe' der Bearbeitungen Heinrich Isaacs für das Proprium missae annäherend gleichkommt.[1]

The present section offers a critical reassessment of this view of the *Choralis* in relation to Isaac's mass-proper output as a whole, and aims to show that it is more problematic than it at first appears. The discussion is divided into two parts. Firstly, consideration is given to the accepted corpus of Isaac's non-*Choralis* proper-items. If any investigation aiming at full coverage of Isaac's mass-propers clearly must devote some space to these pieces, their assessment here is of direct relevance to the main purpose of this chapter as a whole. This is all the more the case as these pieces have largely been ignored in existing research, beyond elementary cataloguing, in favour of the *Choralis* itself. The non-*Choralis* pieces obviously beg questions about their relationship to Isaac's mass-proper projects. They have implications for the nature and scope of these projects, and thus affect any understanding of the music found in the *Choralis* itself. The results of this investigation lead on to the second part of this section, in which evidence against Pätzig's view is offered. The views of some recent scholars in this direction are pursued more thoroughly than hitherto, and anonymous music in two sources is evaluated for the possibility that it is in fact by Isaac.

2. Currently Accepted Non-*Choralis* propers

Since Pätzig first drew up a list of non-*Choralis* proper-items in his dissertation, this group has consisted of a relatively stable core, with variable additional members.[2] Table 3 (a), (b), (c), and (d) detail its constituents as set out in the five authoritative lists from the last fifty

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[1] 'Liturgische Grundlagen', I, 20.
[2] See Pätzig, 'Liturgische Grundlagen', II, 165-79.

years (Pätzig, 1956; Just, 1960; Staehelin, *Grove*6, 1980; Picker, *Guide*, 1991; Strohm & Kempson, *Grove*7). It must be noted that not every one of these lists was compiled as the product of new research. Right-facing arrows indicate the unproblematic carrying over of a piece from one list to the next; [-] denotes omission; [struck] indicates the definitive removal of a piece. Table 3 (e) lists additional proposals of other scholars, whilst the additional proposals of this thesis are listed in Table 3 (f). This last group is discussed in Section III.5 below. Notes giving more detailed information on groups of pieces and individual items follow Table 3:

(a) Six-part

No.	Source	Genre	Pätzig	Just	Grove1980	Picker Guide	Grove2000	Edition
1	MunBS 31	Sequ.	Benedicta semper/pater filius	→	→	→	→	Unpubl.
2	MunBS 31	Int.	Benedicta sit/sancta trinitas	→	→	→	→	*Introiten*, ed. Just
3	MunBS 31	Sequ.	Christus surrexit	[-]	→	[-]	[under motets]	RRMR 35
4	MunBS 31	Int.	Cibavit eos/ex adipe	→	→	→	→	*Introiten*, ed. Just
5	MunBS 31	Int.	Ecce/advenit dominator	→	→	→	→	*Introiten*, ed. Just
6	MunBS 31	Int.	Puer natus est nobis/et filius	→	→	→	→	*Introiten*, ed. Just
7	MunBS 31	Int.	Resurrexi et adhuc/tecum sum	→	→	→	→	*Introiten*, ed. Just
8	MunBS 31	Int.	Rorate/coeli desuper	→	→	→	→	*Introiten*, ed. Just
9	MunBS 31	Int.	Salve/sancta parens	→	→	→	→	*Introiten*, ed. Just
10	MunBS 31	Int.	Spiritus domino/replevit	→	→	→	→	*Introiten*, ed. Just
11	MunBS 31; WrocS 14	Int.	Suscepimus/Deus misericordiam	→	→	→	→	*Introiten*, ed. Just
12	MunBS 31	Sequ.	Victimae paschali/agnus redemit	→	→	→	→	Unpubl.
13	MunBS 31	Int.	Viri Galilei/quid admiramini	→	→	→	→	*Introiten*, ed. Just
14	MunBS 31	Int.	Vultum tuum/deprecabuntur	→	→	→	→	*Introiten*, ed. Just

Table 3. Isaac's Non-*Choralis* Propers

(b) Four-part

No.	Source	Genre	Pätzig	Just	Grove1980	Picker Guide	Grove2000	Edition
15	AugsS 23	Tract	Beatus vir	→	→	→	→	Unpubl.
16	RegB C 100; RegB A.R. 878-82	Int.	Benedicta sit/sancta trinitas	→	→	→	→	Unpubl.
17	AugsS 7	Sequ.	Botrus Cypri reflorescit	→	→	→	→	Unpubl.
18	MunBS 29	All.	Christus resurgens	[-]	→	→	→	This thesis, Vol. II
19	MunBS 29	Comm.	Christus resurgens	[-]	[-]	[mentioned]	[-]	This thesis, Vol. II
20	MunBS 3154; KlosA 70	Int.		Cibavit eos/ex adipe	[-]	→	[-]	EDM 82, ed. Noblitt
21	KlosA 70	All.				Conversus Jesus	[struck]	Unpubl.
22	RISM 1545/5	All.	Dies sanctificatus	[struck]	[-]	[mentioned as controversial]	[-]	Rhau, *Musik-drucke XII*
23	MunBS 39, 23, 26	Comm.	Dominus/dabit benignitatem	[-]	[-]	[-]	[-]	This thesis, Vol. II
24	AugsS 23	Tract	Gaude Maria virgo	→	→	→	→	Unpubl.
25	MunBS 38	All.	Hic est discipulus	→	→	→	→	This thesis, Vol. II
26	MunBS 38	Sequ.	Ioannes Iesu Christo/Tu eius amore	→	→	→	→	This thesis, Vol. II
27	VienNB 18745	Comm.	Laetabitur iustus/in domino	→	→	→	→	This thesis, Vol. II
28	AugsS 7	All.	Laetabitur iustus/in domino	[-]	→	→	[struck]	This thesis, Vol. II
29	BudOS 23	Sequ.		Lauda Sion/ quantum	→	→	[struck]	Unpubl.
30	Glarean	Int.	Loquebar/de testimoniis	→	→	→	→	Various

Table 3. Isaac's Non-*Choralis* Propers

31	AugsS 7		O Narcisse promisse/ Sed nunc urbem	[-]	→	→	→	Unpubl.
32	ErlU 473/4; SGallS 463.1; RISM 1539/14	Comm.		Pascha nostrum/ immolatus est	→ (listed as fragementary)	[mentioned as controversial]]	→ (listed as fragementary)	Rhau, *Musik-drucke VIII*
33	JenaU 30; RISM 1545/5; DresSL 1/E/24	All.	Post partum virgo	[struck]	[-]	[mentioned]	[-]	Rhau, *Musik-drucke XII*
34	AugsS 23	Sequ.	Psallat ecclesia/Haec domus	→	→	→	→	Unpubl.
35	DresSL 1/D/505; DresSL 1/E/24; DresSL Glas. 5; WrocS 92; WrocU 101 (intab.); ZerbstH s.s.; RISM 1545/5	Int.	Puer natus est nobis/et filius	→	→	→	[struck]	Rhau, *Musik-drucke XII*
36	BerlDS 40021; JenaU 33; DresSL 1/D/506	Sequ.		Sanctissime virginis/ Venerantes	→	→	→	Owens, *Composers*
37	BasU F.VI.26h; DresSL Grimma 59; LeipU 49/50; WrocS 14; WrocS 92; RISM 1545/5	Int.	Suscepimus/Deus misericordiam	→	→	→	→	Rhau, *Musik-drucke XII*
38	AugsS 7	Sequ.	Udalrici benedici/ Editus a generosis	→	→	→	→	Unpubl.
39	AugsS 7	All.	Venite ad me omnes	→	→	→	→	This thesis, Vol. II
40	MunBS 29	Int.	Venite/benedicti patris mei	→	→	→	→	This thesis, Vol. II
41	BerlPS 40013; BudOS 22; BudOS 24, BudOS P6; DresSL 1/D/505; EisS s.s.; KlosA 70; RosU 49; StuttL 32; WeimB B; WrocS 92; RISM 1539/14	Int.			Viri Galilei/ quid admiramini	→	→	Rhau, *Musik-drucke VIII*
42	DresSL 1/E/24;RegB C 98 (verse differs); RISM 1545/5	Int.	Vultum tuum/deprecabuntur	→	→	→	→	Rhau, *Musik-drucke XII*

Table 3. Isaac's Non-*Choralis* Propers

(c) Doubtful propers

No.	Source	Genre	Pätzig	Just	Grove1980	Picker Guide	Grove2000	Edition
43	MunBS 3936	Sequ.					Dulce lignum	
44	MunBS 3936	All.					Illuminet vultum	
45	MunBS 3936	Int.					Nos autem	
46	MunBS 3936	Comm.					Nos autem	

(d) Sectional fragments

No.	Source	Genre	Pätzig	Just	Grove1980	Picker Guide	Grove2000	Edition
47	RISM 1541/2	Sequ.				Benedicta semper/ Quem tremunt impia	[-]	facs. ed.
48	RISM 1545/7	Tract		Gaude Maria virgo	→	→	→	Rhau, *Musik-drucke VI*
49	RISM 1541/2	Sequ.				Laetabundus/ Sol occasum	[-]	facs. ed.
50	AugsS 7	Sequ.	Verbum sapientiae/O Narcisse fons eloquio	[-]	→	→	→	This thesis, Vol. II

Table 3. Isaac's Non-*Choralis* Propers

No.	Source	Genre	Assignment	Title	Proposer	Edition
51	MunBS 29	Int.	Feria quinta post pascha	Vitricem manum tuam	Heinz, 'Propriums-kompositionen'; Pätzig, 'Liturgische Grundlagen'	Unpubl.
52	"	All.	"	Cantate domino	"	Unpubl.
53	"	Comm.	"	Populus aquisicionis	"	Unpubl.
54	"	Int.	Feria sexta post pascha	Eduxit eos dominus	"	Unpubl.
55	"	All.	"	Eduxit dominus populum	"	Unpubl.
56	"	Comm.	"	Data est michi	"	Unpubl.
57	"	All.	"	Laudate pueri dominum	"	Unpubl.
58	"	Comm.	"	Omnes qui Christo	"	Unpubl.
59	"	Int.	Dominica Vocem iocunditatis	Vocem iocunditatis	"	This thesis, Vol. II
60	"	Int.	Feria quarta Pentecostes	Deus dum egrederis	"	Unpubl.
61	"	All.	"	Spiritus domino/ replevit	"	Unpubl.
62	"	Comm.	"	Pacem meam do	"	Unpubl.
63	"	Int.	Feria sexta Pentecostes	Repleatur os meum	"	Unpubl.
64	"	Int.	Sabbato post Pentecosten	Charitas dei diffusa	"	Unpubl.
65	"	All.	"	Laudate dominum omnes	"	Unpubl.

Table 3. Isaac's Non-*Choralis* Propers

66	"	Comm.	"	Non vos relinquam	"	Unpubl.
67	"	Int.	In vigilia Petri et Pauli	Dicit dominus Petro	"	Unpubl.
68	"	Comm.	"	Simon Iohannis diligis	"	Unpubl.
69	"	Int.	Sabbato in albis	Eduxit dominus populum	Heinz, 'Propriums-kompositionen' only	Unpubl.
70	"	Comm.	"	Spiritus ubi vult	"	Unpubl.
71	"	Int.	In letaniis maioribus	Exaudivit de templo	Pätzig, 'Liturgische Grundlagen' only	Unpubl.
72	"	Int.	De sancto spiritu infra septuagesima	Dum sanctificatus	"	Unpubl.
73	"	Comm.	In letaniis maioribus	Petite et accipietis	Pätzig only, with ?Daser	Unpubl.
74	"	All.	In vigilia ascensionis	Omnes gentes plaudite	"	Unpubl.
75	"	Comm.	De sancto spiritu infra septuagesima	Ultimo festivitatibus	"	Unpubl.
76	JenaU 33	Int.	76-79 together make a plenary Marian mass	Salve/sancta parens	Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 193-94	Unpubl.
77	"	Int.		Salve/sancta parens	"	Unpubl.
78	"	Sequ.		Verbum bonum	"	Unpubl.
79	"	Comm.		Beata viscera	"	Cavanaugh, diss., 293
80	WeimB A		Various	Various	Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 198-250	Heidrich, *Chorbücher*; this thesis, Vol. II

Table 3. Isaac's Non-*Choralis* Propers

No.	Source	Genre	Assignment	Title	Edition
81	WeimB A	Int.	Vigilia Nativitatis Christi	Hodie scietis/quia veni	Senfl, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 8
82	"	Comm.	"	Revelabitur/gloria domini	This thesis, Vol. II
83	"	Int.	Nativ. Christi	Puer natus est nobis/et filius	Rener, *Collected Works*, I
84	"	All.	"	Dies sanctificatus	"
85	"	Sequ.	"	Natus ante secula/per quem	"
86	"	Comm.	"	Viderunt/omnes fine terra	"
87	"	Int.	Epiphania domini	Ecce/advenit dominator	"
88	"	All.	"	Vidimus stellam	"
89	"	Sequ.	"	Festa Christi/Que miris sunt modis	"
90	"	Comm.	"	Vidimus/stellam	"

Table 3. Isaac's Non-*Choralis* Propers

1-14: This collection of six-voice works – 11 introits, 2 sequences, and 1 sequence-section (no. 3; now reclassified as a motet) – comprises the largest and most significant body within the non-*Choralis* propers. They belong together as a set, and combine with the six-voice ordinaries also found in the same source. Nos. 2 and 1, and 7 and 12, make introit-sequence pairs for the same feast (Trinity Sunday and Easter respectively). The source has an identical history to the 'Opus musicum', that is, it was copied in Munich in the 1520s (Lodes, 'Ludwig Senfl'). Its authenticity is secure. On logical grounds, Strohm suggests that this music was amongst Isaac's first mass-proper provisions for Maximilian (Strohm & Kempson, 'Isaac'). The set represents Isaac's only securely attributable high feast music for this establishment. This music appears to have had very limited circulation, notwithstanding the now-lost copies recorded in the 'Heidelberg' Inventory (Lambrecht, *Das 'Heidelberger Kapellinventar'*, I, 50). All this music would appear to have been excluded from the CC because of its scoring.

11: The WrocS 14 concordance, listed only in Picker, *Guide*, is a mistake. It is not mentioned in Bente et al., *Katalog*, and no six-voice setting of this item is listed for this source in Bohn, *Die Musikal Mss. der Stadtsbibliothek zu Breslau*. The manuscript itself is now lost.

15: Forms a group together with nos. 17, 24, 28, 31, 34, 38, 39, and 50, all found in two related manuscripts from Augsburg. Discussed in this thesis, below, Sections III.3 and IV.4, where all Augsburg *unica* are judged spurious. See also Gottwald, *Handschriftenkataloge der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg 1: Die Musikhandschriften der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg*, 81-87, 131-37.

16: The two sources have identical provenance, and also share CC repertory. It is therefore most likely that the later RegB A.R. 878-82 (1569-72) was copied from the earlier RegB C 100 (1560). The piece itself has been classed as late and doubtful (Just, 'Studien', I, 44).

17: See note to no. 15.

18-19 (& 40): See note to no. 40, the least controversial member of this group. Just admits neither no. 18 nor no. 19, because they do not individually bear attributions to Isaac. It is not

clear why no. 18 has been allowed back in to official worklists, whilst no. 19 has not. The manuscript attribution status of these two pieces is identical. Other arguments suggest that no. 19 in fact has a stronger claim to Isaac's authorship than the officially accepted no. 18. See Section III.5, below.

20: There seems to be no good reason for omitting this proper from either of the *Grove* lists. Just, the most exclusive arbiter, includes it. The piece is discussed in Hell, 'Senfls Hand', 89-90: he claims that it uses the Viennese chant form, and is evidence of Isaac's 'lost' Imperial high feasts (see Section III.4, below). The piece is part of a multiple-author cycle. Some anonymous high feast cycles are with it.

22: Attributed to Isaac in Ambros, *Geschichte*. The piece itself bears no indication of its author; Ambros carried his attribution over from the preceding introit (see below, no. 35). Pätzig maintained this item in his list, but noted the uncertainty. It was definitively struck by Just ('Studien', II, 42, 44), whose selection process demanded the attachment of Isaac's name as an absolute necessity.

23: Thought to be the genuine communion to CCI/26 (but see Section IV.2 of this thesis).

24: See note to no. 15.

25-26: The only pieces with an ascription to Isaac in the 'Opus musicum' that were omitted from the *Choralis*. Their omission must have been through oversight, for their authorship is beyond doubt. Only the alleluia is a true omission, for the sequence is polyphonically identical to that for St. Laurence (CCIII/19), except that it does not include a setting for verse 1.

27: No reason to doubt authenticity.

28: Omitted from the most recent *Grove* list because this text was set elsewhere by Isaac. See no. 15, above.

29: Only the bass partbook survives. Entered *c.* 1545-49 (Just, 'Studien', I, 34). Picker, *Guide*, claims that this piece is also cited in the Heidelberg inventory, but this is far from secure, given the lack of the 'Heidelberg' books themselves. Omitted from the most recent *Grove* list because this text was set elsewhere by Isaac.

31 (& 50): Probably spurious. See no. 15, above.

32: Due to a reliance on Just, who only knew of the St. Gallen source, this piece is listed as fragmentary in both *Grove* lists, although it is not. It is controversial due to conflicting attributions: ErlU is anonymous, St. Gallen gives it to Isaac, whilst RISM 1539[14] says it is by Conrad Rein.

33: As with Ambros and no. 22, Kade attributed this piece to Isaac by carrying over the author indication of the preceding introit (no. 37; see Just, 'Studien', I, 43). Filiation: JenaU 30→RISM 1545[5]→DresSL 1/E/24.

34: See note to no. 15.

35: Struck from the most recent *Grove* list because Isaac treated this text elsewhere. The piece bears Isaac's name in the source.

36: One of the famous 'de manu sua' pieces. See Just, 'Ysac de manu sua', and Owens, 'An Isaac Autograph'. JenaU 33 has the text for 'Laetabundus' (=same melody) rather than St. Katherine.

37: All sources anonymous except RISM.

38: See note to no. 15.

39: See note to no. 15.

40: Forms a cycle with 18 and 19 for 'Feria quarta pasce'. The repertory of MunBS 29 as a whole is the most controversial of Isaac's non-*Choralis* propers. Just admits none of the rest of the cycle, whilst the *Grove* lists allow the alleluia but not the communion (see note to no. 18). This situation is irrational, and is reassessed in Section IV.5, below. See also note to no. 51, and Bente et al., *Katalog*, 122-28.

41: Attribution only in KlosA. The setting imports the additional chant 'Ascendo ad patrem'.

42: Attribution only in RISM. Filiation: RISM 1545[5]→DresSL 1/E/24.

43-46: These pieces, which together form a cycle 'de Sancta cruce' seem to have been added by mistake. They concord in fact with CCII/20 (Bente et al., *Katalog*, 337).

47: From a collection of tricinia. Ninth verse only of the sequence *Benedicta semper*. It was probably extracted from a complete settings, now unknown. See Just, 'Studien', I, 168.

48: From a collection of bicinia. First section only of the tract. The piece is chant-based, and forms a pair with the immediately subsequent bicinium, the second section of the *Gaude Maria* tract, excerpted from CCII/4. This may call the attribution into doubt: if the two sections were seen to belong together, Isaac's name may have been carried over from the second part, which was securely Isaac's, and applied to this part as well.

49: From the same tricinium collection as no. 47. Fourth verse only of sequence.

50: See note to no. 15.

51(-68): The first piece in the source (no. 40 on this list) bears Isaac's name. Apart from three attrbutions to Ludwig Daser and one to Jaquet of Mantua, all the rest is anonymous. This includes unique concordances with CCI/43-48. Because of the large amount of Isaac's music in the source, the presence of his name at the beginning, and no impediment on stylistic grounds, Heinz suggested that all the other pieces (except those expressly identified as Daser's) were by Isaac. Pätzig reported this finding in his own dissertation, without commentary, whilst Just dismissed it entirely, due to his strict policy requiring each piece to be explicitly attributed. Discussed in Section IV.5, below.

59: The rest of the cycle to which this piece belongs concords with CCI/47. However, this introit is musically independent from that given in the *Choralis*. See Section IV.2, below.

69-70: Listed only by Heinz. It is unclear why Pätzig did not also accord these pieces a place in his list.

71-72: These pieces are not specifically cited by Heinz as Isaac's, but are mentioned by Pätzig following Heinz's logic.

73-75: See note to nos. 71-72; this group is more doubtful, and qualified with a possible attribution to Ludwig Daser. Only stylistic assessment may decide between these possibilities.

76-79: Assigned by Heidrich to Isaac because they form a plenary mass with an ordinary that is almost certainly his (a four-voice early version of the six-part *Missa de Beata Virgine*). See Heidrich, *Die Chorbücher*, 193-94; Staehelin, *Die Messen*.

80: This item refers not to a single piece, but to variant versions of a number of items also found in CCI. Heidrich has managed to show that some of these are certainly by Isaac, and this likelihood is strong in other cases as well. See Sections III.5 and IV.2, below.

81-90: See Sections III.5 and IV.5, below.

As a body of pieces, the non-*Choralis* propers are of necessity highly disparate. The group displays no overall organisational strategy equivalent to that which operates in the *Choralis*, because it is united only by the fact that at some time, in one or more manuscripts or prints, Isaac's name has been attached to each of its constituent members (Table 3 (a)-(d)). Nonetheless, within this body there exist coherent sub-groups sharing additional characteristics. The most immediately obvious of these are the sets of pieces contained within a single source, or several related sources. This is most significantly the case with items 1-14 in MunBS 31 and items 15, 17, 24, 28, 31, 34, 38, 39, and 50 in the two related manuscripts AugsS 7 and AugsS 23.

The reliability of the attributions in the non-*Choralis* proper set is vital if the group is to be used to illuminate the extent of Isaac's mass-proper activity and the nature of his mass-proper projects. The following discussion will be concerned with the authenticity of the large group of non-*Choralis* items in the manuscripts AugsS 7 and AugsS 23 for four reasons. Firstly, they comprise the second-largest group, and hence constitute a significant body of repertory. Secondly, they lack the secure pedigree of the MunBS 31 set in that the sources are late, the manuscripts themselves bearing the dates '1576' and '1575' respectively. Thirdly, closer investigation is of great significance for the understanding of Isaac's mass-proper projects because the non-*Choralis* items are *unica*, often of items with particular local importance. If they are by Isaac then it may be necessary to add an Augsburg series to the Imperial and Constantine projects already known. If, on the other hand authenticity is not borne out, then they may provide interesting testimony of Isaac's late-sixteenth-century reception (the latter of these is almost certainly the case). Finally, they have not been assessed in detail before. Taking all these together, the Augsburg pieces thus represent the most complex and potentially fruitful case of non-*Choralis* proper items attributed to Isaac.

3. Isaac in AugsS 7 and AugsS 23

AugsS 7 and AugsS 23 are part of a set of six books compiled in the 1570s and 1580s in Augsburg for the local monastery consecrated to the city's patron saints, Ulrich (Udalric) and Afra. The six books together provide comprehensively for the liturgical-musical needs of the monastery:[3]

AugsS 23	– propers from Christmas to Corpus Christi (mainly Isaac; also de Kerle)
AugsS 7	– propers from Pentecost to the Conception of the BVM (mainly Isaac)
AugsS 19	– mass-ordinaries (by A. Gabrieli, Lassus, Crequillon)
AugsS 4	– motets (mainly Erbach; also Palestrina, Lassus, Clemens)
AugsS 1	– psalm-settings (mainly Gastoldi; also Willaert, Asola)
AugsS 20	– magnificats (Palestrina, Morales, de Monte, Gastoldi)

Figure 7. Contents and Composers in the Augsburg Manuscripts

Isaac immediately stands out as by far the oldest composer amongst those present in these manuscripts. The others were almost exclusively active around the time the manuscripts were compiled, or were famous from the preceding generation. These others also almost all worked in Italy: no case can be made for any of them having had direct contact with Augsburg. The monastery must have acquired this music through copying prints and manuscripts, then rearranging the pieces conveniently into the six books that survive. Thus the manuscripts contain the international repertory fashionable in the mid to late sixteenth century. It cannot be claimed that they preserve older, local repertory through recopying, as happened at Munich. This characterisation seems legitimately extended to cover Isaac as well, although it is known that he did have connections with Augsburg in the early sixteenth century, and

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[3] See Clytus Gottwald, *Handschriftenkataloge der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg 1: Die Musikhandschriften der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg* (Wiesbaden, 1974); Herbert Kellman et al., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550* (American Institute of Musicology, 1979-88) vol. 1.

members of the Imperial chapel, who had copies of his music, waited there for news of the chapel's dissolution following Maximilian's death.[4] Rather, in relation to the Augsburg of the later sixteenth century, the recent issuing of the *Choralis* print made Isaac the pre-eminent composer of mass-propers in that period.

The overall structure of the repertory represented in all six Augsburg books does not agree with that which would be expected if a special Augsburg project from Isaac were present. None of the ordinaries is by Isaac, although, as has been demonstrated above, these would have been an essential requirement. Moreover, the very presence of *Choralis* concordances at all is problematic, for this music is known to have originated at the Imperial court or in Constance. Thus two possible explanations are available to account for the propers in AugsS 7 and AugsS 23: either a special Augsburg repertory by Isaac was successively adapted through replacement from the *Choralis* and elsewhere, or a framework was drawn from the *Choralis*, and adapted to local use through the addition of music by others.

The latter of these two options becomes most likely when the distribution within the manuscripts of the *Choralis* concordances and non-*Choralis* items is examined. This is laid out in the following two figures, the first dealing with AugsS 23 and the second with AugsS 7. Numbers in square brackets following titles refer to piece-numbers in Table 3. Those concordances with the *Choralis* not mentioned in the diagrams (e.g. CCII/1, 3, 4, etc.) are presented exactly as they are found in the print:

[4] See Adolf Thürlings, 'Heinrich Isaac in Augsburg (?) und Konstanz', *Werke von Ludwig Senfl, Erster Teil*, DTB 3/ii (Leipzig, 1903), ic-ci; Koczirz, 'Die Auflösung'.

Figure 8. Relationship Between the *Choralis* and AugsS 23

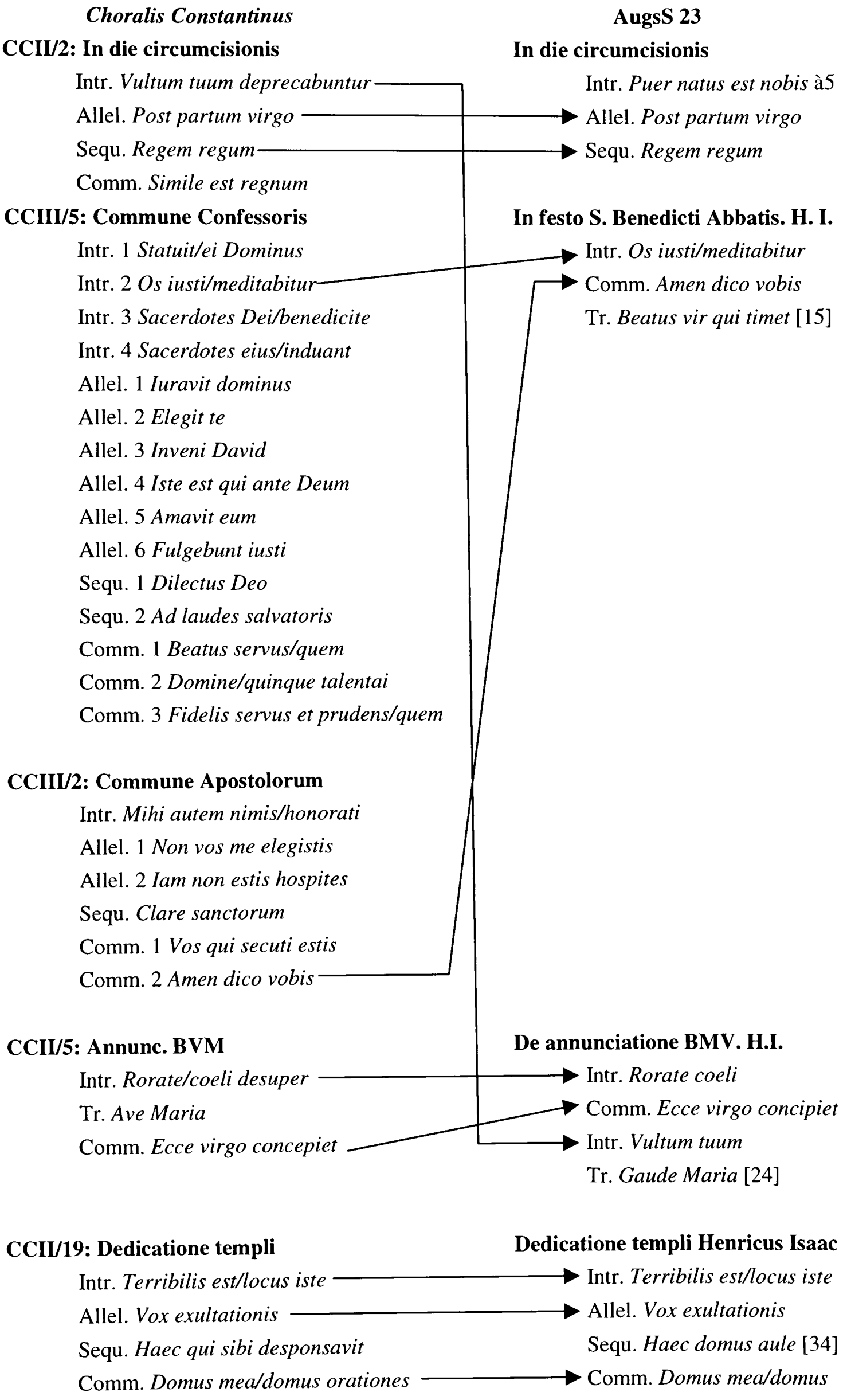

Figure 9. Relationship Between the *Choralis* and AugsS 7

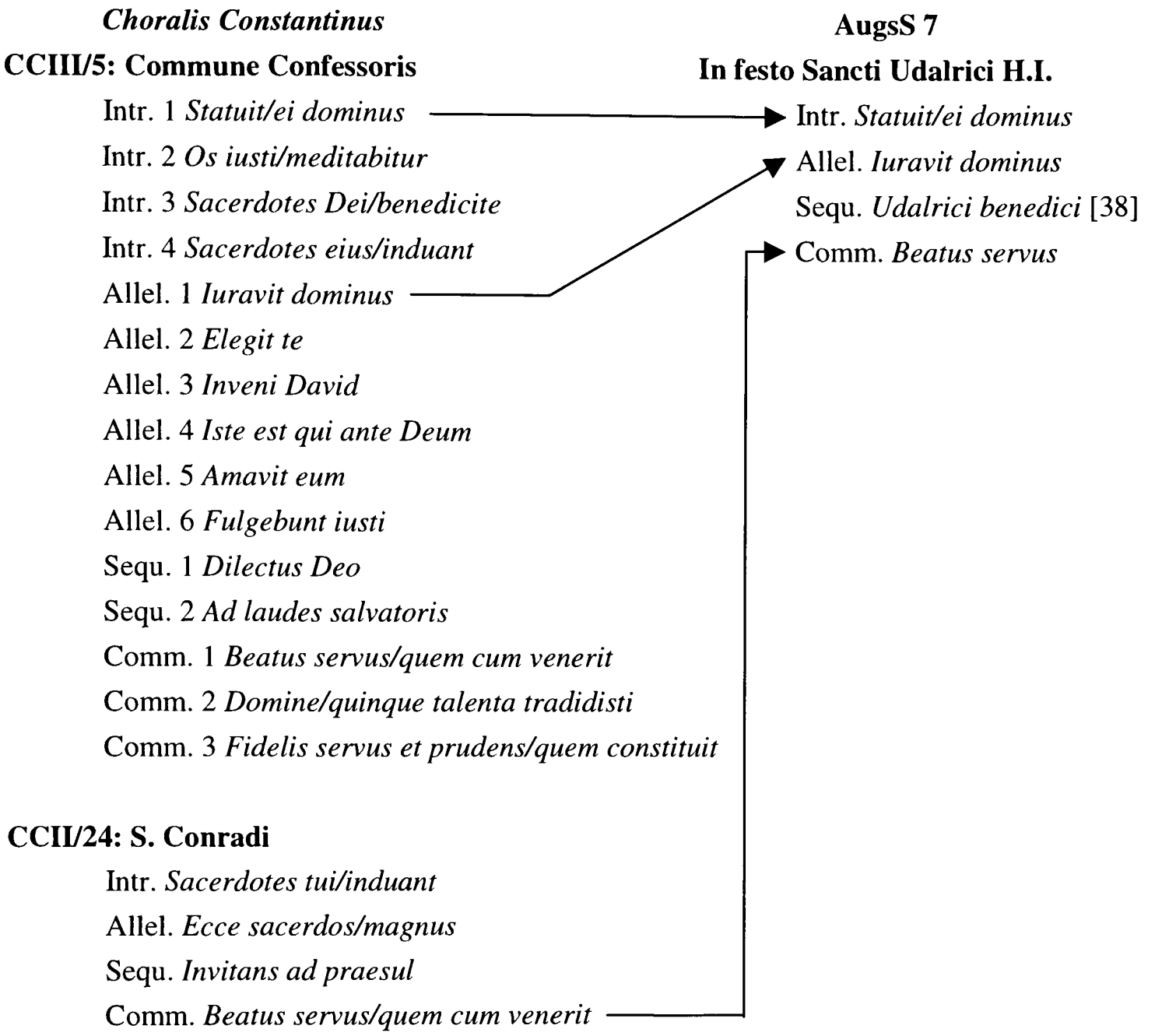

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Figure 9. Relationship Between the *Choralis* and AugsS 7

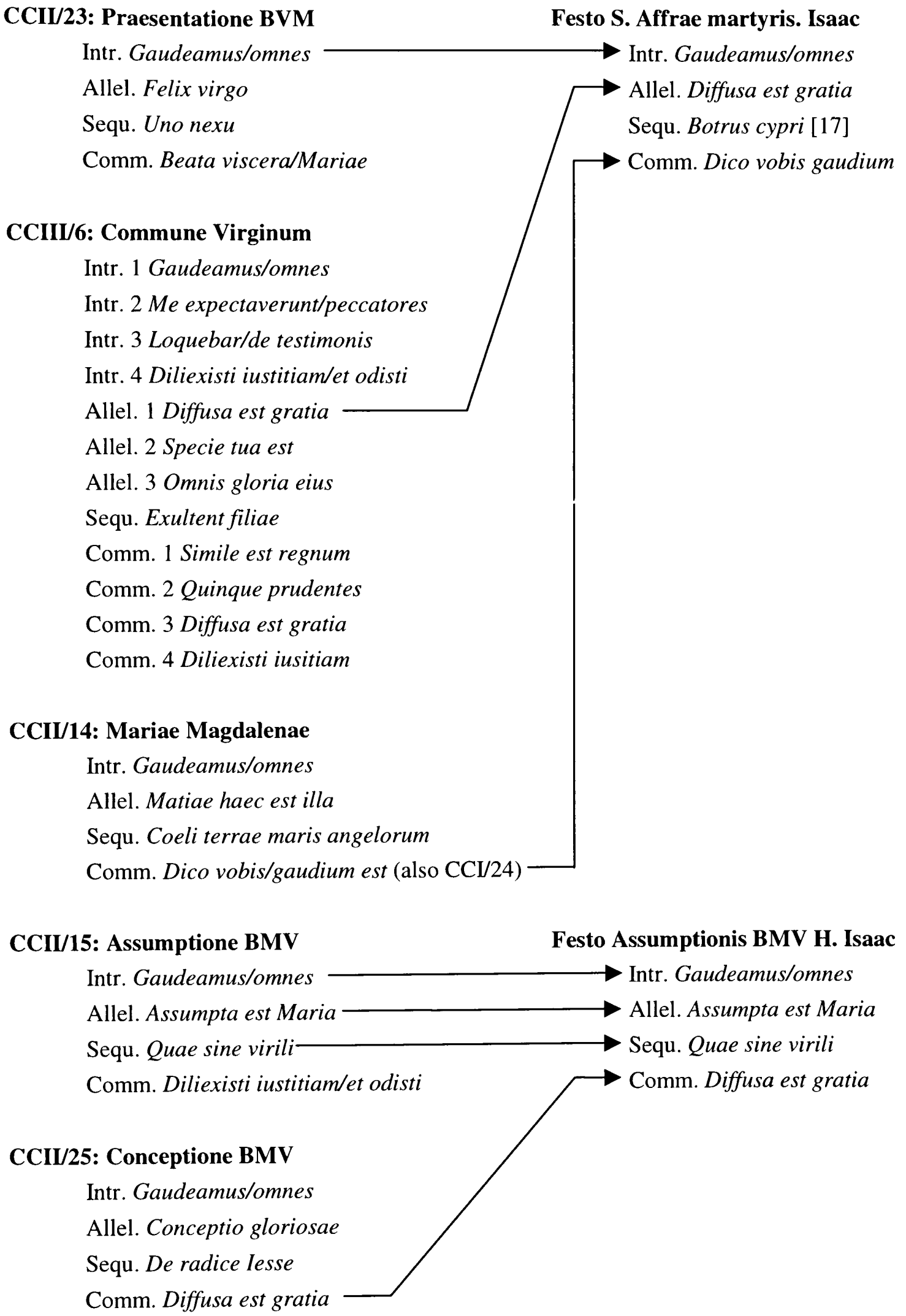

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Figure 9. Relationship Between the *Choralis* and AugsS 7

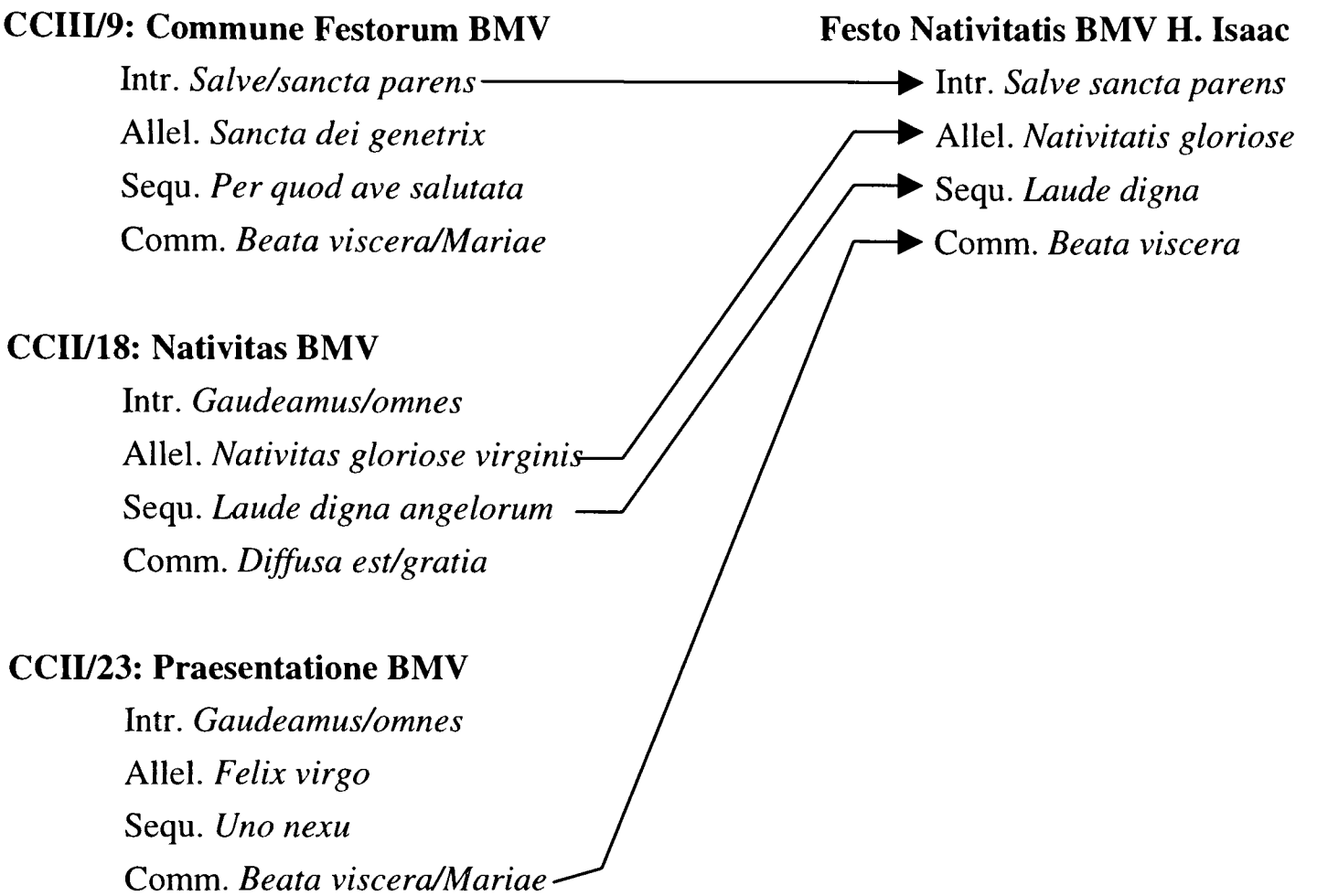

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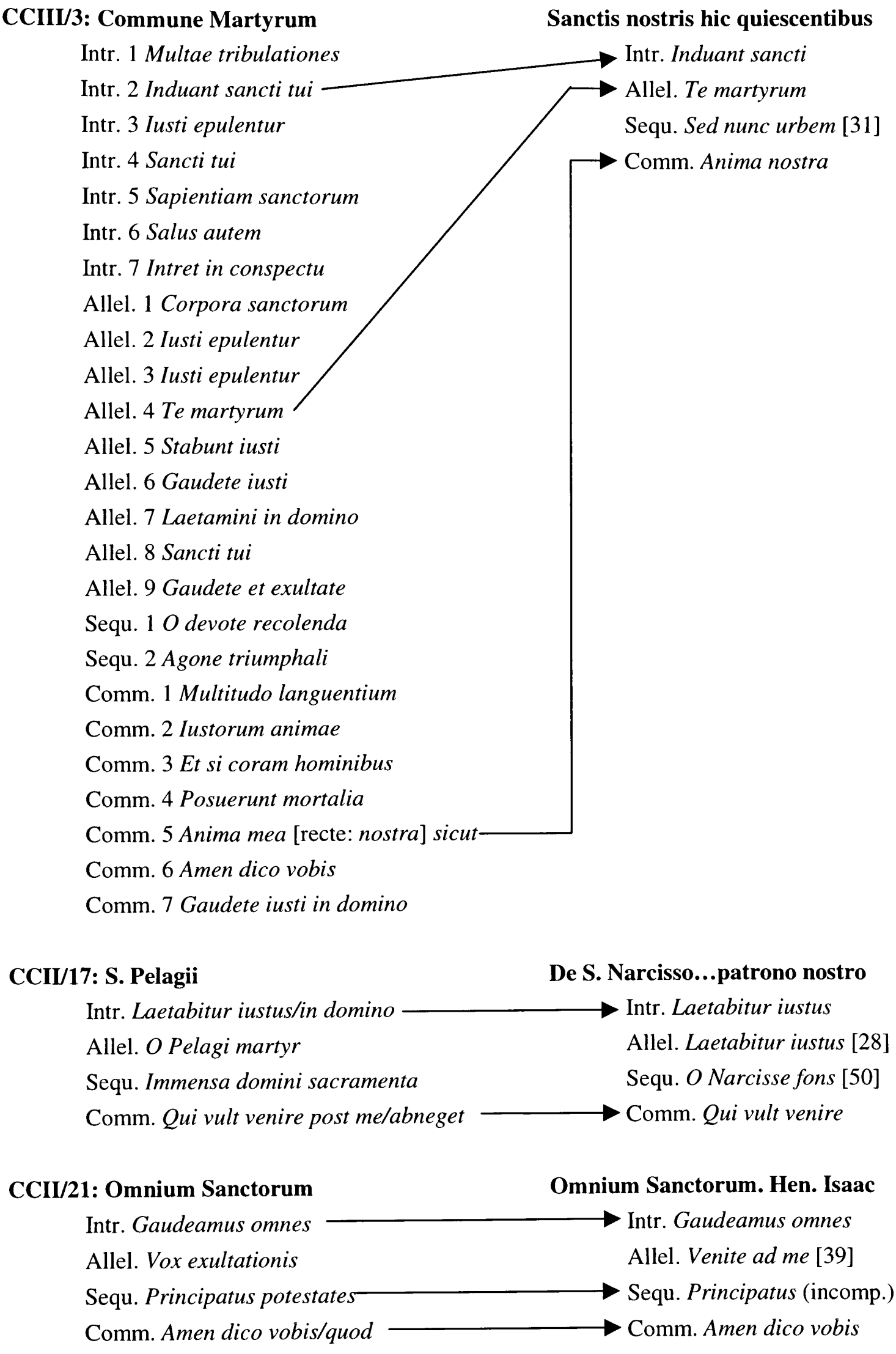
Figure 9. Relationship Between the *Choralis* and AugsS 7



The manuscripts do not attach attributions to every piece, but often cite Isaac by name or initials in the overall title of the cycle. The preceding diagrams reproduce these titles as they appear in the Augsburg manuscripts. It is the variety in the authorship indications that has caused differences about what is accepted as Isaac's in the worklists laid out in Table 3. It can be seen that in three instances – the cycles for Circumcision, for 'Sanctis nostris hic quiescentibus', and for Saint Narcissus – no name is cited, although Isaac's (partial) authorship is confirmed by concordances with the *Choralis*. This absence of a name in the title was the cause behind Just's rejection of the three non-*Choralis* items they contain (Table 3, nos. 28, 31 and 50), for this citation was the obligatory and sole criterion he applied when compiling his list. Yet Just's principle is not the only one possible, and other assessments of what should be considered as Isaac's within the Augsburg repertory have been more generous. Pätzig and *Grove*6 included the three pieces jettisoned by Just, on the grounds of 'Nestor-Theorie', for which the embedding of an unattributed piece within others composed by a single known individual is sufficient to suggest that the remaining piece is also by that individual. Nonetheless, the theory has not been consistently applied, for all omit the five-part introit for the feast of the Circumcision in AugsS 23. It is not clear on what grounds this non-*Choralis* item was refused entry, for its position is no more dubious that that of nos. 28, 31 and 50: like them, it forms a proper-cycle along with *Choralis* concordances, although the cycle's title does not mention a composer. Ultimately, however, any set of *a priori* rules, whether those applied by Just or those of 'Nestor-Theorie', are problematic in forming convincing conclusions about which pieces should be accepted as Isaac's. It is only through closer specific analysis of AugsS 7 and AugsS 23's relation to the *Choralis* print, the sources' overall contents, and the precise way in which the manuscripts treat *Choralis* music and mix it with pieces not found there that it becomes almost certain that what they document is a process of adaptation from the *Choralis* itself, ruling out the possibility that any non-concordant music may be by Isaac.

That the Augsburg concordances represent a transmission path independent from the print can be dismissed on the evidence of three cycles, those for St. Udalric, St. Afra, and the

Nativity of Mary. For these cycles blend music originating from both the Imperial court and from Constance. Whilst independent access to one or other of these repertories may have been possible (if unlikely, especially so far as Constance was concerned), freedom to pick and choose from both in practice only became a reality with the preparation of the print-models in the mid-1530s. This was so even at Munich.

There is no supporting evidence from the propers in AugsS 7 and AugsS 23 not listed in the diagrams above to suggest that Isaac composed music for Augsburg that bypassed the *Choralis* print. There are only two cycles within both manuscripts for which no composer is known. These are that for St. Simpertus and a setting in addition to Isaac's for Trinity Sunday. In addition to the two cycles just mentioned that have neither *Choralis* concordances nor composer attributions, there are only five other cycles that do not draw on the *Choralis*: three by de Kerle, one by Herpol, and one by Gastel. The majority of the Augsburg repertory is directly or partially concordant with the *Choralis*. Thus if Isaac ever composed a special repertory of propers for Augsburg, it has been replaced with *Choralis* music (originating from Constance or the Imperial court) almost to the point of no longer existing. This would make little sense. A much simpler explanation would obviously be to understand that Isaac's name in the cycles' titles does not apply to every piece, and that adaptations have been made.

This hypothesis is further supported by the cycles for the Assumption and the Nativity of Mary. Both of these are made entirely from pieces found in CCII and CCIII, yet neither is an exact copy of any cycle found in the print. The Augsburg Assumption service replaces the communion *Dilexisti* with *Diffusa est gratia*, whilst the Nativity service replaces the introit *Gaudeamus* with *Salve sancta parens* and the communion *Diffusa est gratia* with *Beata viscera*. If the print is accepted as containing the original versions – and Pätzig's liturgical investigations suggest that it does – then there is little choice but to conclude that a process of reshaping akin to that previously described with VienNB 18745 and the 'Opus musicum' has occurred. The most obvious motivation for this would be liturgical propriety. The Augsburg compilers would have had several choices for two of these substitutions if they were in possession of the CC print in its entirety. There are three settings of *Diffusa est gratia*

(CCII/18 and 25, CCIII/6) and three settings of *Beata viscera* (CCII/13 and 23, CCIII/9). The final choices made in Augsburg were probably dependent on personal taste. There is only one setting available of the introit *Salve sancta parens* in the *Choralis*.

There is good reason for suspecting that the non-*Choralis* concordant pieces found in AugsS 7 and AugsS 23 also resulted from later additions demanded by liturgical requirements, rather than constitute otherwise unknown proper-items by Isaac. Leaving aside the two feasts just discussed, the remaining settings group into two kinds: those for days also covered in the *Choralis*, and those for which there is no provision.

The first of these groups comprises the feasts of Circumcision, Annunciation, the Dedication of a Church, and All Saints. Three of the four non-*Choralis* items found here are entirely explicable by the demands of adapting to a new liturgy. The services for the Dedication of a Church and for All Saints replace, respectively, the sequence *Haec qui sibi* with *Psallat ecclesia*/*Haec domus aule*, and the alleluia *Vox exultationis* with *Venite ad me*. Settings of neither of these substituted pieces are available in the *Choralis*, so if the liturgy demanded polyphonic versions of these chants and texts, then it would have been necessary to compose them anew. The other theoretically available possibilities of making a contrafact or of using a setting that did not accord with the liturgy are hardly likely to have been considered given the relative ease of making a new piece. The five-part introit attached to the feast of the Circumcision also differs liturgically from the introit prescribed in the *Choralis*: it is a setting of *Puer natus est nobis*, not *Vultum tuum deprecabuntur*. This time the *Choralis* did offer a setting of the desired *Puer natus est nobis*, assigned to Christmas Day. This was not overlooked by the Augsburg manuscript compilers. They had already used this piece for the same day to which it was assigned in the *Choralis*. A reluctance to reuse the same item – or a desire to have an alternative with a more grandiose number of parts – would satisfactorily account for this five-part introit. Furthermore, the Augsburg compilers did not discard the original *Choralis* setting of *Vultum tuum* found in the feast of Circumcision. Rather, they assigned it to another feast for which it was appropriate, that of Annunciation. The cycle for Annunciation contains one further non-*Choralis* addition, a setting of the tract *Gaude Maria*.

Only this item cannot be justified by lack of provision from the *Choralis* or previous use. A setting of the tract *Gaude Maria* occurs in CCII/4 (Purification), after the main cycle, for use in place of the alleluia when this feast falls in Lent. The tract was not drawn in to the Augsburg repertory, although the rest of the *Choralis* Purification cycle, with alleluia, was adopted. It is not clear why Augsburg avoided the *Choralis* setting of *Gaude Maria*, although at least three possibilities may be proposed: its placing in the print after the main cycle caused it to escape detection; the Augsburg setting begins with a chant intonation, which the *Choralis* version does not; the Augsburg piece is scored differently, varying between three and five voices, whilst Isaac's never exceeds four parts, and is special in that it contains a significant quantity of duet-writing (the entire second section, 'Que Gabrielis', is a duet for discantus and alto, whilst the third begins with a long initial duet for tenor and bass). Given the evidence of the other cycles, it seems most unlikely that the Augsburg *Gaude Maria* tract is an otherwise unknown work of Isaac's.

The second group of cycles containing non-*Choralis* pieces attributed to Isaac are assigned to feasts for which the *Choralis* does not expressly provide. The group comprises five members, all concerned with the veneration of saints of particular significance to the church of Saints Ulrich and Afra for which the Augsburg manuscripts was compiled: St. Benedict, important because the church's original foundation was Benedictine; St. Udalric and St. Afra, prominent local saints whose bodies were buried in the church; 'Our Saints Resting in this Place', a collective veneration, not only of St. Udalric and St. Afra, but also of St. Simpertus, the third of the three major Augsburg saints, also buried in this church;[5] and St. Narcissus, worshipped as a special patron because it was he who was said to have ordained St. Dionysius (d. *c.* 303 C.E.) as the first bishop of Augsburg. The very fact that these services drew on *Choralis* music is enough to prompt the suspicion that they were initially adapted from the print. All but one of the cycles was compiled (at least in part) from the CCIII Common of Saints: adaptation of this kind was precisely the point of this section of the print.

[5] Like Udalric and Afra, St. Simpertus had a personal cycle, in AugsS 7. It has no connection with any *Choralis* music.

Closer examination of the non-*Choralis* items suggests that they arose from the same liturgical needs already mentioned: in all but one of the cycles, the additional pieces were settings of texts and chants not provided for in the *Choralis*, so if polyphony was needed, it would have had to come from elsewhere. Thus it is most likely that settings of the items necessary for the Augsburg feasts were drawn as far as possible from the print (whatever their original assignments), then supplemented with local repertory to fill in any remaining gaps. Each of the five cycles shall now be discussed individually, accounting for both their *Choralis* concordances – sometimes there were several possible choices – and their additions.

For St. Udalric, there was no choice regarding the introit and the alleluia – the prescribed chants and texts are set in the *Choralis* only once, in CCIII. For the communion *Beatus servus*, however, there were several from which to choose: in CCII/16 (St. Geberhard); CCII/22 (St. Martin); CCII/24 (St. Conrad); and CCIII/5 (Common of Confessors, from which the introit and alleluia had already been taken). Given that Udalric was a bishop of Augsburg, it would seem natural to prefer a setting originally belonging to the feast of a saint whose life mirrored that of Udalric, i.e., either of those for the one-time bishops of Constance, St. Geberhard or St. Conrad. The final selection may have been a matter of personal taste. Alternatively, the choice may have been governed by the chant-form of the cantus firmus, as this communion is subject to particular flexibility.[6] The sequence *Udalrici benedici* which completes this cycle has no parallel in the *Choralis*. As with the services for the Dedication of a Church and All Saints, the Augsburg establishment would have been forced to make their own setting of this piece.

The St. Afra service is similar to that of St. Udalric. The alleluia had to be taken from CCIII/6, as there were no further *Choralis* settings. Multiple settings were provided for the remaining two *Choralis* concordances. Two versions were available of the communion *Dico vobis gaudium*, in CCII/14 (Mary Magdalen) and CCIII/19 (also Mary Magdalen). The use of identical items for the feast of St. Afra and Mary Magdalen was not accidental: their lives

[6] See Karp, 'Some Chant Models', 325-334.

were viewed as parallel because both were reformed prostitutes. The CCII version may ultimately have been favoured due to its greater extension and vividness (e.g. 'gaudium', with scalic semiminim movement, the homophonic triple time section for 'super uno peccatore', etc.). For the introit *Gaudeamus*, there was a dazzling array of possibilities. The ubiquity of this chant in the medieval liturgy is reflected in the fact that it has the most multiple settings in the *Choralis*: CCII/13, 14, 15, 18, 21, 23, 25, and CCIII/6 all offered potentially useful versions. Three of these (CCII/15, 21 and 23) must have been immediately discounted, as they were already in use elsewhere in the Augburg repertory. Of the remaining five, another two precluded adaptation because they combine the primary *Gaudeamus* chant with additional plainsongs that were only suitable for the feast for which the original *Choralis* setting was made: CCII/14 places a litany to Mary Magdalen in the lower three voices, whilst CCII/18 states the office antiphon *Cum iocunditate* twice in the lower voices, firstly in the alto, then in the bass. The motivation for Augsburg's final choice of CCII/25 over CCII/13, and CCIII/6 is less clearly determined, although some possible reasons may be advanced. CCII/13 is similar to the two settings with additional chants. It contains a pervasive rising scalic figure, passed twice from tenor to bass to alto to superius, then from tenor to bass to alto, and finally only from tenor to bass. The figure is underlain with the text 'Gaudeamus', and seems to be derived from the chant incipit (cf. CCII/21). This may have been considered inappropriate. CCIII/6 is the most undistinguished of the three, for it was intended to be used on several Marian festivals and hence had to be adaptable to them all. The Augsburg authorities would have wanted something less generally applicable to celebrate a particularly important local saint. The one remaining setting, CCII/25, has no additional chants, nor any pervasive musical figures, yet it is fundamentally distinct not only from the other versions of *Gaudeamus*, but also from every other *Choralis* introit: it is the only one set throughout in *tempus perfectum non diminutum*.[7] This mensuration sign was already far from common in

[7] The bass part is given the diminished sign (Ø), but is to be interpreted identically to the undiminished version. The introit verse is in O2. No other introit uses *tempus perfectum* of any kind.

Isaac's time, and reserved by the composer for moments of special significance.[8] In the 1550s, such signs were exploited by Palestrina to demonstrate his competence in their use to the élite Sistine chapel choir.[9] By the 1580s when the Augsburg manuscripts were being compiled, Isaac's mensuration signs in this setting of *Gaudeamus* must have stood out as particularly unusual, if not archaic. The setting is impressive and was obviously ultimately considered the most ideal. All that remained to be done was to adapt the text, removing the original's mention of the conception of Mary, a familiar enough process in any case with the *Gaudeamus* chant. The one remaining piece required for the St. Afra cycle, the sequence *Botrus cypri*, was without a precedent in the *Choralis*. The same situation as that which pertained in the cases already discussed above must also have applied here: after adapting existing music as far as possible, Augsburg had to provide the rest itself.

The feast 'de Sanctis nostris hic quiescentibus' offers little but further support to the adaptation hypothesis already outlined. All three *Choralis* concordances come from the Common of Martyrs. There were no choices to be made, for this was the only place in the print to offer settings of the items required. To these was added a sequence of obvious local significance and for which no *Choralis* setting was available, celebrating the founding of the diocese of Augsburg through the ordination of St. Dionysus as its first bishop by St. Narcissus.

The cycle for St. Narcissus could draw on two possible *Choralis* settings for its introit and communion: CCII/17 (St. Pelagius) or CCIII/4 (Commune unius martyris). The decision in favour of the former may, as with St. Udalric, have been decided by the original assignment. In addition to this outer framework, the cycle contains two non-*Choralis* items. There was no provision in the *Choralis* for the second of these, the sequence-fragment *Verbum sapientiae/O Narcisse fons eloquio*.[10] The first, the alleluia *Laetabitur iustus*, is more puzzling. A perfectly satisfactory setting was at hand in the *Choralis*, in CCIII/4 (Commune

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[8] See Gossett, 'The Mensural System'.

[9] James Haar, 'Palestrina as Historicist: The Two "L'homme armé" Masses', *JRMA* 121 (1996), 191-205.

[10] The sequence for St. Nicholas, *Laude Christo debita* uses the same melody as *Verbum sapientae*. MunBS 37 contains a setting of the former, by Senfl, with parts 12-14 double-texted with the same fragment set here, 'O Narcisse fons eloquio'. Senfl's piece is musically unrelated to the Augsburg setting.

unius martyris. Allel. 1). Why this was not used is difficult to say. Perhaps it was simply not necessary to rely on the *Choralis* in this case because a local version was already available. Whatever the case, it is highly unlikely that this piece was by Isaac. The evidence from the other cycles (and the sequence of this one) speaks overwhelmingly in favour of local additions, with no connection to Isaac. Stylistic analysis of this alleluia, given in Section IV.4 below, further supports the improbability of Isaac's authorship of this piece.

The St. Benedict service drew initially on the CCIII Common of Saints. There was no choice but to do this for the introit: the only available setting in the print was contained in CCIII/5. The *Choralis* offered two version of the communion *Amen dico vobis*, one in CCII/21 and one in CCIII/2. The former of these was already in use, in its original context for All Saints, so the decision to adopt the latter for St. Benedict is not surprising. The one remaining item in this cycle, the tract *Beatus vir*, is not from the *Choralis*, although the print does provide a setting (in CCIII/Tracts). As with the tract *Gaude Maria* and the alleluia *Laetabitur iustus*, there is no obvious explanation for not adopting the *Choralis* version, although some possible reasons may be proposed. Musical features may have played a part: the Augsburg setting expands to five voices, whilst the *Choralis* one stays resolutely in four. Alternatively, the CC setting may have been rejected due to simple preference for the other version, or the Augsburg compilers may have been unaware that a setting was available in the *Choralis* (the CCIII tracts have their own section). The final arrangement of the St. Benedict cycle, with the tract following the communion, does not mirror the liturgy, for the tract would have been needed between the introit and the communion. This suggests that the non-*Choralis* tract could have been added later, when it was realised that a movement was missing from the cycle but when access to the *Choralis* was no longer available.[11]

Section IV.4 of this thesis will offer music-stylistic evidence to further support the conclusions that the AugS S 7 and AugsS 23 *unica* are not by Isaac, but, rather, are later additions, most likely from around the time the Augsburg manuscripts were copied, and that

[11] The Annunciation feast also has its movements ordered unusually.

an Augbsurg proper-series by Isaac is not borne out. The removal of a significant number of non-*Choralis* propers from Isaac's worklist may seem only to reinforce Pätzig's assertion that the *Choralis* print should be considered a more or less complete edition of Isaac's mass-propers. Furthermore, the Augsburg sources are undoubtedly not the only ones offering music under Isaac's name that is of questionable authenticity. However, further assessment of the reasoning behind Pätzig's argument shows that, despite the foregoing re-evaluation of the accepted corpus of Isaac's non-*Choralis* propers, the print's completeness cannot be taken for granted. To define the full scope of Isaac's mass-proper activity, the evaluation of the authenticity of the accepted non-*Choralis* mass-proper repertory is only one part of an investigation that must probe more widely.

4. The *Choralis* Print as 'Gesamtausgabe'?

Pätzig based his claim that the *Choralis* is a 'Gesamtausgabe' on the fact that relatively few mass-proper pieces bear Isaac's name outside the *Choralis*. Whilst the latter observation is irrefutable, the conclusion drawn from it relies on a dangerously circular and one-sided logic. If naming is the sole criterion of judgement, it is virtually inevitable that the print will appear to be comprehensive, for it is only through the print itself that a significant quantity of Isaac's mass-propers are attributable to begin with. This is the case with all of CCI: all sources for that music apart from the print are anonymous. If the print had not finally been produced – and it was not uncommon for prints to be announced but never to appear – Isaac's entire Sunday series for the *proprium de tempore* would be unrecognised by this methodology. To take this counterfactual situation further in respect to the twenty-three Sundays after Pentecost in particular, were it not for the print, we would feel quite safe concluding that Isaac never approached these days at all, because Senfl made settings of the first eleven on his arrival in Munich. We would then conclude that the 'Heidelberg' reference was to Senfl's set, with a

now-unknown completion.[12] Pätzig's characterisation of the *Choralis* print as a 'postume Werksammlung' is undoubtedly correct. Yet this is an issue separate from any verdict regarding comprehensivity. The network of factors distinguishing what did and what did not go into the print was more complex and arbitrary than Pätzig realised. Should a piece with a similar source situation to any of CCI have been omitted from the print for any reason, it would automatically be judged as not by Isaac precisely because it had been omitted. Indeed, the *only* parts of the print that may be attributed to Isaac in its absence are those extracted from the 'Opus musicum'. If any mass-proper by Isaac should have failed to enter one or the other of these two collections the chance of it languishing in anonymity is high. Thus Isaac's overall mass-proper output is only clarified by the print in one direction – that is, what is within it is in most cases Isaac's. The print's status as 'Gesamtausgabe' must be refuted.

The compiling of an initial potential worklist of all mass-proper items bearing Isaac's name is obviously a sensible and conventional method from which to begin wider consideration of the full scope of Isaac's work in the genre. However, not only do many works certainly not by Isaac hide within it (such as those in AugsS 7 and AugsS 23), but it is also inevitable that anonymous repertory must be addressed. If the hope of attributing any such works to known composers is of necessity a much more precarious enterprise than relying on sources, the evidence of the transmission of the *Choralis* itself nonetheless suggests that the attempt may be profitable. The attribution of anonymous repertory must draw on a wide selection of factors surrounding the pieces in question, including features of the music itself and the context, chronology, and provenance of the sources, to put together a picture that is in its totality suggestive of a particular composer.[13] Because this process relies on the contingencies peculiar to each specific case, it is clearly much more fluid and difficult to regulate than other approaches. In relation to Isaac's mass-propers, this is precisely its

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[12] See Section II.6, above.

[13] For some examples, see Rob C. Wegman, 'Another "Imitation" of Busnoys's *Missa L'homme armé* – and some Observations on *Imitatio* in Renaissance Music', *JRMA* 114 (1989), 189-202; Jürgen Heidrich, 'Die *Missa Beata progenies* im Chorbuch Jena 32: Eine bisher unerkannte Komposition Jakob Obrechts?', *AMw* 57 (2000), 151-71. Also Martin Staehelin, 'Möglichkeiten und praktischen Anwendung der Verfasserbestimmung an anonym überliefert Kompositionen der Josquin-Zeit', *TVNM* 23 (1973), 79-91.

virtue, for the kinds of projects that Isaac was writing involve additional forces which no other method than one tailor-made for them can take into account. These pieces demand a consideration as unique as the compositional projects to which they belong.

The first step of this process is not simply to take all sixteenth-century anonymous mass-propers and assess them in turn for the possibility of Isaac's authorship, but rather, to predetermine what is to be sought by examining the securely attributed repertory. For Isaac was not writing a series of individual, isolated pieces, but many cycles, which should together form coherent groups. The makeup of the securely attributed parts of these groups offers a vital pathway into the anonymous repertory, for there is sufficient evidence to allow the comparison of abstract speculation of what each project should contain with the overall disposition of Isaac's securely attributed mass-proper output. This process has already been used above, at an internal level, to deduce the makeup of the Constance commission: the nature of the project suggested that the provision of mass-ordinaries would have been expected, whilst the sources proposed the CCIII *Missa Paschalis* as a possible candidate for this role. Yet there is no necessity to restrict this mode of research only to already securely attributed works. There are other discrepancies between what the projects should be expected to contain and what is found in the securely attributed repertory that necessitate venturing beyond the print's boundaries into anonymous repertory if any appropriate candidates are to present themselves to fill the gaps. In this respect, the Imperial court repertory is particularly suggestive.

Helmut Hell and Reinhard Strohm have independently drawn attention to the fact that, when taken as a whole, the standard assessments of Isaac's proper-cycles for the Imperial court in the *Choralis* have a curious apparent lacuna. The two scholars differ in their assessments of how this lacuna is to be understood. The first, more problematically speculative account is Hell's:

> Dieser [Isaac] hätte dann seine Aufgabe, derentwegen er angestellt worden war, nämlich für ein eigenständiges mehrstimmiges Repertoire der neuorganisierten kaiserlichen Hofkapelle zu sorgen, mit der Komposition der Proprien zu den gewöhnlichen Sonntagen des Kirchenjahrs begonnen. Dies ist äußerst unwahrscheinlich, da dies eine Mißachtung der Hierarchie des Kirchenjahres bedeuten würde. Vielmehr hatte sich Isaak sicherlich zunächst um die Hochfeste zu kümmern, Weihnachten, Dreikönigsfest, Ostern, Christi Himmelfahrt, Pfingsten, Fronleichnamsfest, Mariae Himmelfahrt sowie um weitere im Bereich der Hochfeste liegende Tage und vor allem auch um die diversen hohen Marienfeste...Der Propriumszyklus Isaaks für die Hochfeste aus diesem ersten Arbeitsabschnitt, der bestimmt auch vierstimmig war, hat sich im Zusammenhang nicht erhalten. Senfl hatte ihn nicht in seinem Notenmaterial, das er aus dem Repertoire der kaiserlichen Hofkapelle mit nach München brachte.[14]

Thus Hell deduced on logical grounds that Isaac should be expected to have provided the Imperial court with propers for the highest feast-days, yet settings for these days are not accounted for in Isaac's surviving Imperial mass-propers. In an attempt to identify at least some of this repertory, Hell pursued his hypothesis firstly on the basis of his belief that the *Choralis* print was compiled from Isaac's 'Nachlaß'.[15] This led him to suggest that some parts of the 'missing' Imperial high feast series may actually have found their way into CCII, because the print's editors would have had both the complete Imperial set and the complete Constance set from which to pick and choose the pieces they liked best. He suggests stylistic analysis as a method of deciding which parts of CCII may have belonged to the Imperial chapel and which to Constance.

There are problems with each step of Hell's argument. Firstly, his assertion that the Imperial high feast settings 'were certainly four-part' has no evidence other than the scoring of all the other Imperial cycles (contrast Strohm's proposals, to be discussed below). Secondly, the 'Nachlaß' theory is highly questionable. The almost total lack of sources for

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[14] 'Senfls Hand', 87-88.
[15] See Hell, 'Senfls Hand', 89.

CCII not only makes it impossible to investigate this in more detail, but speaks against the suggestion itself, insomuch as CCI and III were clearly drawn from Munich, and the 'Opus musicum' propers were *not* compiled with their Constance counterparts. Any research in this direction must also take into account liturgical prescriptions. Thirdly, in the instances where the Imperial liturgy matches that of Constance, the chances are slim indeed of ever making stylistic analyses strong enough to convincingly assign a proper-cycle to the Imperial court and rule out an origin in Constance. Hell's claim simply that the Constance set must be 'kompositorisch fortschrittlicher' because it was composed later in Isaac's career must be vigorously refuted.[16] This is not because it is by no means obvious which musical parameters are to be considered or what features of them are to be classed as more developed. Rather, the whole assumption that a composer's style runs smoothly down a single track unaffected by other criteria cannot be accepted. Witnesses from within Isaac's lifetime single out his ability to compose in different idioms as required.[17] Any assessment of Isaac's proper style must take into account the particular institutional needs and expectations, the specific genre concerned, the class of feast, the textual meaning, and sheer compositional whim. The resultingly complex interrelations of these highly variable factors are almost certainly impossible to untangle today. In addition, Hell's identification of one non-*Choralis* mass-proper movement bearing Isaac's name as belonging to the Imperial high feasts is unreliable as it stands (Table 3, no. 20).[18] Although the source, MunBS 3154, has been dated to *c.* 1500, the authenticity of the attribution needs bolstering before Hell's conclusions can be accepted.[19] Settings of *Cibavit eos* were particularly frequent at this time. Despite all these concerns with the details of Hell's hypothesis, his primary, and salient, observation that the Imperial court would have wanted music for high feast days is valid.

Reinhard Strohm presents a more succinct and well-balanced evaluation of this issue in the article on Isaac for *Grove* 7:

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[16] 'Senfls Hand', 89.
[17] See Blackburn, 'Lorenzo de'Medici'.
[18] 'Senfls Hand', 90.
[19] On the dating, see Noblitt, 'Die Datierung', 49.

> Since the cycles of CCI only provide music for Sundays throughout the year, not for feast-days, they must have been part of a larger plan...the cycles assembled in CCIII still omit the highest feast-days. Probably the chapel used the six-voice propers...for high feasts.

Strohm's view contrasts with that of Hell in suggesting that the Imperial high feasts used the six-part settings (in MunBS 31). There are several advantages with this theory over Hell's proposals. The six-voice settings are securely Isaac's, and securely belong to Imperial repertory, thus it is not necessary to postulate their existence within CCII. By the same logic as Hell, Strohm assigns his Imperial high feast settings to the earliest phase of Isaac's mass-proper activity at the Habsburg court. Although, due to the lateness of the source, no further supporting arguments in favour of this may be mustered, this proposal makes eminently good sense. Yet some problems still remain. As it survives, the six-voice settings in MunBS 31 do not cover all the high feasts that would have been needed. In addition, MunBS 31 only provides introits for each feast, and a sequence on two occasions. More polyphony than this would surely have been needed, for it is difficult to accept that the average Sundays of the temporal series, which were already set *c.* 1498-1500, would have merited settings of the alleluia and communion whilst high feasts would not. Even if the six-voice collection was composed first and used initially as it stood, the completion of the temporal series shortly after would have demanded a return to the high feasts to make additions. Thus the apparent incompleteness of the six-voice series would only seem to be accounted for if the six-voice music was a supplement to (or even an extract from) a larger body that did once exist.

In searching for this larger body, no further high feasts attributable to Isaac may be found in the Munich choirbooks beyond the six-voice series discussed by Strohm. Indeed, the only such feasts to be found are those by Senfl in the 'Opus musicum'. That this is the case does not discount the one-time existence of such settings by Isaac, for the Munich choirbooks show that earlier Habsburg settings were revised and that Senfl was not against resetting days

for which he already had music by Isaac. This is so with the first Sunday in Advent, and perhaps the first eleven Sundays after Pentecost.

If Munich must thus be discouted as a place to search for further high feast settings by Isaac, another important collection of liturgical music, including within it the earliest *Choralis* concordances, is much more suggestive: the paper choirbooks from the court of Frederick the Wise, now housed at Jena. The most recent research by Jürgen Heidrich has placed the origin of several of these choirbooks within the orbit of the Imperial chapel at around the turn of the sixteenth century. This same scholar has convincingly suggested that a number of proper-movements found within a plenary Marian mass in JenaU 33 must be Isaac's (the surrounding mass-ordinary movements are variants of known works of Isaac).[20] He has also shown that some of the variant *Choralis* concordances found in one member of this complex, WeimB A, must stem from Isaac himself. As Heidrich has opened the possibility that some of the remainder of the sizeable proper-repertory preserved anonymously in the Jena collection may be by Isaac, and has shown that the collection has a production context close to the Imperial court, the manuscript WeimB A becomes particularly intriguing for the present investigation. For *Choralis* concordances are not the only things that it contains. There are also a number of high feast day settings and weekday services. The possibility that these latter are also by Isaac merits closer attention.

5. The Manuscript WeimB A

The manuscript WeimB A has been cited several times earlier in this thesis. Full discussion has been postponed until this point precisely because it may contain traces of an Imperial high feast repertory now obscured by the loss of other sources and overshadowed by the appearance of the *Choralis* print. WeimB A has long been consigned to the periphery of Isaac research for obvious reasons: within a conceptual framework dominated by the *Choralis* print,

[20] See Table 3, nos. 76-79, and Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 193-94.

there is no denying the marginality of this source, with its variant versions (see Figure 6, at the end of Section II, above). WeimB A seemed fully to deserve Philip Gossett's description of it as 'problematic' until its general neglect was ended in the early 1990s with two scholars near-simultaneously submitting the Jena choirbooks to extensive codicological and contextual study.[21] The results of these two studies, Heidrich's *Die deutschen Chorbücher* and Kathryn Duffy's 'The Jena Choirbooks: Music and Liturgy at the Castle Church under Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony',[22] are therefore now ripe for assessment in relation to Isaac and his mass-propers.

Heidrich's and Duffy's studies are not always in agreement. In relation to Isaac's mass-propers, the most important issue of contention between Heidrich and Duffy concerns the dating of WeimB A. Whilst Heidrich places it *c.* 1500, Duffy offers the rather later possibility of sometime after 1508. The difference between these two dates to the understanding of Isaac's mass-proper activity is important, and so the two opinions must be evaluated against each other. Heidrich's case is certainly by far the most persuasive. It is based on a complex network of codicological and historical investigation, both of which point to an origin in the 1490s. Heidrich's codicological analysis took into account watermarks (one similar to that found throughout WeimB A is dateable to 1492), scribal evidence, and bindings. Of historical evidence, the relationship between the court of Saxony and the Imperial court disintegrated after Frederick fell from Maximilian's favour in November 1498, whilst Frederick is known to have given Isaac gifts of cloth and fur in that same year. Heidrich also examined some of the music itself, showing in some cases that the WeimB A variant forms of pieces also found in the *Choralis* are most likely from Isaac and precede the *Choralis* versions.[23] Heidrich suggests that the books were offered by Maximilian as gifts to Frederick. Nonetheless, Frederick may still have influenced their contents.[24]

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[21] Gossett, 'The Mensural System', 75. Heidrich notes in his introduction to *Chorbücher* that between Roediger's superb catalogue from 1935 and 1989 research on the Jena sources was largely prevented by political circumstances.

[22] Both studies concentrate on the paper choirbooks of the Jena collection, leaving aside the 'Netherlands Court' ('Alamire') manuscripts.

[23] See *Chorbücher*, 1, 4, 12, 198-251, 289.

[24] *Chorbücher*, 271 & 275.

Duffy, on the other hand, bases her entire argument on liturgical hierarchy: those feasts preserved in WeimB A are largely of low ranking (the cycles for important feasts around Christmas are tacitly discounted), so this manuscript must have been compiled last.[25] This argument cannot withstand comparison to Heidrich's case, and so the latter's dating has been preferred in the present study.

WeimB A contains propers for the first half of the liturgical year (from Advent to Maundy Thursday), at least five ordinaries with which the propers may be combined, and responses. The fifth ordinary is fragmentary, as are the responses, due to page losses. The beginning of the original book is also lost – the first surviving page preserves only half the voices for the introit for the third Sunday in Advent. The original book must have begun with the first Sunday in Advent. It is possible that WeimB A had a companion volume, covering the remainder of the year.[26] WeimB A's complete contents, with additional information, are laid out in Table 4, overleaf:

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[25] Duffy does document watermarks, but leaves their evidence aside in this part of her assessment. See 'The Jena Choirbooks', 246-47.

[26] See Duffy, 'The Jena Choirbooks', 5-6 (although she later suggests that WeimB A never received this companion, believing as she does that it was compiled last, and that maybe the project ended there). It is tempting to speculate that a companion volume did exist, and perhaps contained Isaac's twenty-three Sundays after Pentecost. See also Cavanaugh, 'Early Sixteenth-Century Cycles', 157.

Assignment	No.	Folio	Genre	Text	Composer	Comments	Concordances	Concordance Notes
[must have been Adv. I & II]						Logically, the ms. must have begun at the start of church year, maybe with Isaac's CCI settings.		
Dom. III Adv.	1	2	Intr.	Gaudete/in domino	Isaac	A. and T. only. Facing page missing.	MunBS 26, 33, 39; BudOS 20; CCI	This and other attributions to Isaac are from CCI.
	2	2'-3	All.	Excita domine		Not CC music. See this thesis, Section IV.2.		
	3	3'-4	Comm.	Dicite/pusillanimis				MunBS and BudOS generally have CC communions; cf. Table 1.
Dom. IV Adv.	4	4'-6	Intr.	Memento nostri domine/in beneplacito	[Isaac?]	Uses musically similar techniques to CC. See this thesis, Section IV.2.		
	5	6'-8	All.	Veni domine et noli tardare	[Isaac?]	D. and A. are identical to CC at start. See this thesis, Section IV.2.		
						[no comm.; CC has one, but this is a CCI/CCII sharing.]		
In vigilia Nativitatis Christi	6	8'-9	Intr.	Hodie scietis/quia veni	[Isaac?]	See this thesis, Section III.5.	MunBS 26, 33, 39, 37	Assigned to 'L. S[enfl]' in MunBS 37; cycle completed there with an alleluia and a different communion.
	7	9'-10	Comm.	Revelabitur/gloria domini	[Isaac?]	See this thesis, Section III.5.		
In galli cantu	8	10'-11	Intr.	Dominus dixit ad me/filius meus es tu				
	9	11'-12	All.	Dominus dixit ad me				
	10	12'-13	Sequ.	Grates nunc omnes				

Table 4. Overview of Ms. WeimB A

	11	13'-14	Comm.	In splendoribus sanctorum/exultero				
Secundam missam	12	14'-16	Intr.	Lux fulgebit/hodie				
Summam missam	13	16'-18	Intr.	Puer natus est nobis/et filius	[Isaac?]	See below, Section III.5 and IV.5.	RISM 1545/5; RosU 49; WrocS 92; DresSL Grimma 57	RISM print gives this cycle to Rener. All other sources are anonymous.
	14	18'-20	All.	Dies sanctificatus	[Isaac?]	Heidrich relates this piece to nos. 17, 22, and 29.	RISM 1545/5; RosU 49; WrocS 92; DresSL Grimma 59; DessAL 134; OrL 1053	
	15	20'-23	Sequ.	Natus ante secula/Per quem fit machina	[Isaac?]	Verses 2, 4, 6, 9, 11 (of 12).	RISM 1545/5	
	16	23'-24	Comm.	Viderunt/omnes fines terra	[Isaac?]		RISM 1545/5	
De Sancto Steffano	17	24'-26	Intr.	Etenim sederunt/principes et adversum				
	18	26'-28	All.	Vide oculos				
	19	28'-31	Sequ.	Hanc concordi famulatu/Auctoris illius		Verses 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 14 (of 15)		
	20	31'-32	Comm.	Video celos apertos/et Jesum				
De Sancto Johanne evangelista	21	32'-34	Intr.	In medio ecclesie/aperuit os eius				
	22	34'-36	All.	Hic est discipulus		Not identical with Isaac's setting in MunBS 38.		
	23	36'-39	Sequ.	Iohannes Iesu Christe/Tu eius amore		Not identical with Isaac's setting in MunBS 38.		

Table 4. Overview of Ms. WeimB A

	24	39'-40	Comm.	Exiit sermo inter fratres/quod discipulis				
De innocentibus	25	40'-41	Intr.	Ex ore/infancium Deus				
	26	41'-42	Replaces All.	Laus tibi Christe		This is a sequence fragment. See GP, f. 16.		
	27	42'-43	Comm.	Vox in rama audita/ploratus et ululatus Rachel				
In epiphania domini	28	43'-44	Intr.	Ecce/advenit dominator				
	29	44'-46	All.	Vidimus stellam	[Isaac?]	See this thesis, Section IV.5.	RISM 1545/5; RosU 49; WrocS 92; DresSL 1/E/24; DresSL Löbau 51	RISM print gives this cycle to Rener. All other sources are anonymous.
	30	46'-49	Sequ.	Festa Christi/Que miris sunt modis	[Isaac?]	Verses 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14 (of 14)	RISM 1545/5; WrocS 92; DresSL Löbau 51	
	31	49'-50	Comm.	Vidimus stellam	[Isaac?]		RISM 1545/5	
	32	50'-52	Other Intr.	Ecce/advenit dominator	[Isaac?]		RISM 1545/5; WrocS 92; DresSL 1/E/24; DresSL Löbau 51; EisS s. s.; RegB AR 894-907; RosU 49	
Dom. infra oct. nativitatis.	33	52'-55	Intr.	Dum medium/silencium		This Sunday is not covered in CC.		
	34	55'-56	Comm.	Tolle puerum			JenaU 33	
Dom. prima post epiph.	35	56'-58	Intr.	In excelso trono	Isaac		MunBS 26, 33, 39; CCI	
	36	58'-60	All.	Iubilate	Isaac		MunBS 26, 33, 39; CCI	

Table 4. Overview of Ms. WeimB A

	37	60'-61	Comm.	Fili quid fecisti nobis/sic ego et pater tuus		Not CC music. Incipit of different length. Lower-voice ostinato. See this thesis, Section IV.2.		
Dom. secunda post epiph.	38	61'-63	Intr.	Omnis terra adoret	Isaac	Incipit also in polyphony. Not so in CC.	MunBS 26, 33, 39; CCI	
	39	63'-64	All.	Laudate Deum	Isaac		MunBS 26, 33, 39; CCI	
	40	64'-66	Comm.	Dicit dominus/implete idrias aqua		Not CC music. Lower-voice ostinato. See this thesis, Section IV.2.		
Dom. tertia post epiph	41	66'-67	Intr.	Adorate Deum/omnes angeli	Isaac		MunBS 26, 33, 39; CCI	
	42	67'-69	All.	Dominus regnavit	Isaac		MunBS 26, 33, 39; CCI	
	43	69'-70	Comm.	Mirabantur omnes	Isaac	Incipit also in polyphony. Not so in CC.	MunBS 26, 33, 39; CCI	
Dom. in septuag.	44	70'-72	Intr.	Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis/dolores inferni	Isaac	Slightly variant verse. See Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 228.	MunBS 26, 33, 39; BudOS 20; CCI	
	45	72'-76	Tract	De profundis clamavi	Isaac	Last two sections variant from CC. Fully scored, rather than reduced, and related to each other.	MunBS 26, 33, 39; BudOS 20; RISM 1549/16 (v. 3); CCI	
	46	76'-77	Comm.	Illumina/faciem tuam		Not CC music. See this thesis, Section IV.2.		
Dom. in sexag.	47	77'-79	Intr.	Exurge/quare obdormis domine	Isaac		MunBS 26, 33, 39; BudOS 20; CCI	
	48	79'-81	Tract	Commovisti domine terram	Isaac	Abbreviated. 'In feuers hitz' in second section. See this thesis, Section IV.2.	MunBS 26, 33, 39; BudOS 20; CCI	
	49	81'-82	Comm.	Introibo/ad altare	Isaac		MunBS 26, 33, 39; BudOS 20; CCI	

Table 4. Overview of Ms. WeimB A

Dom. in quinquag.	50	82'-84	Intr.	Esto mihi/in Deum protectorem	Isaac		MunBS 26, 33, 39; BudOS 20; CCI	
	51	84'-86	Tract	Iubilate domino omnis terra	Isaac	Abbreviated. 'Zcu Wurzburg' added. See this thesis, Section IV.2.	MunBS 26, 33, 39; BudOS 20; RISM 1549/16 (v. 2); CCI	
	52	86'-87	Comm.	Manducaverunt/et saturati sunt nimis		Not CC music. See this thesis, Section IV.2.		
In capite ieiunii	53	87'-89	Intr.	Misereris/omnium domine	(Isaac)	'Nymmer wurst nur hering' added in A., T., and B. See this thesis, Section IV.2.	(MunBS 26, 33, 39); (BudOS 20); (CCI)	
	54	89'-94	Tract	Domine non secundum peccata nostra	Isaac	Exact, and all sections present.	MunBS 26, 33, 39; BudOS 20; CCI	
	55	94'-95	Comm.	Qui meditabatur/in lege domini		Not CC music. See this thesis, Section IV.2.		
Feria sexta	56	95'-96	Intr.	Audivit dominus/et misertus est mihi				
	57	96'-97	Comm.	Servite domino/in timore				
Dom. prima in quadrag.	58	97'-99	Intr.	Invocavit me/et ego exaudiam eum	Isaac		MunBS 26, 33, 39; BudOS 20; CCI	
	59	99'-101	Tract	Qui habitat	Isaac	Abbreviated - first two sections only.	MunBS 26, 33, 39; BudOS 20; RISM 1549/16 (v. 8-9); CCI	
	60	101'-2	Comm.	Scapulis suis/obumbrati tibi		Not CC music. See this thesis, Section IV.2.		
Feria secunda	61	102'-4	Intr.	Sicut oculi/servorum in manibus				
	62	104'-5	Comm.	Voce mea/ad dominum clamavit				

Table 4. Overview of Ms. WeimB A

Feria quarta	63	105'-(7)	Intr.	Reminiscere/ miseracionum tuarum	Isaac	Folios 106'-114 are missing. Their contents are easily reconstructed.	MunBS 26, 33, 39; CCI	Concordances assign this piece to the following Sunday, as they do not include ferial day settings.
	64	(107'-8)	Comm.	Intellige clamorem		Probably variant from CC, as the latter has characteristics never found in WeimB A music.		
(Feria sexta)	65	(108'-10)	Intr.					
	66	(110'-11)	Comm.					
(Dom. secunda in Quadrag)	67	(111'-12)	Intr.					
	68	(112')-14	Tract	Dixit dominus	Isaac	Ms. begins again at fol. 114, with A. and T. only of second part of tract ('illa dixit'). Abbreviated.	MunBS 26, 33, 39; CCI	
						[Communion, no. 64, cued]		
Feria secunda post reminiscere	69	114'-16	Intr.	Redime me domine/et miserere mei				
	70	116'-17	Comm.	Domine/dominus noster				
Feria quarta post reminiscere	71	117'-19	Intr.	Ne derelinquas me/domine deus meus				
	72	119'-20	Comm.	Iustus dominus/et iusticias dilexit				
Feria sexta post reminiscere	73	120'-22	Intr.	Ego autem/cum iusticia apparebo				
	74	122'-23	Comm.	Tu domine/servabis nos				

Table 4. Overview of Ms. WeimB A

Dom. tertia in quadrag.	75	123'-25	Intr.	Oculi mei/semper ad dominum	Isaac	Slightly variant verse. See Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 244.	MunBS 26, 33, 39; CCI	
	76	125'-27	Tract	Ad te levavi	Isaac	Abbreviated - only first two sections only.	MunBS 26, 33, 39; CCI	
	77	127'-29	Comm.	Passer invenit sibi domum/et turtur nidum		Resembles CC in many ways. See this thesis, Section IV.2.		
Feria secunda post oculi	78	129'-31	Intr.	In Deum laudabo verbum/in domino				
	79	131'-32	Comm.	Quis dabit ex sion/salutare Israhel				
Feria quarta post oculi	80	132'-34	Intr.	Ego autem in domino/speravi				
	81	134'-35	Comm.	Notas mihi fecisti/vias vite				
Feria sexta post oculi	82	135'-37	Intr.	Fac mecum domine/signum in bono				
	83	137'-38	Comm.	Qui biberit aquam/quam ego do dicit dominus				
Dom. quarta in quadrag.	84	138'-40	Intr.	Laetare/Ierusalem et conventum		Not CC music. Identical text. Lower-voice ostinato. See this thesis, Section IV.2.	StuttL 40	Concordance not noted in Heidrich, *Chorbücher*.
	85	140'-42	Tract	Qui confidunt	Isaac	Abbreviated - first section only.	MunBS 26, 33, 39; CCI	
	86	142'-43	Comm.	Ierusalem/qui edificatur		Not CC music. Chant cantus firmus differs from CC. 'Ierusalem convertere' in tenor.		
Feria secunda post laetare	87	143'-45	Intr.	Deus in nomine tuo/salvum me fac				

Table 4. Overview of Ms. WeimB A

	88	145'-146	Comm.	Ab occulis meis				
Feria quarta post laetare	89	146'-148	Intr.	Dum sanctificatus fuero/in vobis congregabo				
	90	148'-149	Comm.	Lutum fecit ex sputo dominus/et linivit				
Feria sexta post laetare	91	149'-51	Intr.	Meditatio/cordis mei in conspectu tuo				
	92	151'-52	Comm.	Videns dominus flentes sorores lazari/ad monumentum		Unusually varied mensurations for this manuscript.		
Dominica in passione	93	152'-54	Intr.	Iudica me Deus/et discerne causam	Isaac	Intonation differs from CC.	MunBS 26, 33, 39; CCI	
	94	154'-56	Tract	Sepe expugnaverunt me	Isaac	Abbreviated - first and third parts of four.	MunBS 26, 33, 39; CCI	
	95	156'-57	Comm.	Hoc corpus quod pro vobis tradetur/hic calix		Some resemblance to CC. Incipit of different length. See this thesis, Section IV.2.		
Feria secunda post iudica	96	157'-58	Intr.	Miserere/mihi domine		Lower-voice ostinato. See this thesis, Section IV.2.		
	97	158'-59	Comm.	Dominus/virtutum				
Feria tertia post iudica	98	159'-60	Intr.	Expecta dominum/viriliter age		The only provision of a Feria tertia in this manuscript.		
	99	160'-61	Comm.	Redime me Deus/ Israel				
Feria quarta post iudica	100	161'-63	Intr.	Liberator meus/de gentibus iracundis		'Libera nos a malo' added in A. and part of T. See Section IV.2.		

Table 4. Overview of Ms. WeimB A

	101	163'-64	Comm.	Lavabo/inter innocentes				
Feria sexta post iudica	102	164'-66	Intr.	Miserere mihi domine/quoniam tribulor				
	103	166'-67	Comm.	Ne tradideris/me domine				
Dom. Palmorum	104	167'-69	Intr.	Domine/ne longe facias auxilium	(Isaac)	D. resembles CC. Underparts differ. See this thesis, Section IV.2.	(MunBS 26, 33, 39); (CCI)	
	105	169'-71	Tract	Deus Deus meus	Isaac	Abbreviated - only first two verses.	MunBS 26, 33, 39; RISM 1549/16 (v. 3); CCI	
	106	171'-72	Comm.	Pater si non potest/hic calix transire		Not CC music. See this thesis, Section IV.2.		
Feria secumda post palmarum	107	172'-74	Intr.	Iudica me/nocentes me				
	108	174'-75	Comm.	Erubescant/et revereantur simul				
Feria quarta post palmarum	109	175'-77	Intr.	In nomine domini/omne genuflectatur				
	110	177'-79	Comm.	Potum meum/cum flectu temperabam				
Feriale	111	179'-81	Kyrie			Ordinaries begin here. Propers for the rest of the year may have been in a companion volume.		
	112	181'-83	Sanctus					
	113	183'-84	Agnus					

Table 4. Overview of Ms. WeimB A

Aliud feriale	114 115 116	184'-85 185'-86 186'-87	Kyrie Sanctus Agnus			Based on identical chants to previous mass. There may be further musical relations.		
Feriale tertii toni	117 118 119	187'-88 188'-89 189'-90	Kyrie Sanctus Agnus					
Dominicale	120 121 122 123 124	190'-91 191'-93 193'-97 197'-200 200'-1	Kyrie Other Kyrie Gloria Sanctus Agnus			Only one 'Kyrie' statement set in polyphony. Identical cantus firmus to previous. Two polyphonic 'Kyrie' statements. Setting the Gloria distinguishes the Sunday mass from that for weekdays. More elaborate than the ferial ordinaries: the first two 'Sanctus' statements are set separately.		
[Domincale]	125 126	201'-(3) (203'-?)	Kyrie (Credo?)			D. and B. only. Pages torn out from here to the end. They must have contained rest of this mass.		

Table 4. Overview of Ms. WeimB A

[Responses for mass]	127	(208')-9		Gloria tibi domine		Page stuck to binding. A. and T. only. This response and next for gospel.		
	128			Et cum spirito tuo				
	129			Habemus ad dominum		This response and next for the Sursum corda.		
	130			Dignum et iustum est				
	131			Deo gratias		This response at the mass's end.		

Table 4. Overview of Ms. WeimB A

The precise relationship between WeimB A and CCI can be seen from Table 4. WeimB A offers more or less complete concordances for CCI/28-42, that is, the Sundays between Advent III and Palm Sunday. Nonetheless, a number of variants are apparent. Some movements are partially varied in their lower parts, whilst others show a freer, but nonetheless unmistakable relationship. Some movements, usually communions, are not related at all to the settings of the same text found in the *Choralis*. These variants are catalogued by Heidrich and discussed in the Section IV.2 of this thesis, below. Heidrich's most important findings may be briefly summarised here:[27]

i) One of the WeimB A variants can be shown to predate the version offered in the *Choralis* print (and MunBS 39, on which it the latter is based). Heidrich does not find any example of the opposite relationship.

ii) One of the WeimB A versions almost certainly stems from Isaac himself, and cannot be considered as resulting from interference by a third party. This may perhaps apply to others as well.

iii) In comparison to the *Choralis*, the WeimB A tracts are fragmentary, preserving only those sections scored for four voices and leaving aside those that are not. Thus WeimB A must have been extracted from a prior, more complete, source, now lost.

Whilst this clarifies the status of WeimB A's *Choralis* concordances, it problematizes the remaining parts of the manuscript's music. These other cycles fall into two broad classes, which shall be considered in turn. Firstly, WeimB A preserves a cluster of cycles for Christmas and its surrounding related feasts (Table 4, nos. 7-33). Secondly, weekday services are provided throughout Lent.

[27] See *Chorbücher*, 198-251.

High Feasts

The Christmas-period group forms a neatly self-contained block within the manuscript (fol. 8'-52). Propers for the important feasts between Christmas Eve and Epiphany are flanked on either side by cycles for normal Sundays. Before Heidrich's research into WeimB A's dating, this separation of feast-type was reinforced by one of authorship. Although WeimB A itself preserves all its repertory anonymously, the Sunday series was known to be Isaac's through concordances with the *Choralis*, whilst three of the eight Christmas-period feasts were thought to be by Isaac's pupils. On the strength of an attribution in one of Georg Rhau's prints (RISM 1545[5]), the cycles for the third mass on Christmas Day (nos. 14-17) and for Epiphany (nos. 30-33) were accepted without suspicion into the oeuvre of Adam Rener, whilst the Christmas Vigil (nos. 6-7) was claimed as Senfl's because a variant version of it in the 'Opus musicum' (MunBS 37) bears his initials.[28] Heidrich's dating of WeimB A has brought both these attributions into serious question. If Heidrich is correct, both Rener and Senfl can have been little older than fifteen at the time WeimB A was compiled, an age when they would have been unlikely to have been able to contribute compositions to the Imperial chapel repertory. Senfl would have been even younger still if Hell's revised birth-date of *c.* 1490 is accepted.[29] Documentary evidence shows that Rener was in Burgundy furthering his musical studies between 1500 and 1503. He would certainly not have been able to contribute before the end of this time.[30]

The possible incorrectness of the Rener attributions is easily explained, and should cause little surprise, for mid-century German prints are not renowned for the accuracy with which they cite authors for the music they contain. Heidrich has convincingly shown that Rhau used WeimB A itself as the source for these parts of his 1545 print: the Jena choirbooks were kept in Wittenberg, where this printer worked, and were a regular source for his

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[28] These cycles are printed as part of each composer's respective collected edition: see Adam Rener, *Collected Works*, ed. Robert L. Parker (Brooklyn, 1964), vol. 1; Ludwig Senfl, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed Walter Gerstenberg et al. (Wolfenbüttel, 1937-), vol. 8.

[29] See 'Senfls Hand', 107.

[30] See Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 303-4.

publications.[31] Clearly Rhau could not have got the attribution from this source, for the pieces are anonymous. Rather, he seems to have offered an educated guess based on the fact that the source belonged to an institution at which Rener had recently been prominent as the leading composer.

The Senfl attribution is less easily dismissed than the Rener ones, because it is found in a source directly connected to Senfl himself rather than in an untrustworthy print.[32] However, some explanation for its possible incorrectness may be offered from the unique position that the Christmas Vigil service occupies within the 'Opus musicum' repertory. It is the only mass-proper in the entire 'Opus musicum' to have earlier concordances.[33] Apart from WeimB A, another concordance is found at the end of a manuscript familiar as an important source for the *Choralis* print, MunBS 39. Although the Christmas Vigil was clearly a late addition to MunBS 39 – this is evident from its placing at the end, out of liturgical sequence, and from the hand in which it is written – Bente has nonetheless convincingly demonstrated that the piece was copied from MunBS 39 into the 'Opus musicum'.[34] This is not challenged by Lodes, who preserves Bente's relative chronology. As MunBS 39 does not attribute the piece, it can be deduced that Senfl's initials were attached only during the preparation of the 'Opus musicum' itself, that is, *c.* 1531. This means that there was a significant time-delay between the composition of the piece itself and the decision regarding authorship, a time during which it is possible that some confusion may have occurred. A more refined attempt to reconcile Senfl's authorship with Heidrich's dating may be offered in observing that the Christmas Vigil cycle as it is given in WeimB A is not precisely identical to that found in MunBS 39 and 37. Not only does WeimB A have no alleluia at all, whilst the Munich version does, but the communions also differ (both set the chant in the top voice, but they are

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[31] *Chorbücher*, 316.

[32] Heidrich avoids commentary on this problem, though points it out in *Chorbücher*, 217.

[33] Four other pieces in the 'Opus musicum' have concordances: two sets of responses also in MunBS 37 were taken along with the Christmas Vigil from MunBS 39; Senfl's *Missa Dominicale* and *Missa Ferialis* also occur in MunBS 47. This latter manuscript, datable to *c.* 1555, also contains concordances with the CCIII ordinaries, and was evidently the product of a chain of in-house copies in the same way as MunBS 39, 26 and 33. See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 179-81. Whilst Bente does not say so, the Senfl ordinaries in MunBS 47 could have been taken from the 'Opus' itself.

[34] *Neue Wege*, 152.

musically quite different).[35] Thus only the introit is shared between the two cycles. It is therefore possible, without charging Senfl with the unlikely crime of deliberately attempting to pass off another's work as his own, to suggest that his initials have accidentally been misapplied to the introit, whereas they are legitimate for the alleluia and communion.

Although Heidrich raised the problem of accepting Senfl and Rener as composers of music found in WeimB A if his dating was correct, he does not pursue the matter further. He makes no attempt to answer the next most pressing question: if the traditionally accepted composers were not responsible for these pieces, then who was? The likely answer to this is surely Isaac. Heidrich's work has left WeimB A containing only pieces by Isaac (and in increased quantity now some of the CCI variants have been attributed to him), and anonymous pieces. At the same time, the production context not only of WeimB A, but also of related choirbooks, is close to, if not actually within, the Imperial court.

The case for Isaac is strongest in relation to the Christmas Vigil.[36] Its presence in the 'Opus musicum' leaves only Isaac or Senfl as candidates for authorship, for only music by these two composers was allowed into the collection. If any part of any of the cycles cannot be by one of these two, then it must be by the other. It was suggested above that suspicions against Senfl's authorship need only fall on the introit, thus establishing the cycle as it appears in the 'Opus' as of composite authorship, which would hardly be unprecedented in that collection. The cycle is an oddity within the 'Opus' at a musical level. It is the only cycle in the entire collection to maintain its intonation in the discant as well as set the cantus firmus itself in the uppermost voice. The cycle is also an oddity within Senfl's output for precisely the same reasons: no other mass-proper by him has either the cantus firmus or the opening intonation in the discant voice. Moreover, the music lacks the systematic use of imitative points that are characteristic of Senfl. This is suggestive, for even as it distinguishes the piece

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[35] Cf. transcription from WeimB A in this thesis, Vol. II, p. 37-38, and Senfl, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 8.

[36] Hell gives the whole Christmas Vigil cycle to Isaac, but bases his argument entirely on different factors from those used here. His work predates Heidrich's research, so WeimB A played no part. Rather, Hell concludes an early date for MunBS 39 (*c.* 1503), whilst at the same time moving Senfl's birthdate forward to *c.* 1490. Senfl would therefore once again have been too young to have written the piece. Hell simply dismisses the MunBS 37 attribution as incorrect. See 'Senfls Hand', 92 n. 55.

as an outsider in the context of the 'Opus', it brings it into close proximity with Isaac's Sunday series. The sources of the Christmas Vigil make this piece certainly of Imperial provenance. The reassignment of it (as it exists in WeimB A) to Isaac has the consequence of supporting the existence of other Imperial high feasts – the Christmas Vigil would make little sense without counterparts for the main feast day itself – and of suggesting that these may lie within the other WeimB A repertory.

The attribution of the Christmas and Epiphany services presents problems different from those of the Christmas Vigil: on the one hand, Rener's authorship was easily disposed of, whilst on the other, the field of possibilities for both provenance and composer is *a priori* wider. Despite the implications of the Christmas Vigil reattribution, which makes the possibility more likely that the WeimB A high feast settings are by Isaac, these implications are not a sufficient guarantee on which to base conclusions without considering all other conceivable situations. Abstractly, five hypotheses may be advanced for the origins of the Christmas-period group. The same possibilities also apply to the ferial days to be discussed later:

i) The pieces were part of a pre-existent Saxon repertory around which Isaac's Sundays (and the Christmas Vigil), borrowed from the Imperial chapel, were arranged.

ii) The pieces were composed by one or more composers based at the Saxon court at the time, or after, the Imperial Sunday series was acquired.

iii) The pieces were neither Imperial nor Saxon, but taken from the repertory of another institution.

iv) The pieces were commissioned by Frederick from a composer at the Imperial court: they are thus distinctly Saxon repertory, but not 'home-grown' (this would be precisely analogous to the Constance commission).

v) The pieces were taken from Imperial repertory in the same way as were the Sundays.

The first possibility cannot absolutely be ruled out, although evidence on two fronts

speaks against it. On the one hand, there appears to have been no pre-existent tradition at the Saxon court upon which to have drawn. On the other, following his visit to the Habsburg court at Mechlen in 1494, Frederick was deeply concerned with developing his religious establishment at precisely the time at which WeimB A was put together, not only with music, but with other artistic commissions as well, including altarpieces and other decorative items from Dürer, Cranach, and Burkmair amongst others.[37] The second possibility is more easily discarded. Frederick was clearly granted access to Imperial repertory, indeed, he may have been given it as a prestigious gift from Maximilian. Given the evidence that Imperial high feast settings did exist, it would be very strange if either Frederick ignored these settings or Maximilian withheld them. Possibility (iii) seems equally unlikely, for the Imperial court was by far the most prominent centre with an interest in, and the capability to support, this genre of music. No other great artistic centre, not even Habsburg ones such as the court at Brussels, seem to have been excessively concerned with music for the proper of the mass at this time. Despite the testimony of the Trent codices, it was only with Maximilian's appointment of Isaac did dependent courts and other institutions in Imperial territory develop an interest in them on a large scale. WeimB A and its companion choirbooks show the Saxon court being invited to follow the Imperial lead. It is highly unlikely that any other institutions besides these two were involved. Thus the absence of other choices leaves only possibilities (iv) and (v): that, one way or another, the anonymous music in WeimB A stemmed from the Imperial chapel. Neither option in any way compels an attribution to Isaac as a logical consequence. Other musicians capable of composing polyphony were also active at the Imperial court. For instance, Georg Slatkonia, to whom Päminger attributed a piece ultimately published in the *Choralis* under Isaac's name, was appointed director of the Imperial choir in 1498. Yet the fact cannot be avoided that, if this repertory did indeed come from the Imperial chapel, then by far the most likely composer for it would be Isaac, the official court composer, and the man deliberately imported precisely to compose this music to begin with. Especially in the

[37] See Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 256-70, especially at 259.

case of possibility (iv), it is hard to imagine that Frederick would settle for music by anyone else if he was going to take the trouble to pay for it to be written.

It is difficult, however, to decide more precisely between possibilities (iv) and (v), and, indeed, it follows from the discussion above regarding the early Imperial high feast repertory and examination of WeimB A's contents that both may apply. If Strohm's suggestion that the Imperial chapel used six-voice introits on these occasions is accepted there may be good reason for supposing that these items could not be taken and that four voice replacements were needed. Six-voice music was quite extraordinary *c.* 1500, and needed a choir with a very particular disposition to be musically successful. Frederick may not have had this at his disposal. The music in WeimB A itself shows a distinctive selection on the basis of scoring, not only by never extending beyond four voices, but also by never reducing below that number, even if this meant omitting sections of movements (see Table 4, tracts). In Section IV.5, below, an attempt will be made to show that significant musical connections exist between the six-voice Christmas and Epiphany introits and those of WeimB A. Whether the alleluias and communions of these cycles may also have been specially produced for Frederick, or whether the Imperial chapel itself used four-voice settings of these movements cannot be known. Stylistic discussion of these pieces in Section IV.5 below will at least try to show that there is no musical evidence to refute an attrbution of these to Isaac.

The suggested reassignment of the Christmas Eve, Christmas Day and Epiphany services to Isaac inevitably raises the question of the authorship of the remaining five WeimB A Christmas-group cycles (the other two masses on Christmas Day, 'De Sancto Steffano', 'De Sancto Joanne evangelista', and 'De innocentibus). Whilst it seems most likely that they too may also be by Isaac given that they occur in a context where only his music is known and in large quantity, any further transmissional evidence is lacking: these cycles remain unique to WeimB A, and have never been attributed to any composer. Consideration will be given to their style in Section IV.5, below. This will show that in musical terms they are closely akin to securely attributed pieces by Isaac, and hence that an attribution to our composer is a viable possibility. Details will be given there of direct musical connections

between the constituent members of the Christmas-period group, which force any decision of authorship for one of the cycles to be extended to the remainder.

Before leaving WeimB A, examination of its contents shows that, in addition to the *Choralis* concordances and Christmas-period high feasts, it contains a significant number of proper-cycles for a class of day not obviously dealt with in the *Choralis* at all. These are the ferial (weekday) services, three of which are inserted between the *Choralis*-concordant Sunday cycles into each week in Lent (four in the week before Palm Sunday). No author has ever been suggested for these pieces, yet given the arguments for Isaac having written the high feasts, and the provenance of the WeimB A repertory as whole, it is inevitable that the ferial days too must fall under suspicion of being Isaac's. This may initially seem to be overstepping the mark. There are no arguments equivalent to those of the high feasts to suggest that Isaac was ever intending to set this class of feast. Even if these settings did originally belong to the Imperial court, the possibility is *a priori* greater than it was with the high feasts that these less important days would be entrusted to a collaborator. Nonetheless, some circumstantial evidence suggests that the matter cannot be immediately dismissed outright.

Ferial Days, Including Those of MunBS 29

Whilst there is no argument dependent on the shape of an overall plan to compel Isaac to have set ferial days, there is equally no argument to suggest that he did not. The absence of ferial day services in the *Choralis* print is not a valid argument against his having composed polyphony for at least some of these days. This argument, like that of Pätzig over the completeness of the *Choralis*, is circular. It was explained above that any cycles that failed to qualify for inclusion in either the print or the 'Opus musicum' would almost certainly have remained unattributed. The hypothesis that Isaac did not intend to include ferial days in his project must be tested anew, and supported or rejected with convincing proofs.

There are good reasons why ferial-day settings may not have qualified for the print,

apart from the possibility that they were not known about. As it was, certain parts of the *Choralis* were of highly restricted interest and limited utility to the print-buying public. This is deducible from examination of which cycles were copied from the print. For instance, there is no surviving manuscript to testify that any piece from the twenty-three Sundays after Pentecost was ever copied. The publishers must have been aware of their market, and had to balance the divergent demands of producing the print as both a monument and a commercial enterprise. Even many institutions capable of singing polyphony on each day of the week did not use the liturgically prescribed mass, but a distinct and repeating weekly series.[38] Omitting potentially useless weekday services but providing a complete set of cycles for Sundays would seem like a sensible compromise.

This compromise is less drastic when considered in relation to the fact that not all ferial days needed specific provision to have been sung in polyphony if so desired. A good number of ferial days use chants also found in the Sundays throughout the year. For example, most introits and communions for the Thursdays in Lent are drawn from the Sundays after Pentecost. Thus by reusing polyphony from Isaac's Sunday series alone, at least some potential weekday requirements would have automatically been covered.[39] It is evident from WeimB A itself that Isaac anticipated his Sunday series to be used in this manner. The introit that appeared in the *Choralis* for 'Reminiscere' Sunday (CCI/38) is found in WeimB A within the cycle for the previous Wednesday ('Feria quarta post Invocavit', fol. 105'). It is unfortunate that the pages of WeimB A containing the end of this cycle, as well as the Friday service and the beginning of the cycle for 'Reminiscere' Sunday itself have been torn out, yet the number and titles of the items they contained may easily be reconstructed.[40] For the communion on the Sunday, a cue to find the music in the Wednesday service is given in place of polyphony. It is impossible, of course, to say whether this communion was identical to that found in the *Choralis*, or related to it, like some other WeimB A communions, or different

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[38] See Cavanaugh, 'Early Sixteenth-Century Cycles', 152.
[39] See Cavanaugh, 'Early Sixteenth-Century Cycles', especially at 157.
[40] See Table 4 and Roediger, *Die Geistliche Musikhandschriften*, 194.

entirely. A similar cue must also have existed in the missing pages for the introit. This situation shows that it is thus not inconceivable that Isaac would also have offered music for the remaining ferial items not covered by his Sunday series. Isaac did take the trouble to compose mass-ordinaries for ferial days (see Figure 5, above). Whilst this is not sufficient evidence to conclude the existence of propers as well, it shows that Isaac did expect weekdays to be sometimes sung in polyphony.

A concrete suggestion that Isaac set ferial days is found in the mid-sixteenth century Munich manuscript MunBS 29 (*c.* 1547-1550). This source is already familiar for providing the only preprint concordances of CCI/43-48.[41] These concordances are flanked on either side by cycles for the ferial days that follow high feasts: beforehand by four services, covering Wednesday to Saturday after Easter, and afterwards by three services, for the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday after Pentecost. It was not necessary to provide additional music for the Thursday after Pentecost because the propers from Pentecost Sunday itself were sung again on that day. The ferial cycles are followed by a few other proper-items.[42] At the beginning of the manuscript, in the title of the setting for the Wednesday after Easter, is an attribution to Isaac: 'Feria quarta post pasce introitus. H. Yzac'. Apart from three items specifically marked as Ludwig Daser's, and one by 'Iacotin' (=Jaquet of Mantua), no further attributions occur.

MunBS 29 as a source and the meaning of its attribution to Isaac are both problematic. As a result, the MunBS 29 ferial days have been successively proposed as Isaac's then rejected across the last half-century. In his 1952 dissertation, Heinz suggested that every item in MunBS 29 not marked to the contrary was suitable for acceptance as Isaac's on stylistic grounds. Pätzig noted this, without subjecting Heinz's conclusions to scrutiny. Just jettisoned all but the opening introit because this was the only movement that actually bore an attribution. Since then, the alleluia of the opening cycle has crept back into Isaac's official worklist for unclear reasons, whilst the communion and the remaining cycles

[41] See Tables 1 and 3, above.
[42] See Bente et al., *Katalog*, 122-28.

have continued to be dismissed.[43] The matter has remained controversial, for the most recent assessment of MunBS 29, by Martin Bente et al. in the 1989 catalogue of the Munich choirbooks, has proposed outright rejection of all the ferial days, including the one that is attributed. Four reasons are given:[44]

i) the alleluias do not accord with those prescribed for these days in any rite in Isaac's orbit.

ii) Isaac is not known to have written any ferial settings, and he had not finished with the high feasts.

iii) The *Choralis* print contains no ferial settings.

iv) Senfl had to set the most important ferial days (those following Easter and Pentecost), and these are found in the 'Opus musicum'.

The situation is clearly complex. Thus each previous scholar's grounds for acceptance or rejection must be examined in turn.

Heinz's stylistic arguments are in themselves difficult to refute, yet they are equally difficult to interpret as a positive sign of Isaac's authorship. It does not follow that simply because these pieces *could* have been written by Isaac that they *were*, especially considering Isaac's influence as a model for how to compose mass-propers. Moreover, in the absence of any quantity of securely attributable ferial days, it would be impossible to interpret stylistic anomalies, if any could be determined, in one single way. Too many unknown factors remain: it is clear from the secure repertory that Isaac tailored his music to a complex network of demands that changed according to the level of the feast he was setting, who he was composing for, and under what circumstances.

Heinz's suggestion that Isaac was the author of the majority of MunBS 29 arose from

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[43] See Table 3, nos. 18, 19 and 40. The conclusions of this thesis suggest that the alleluia is less secure than other movements.

[44] *Katalog*, 123. Bente seems to accept the possibility that the settings are Isaac's in *Neue Wege*.

the attribution that opens the manuscript, yet it was also due to this – and its later absence – that Just came to almost precisely the opposite conclusion. Just's arguments and the grounds on which they are based cannot be uncritically accepted. In MunBS 29 the extent to which the attribution to Isaac should be applied is far from clear. Isaac's name is not mentioned again in the manuscript, yet the majority of its contents can be attributed to him through concordances with the *Choralis* print (CCI/43-49). Although this does suggest extending Isaac's authorship more widely, the background context of MunBS 29 still makes this difficult to do with any certainty. It is likely that the source is the end-result of a chain of in-house copyings at the Bavarian court, yet these copyings certainly involved the additions of new repertory as well as the preservation of the old. Indeed, the opportunity to make these additions may have been one of the motivations behind recopying. Of the remaining three attributions found in MunBS 29, two of those to Daser are distinct because they are precisely attached to internal movements of cycles: once to an alleluia and once to a tract.[45] In these cases, it would seem justified to interpret them as referring only to the pieces with which they appear, for otherwise it is difficult to understand why the outer movements of each cycle were not attributed. Daser's pieces thus appear to be insertions into pre-existing cycles, a procedure for which there are many precedents in the mass-proper repertory. The one remaining attribution to Daser occurs with the penultimate item of the manuscript, a cycle for the veneration of Mary. Its formula is exactly equivalent to the Isaac attribution that heads the choirbook: 'De veneratione virginis Mariae Introitus. Lud: Daser'. There is no good reason for doubting that Daser's authorship should extend beyond the introit, across the whole cycle. This is particularly so when taken in the context of its placing in the source. The following, final piece is by Jaquet of Mantua: both could be additions made when the manuscript was recopied.[46] The scrupulous marking of pieces *not* by Isaac ultimately seems more important than vice-versa. At the least, the anonymous pieces probably belong to an earlier part of the copying-chain, whether they are by Isaac or not.

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[45] See Bente et al., *Katalog*, 124, no. 27 & 125, no. 43.

[46] The entire manuscript is in one scribal hand. See Bente, *Neue Wege*, 175-79.

The most serious criticisms are those from Bente et al., *Katalog*. Yet even they are by no means compelling points against Isaac's possible authorship. In relation to the first argument, it is important to observe that in all cases it is *only* the alleluias that cause liturgical conflict. It is not necessarily legitimate to extend conclusions drawn from one movement in the cycle across to the rest of the setting. There is some evidence to suggest that it was necessary to add movements of precisely this genre to a pre-existent scaffolding of introit and communion. The WeimB A ferial days, reflecting the Imperial court's approach to the weekdays in Lent irrespective of whether they are by Isaac or not, consist solely of introit and communion. Two of the three attributions to Daser refer expressly to the addition of the alleluia (or its Lenten substitute, the tract). It is thus not inconceivable that similar additions, resulting from a later obligation to set the alleluia in polyphony, or to replace earlier settings that did not concord with the mid-sixteenth century Munich liturgy, took place with the MunBS 29 ferial days. The case of AugsS 7 and AugsS 23 offers a comparable instance of adapting existing works by slotting new pieces into their framework.

The second and third arguments have already been discussed above, and there is reason to doubt the validity of both. Isaac is only known not to have written any ferial days because there is none in the *Choralis*. This is not sufficient to discount his ever having done so. So far as high feasts are concerned, it is far from clear exactly what Isaac had and had not finished doing. The final argument is the least easy to refute. Nonetheless, several issues must be mentioned. The MunBS 29 ferial days stand in a complementary, not a contradictory, relationship to those of the 'Opus musicum'. Both sets concern the weeks following Easter and Pentecost. The 'Opus' treats the respective Mondays and Tuesdays, whilst MunBS 29 provides for the rest of the week. The MunBS 29 cycles differ from Senfl's in the 'Opus musicum' in setting their cantus firmus in the uppermost, not the lowest, voice.[47] It is therefore possible that Senfl's settings were replacements (or completions) of an earlier series that was not suitable for inclusion in the 'Opus' because of the manner in which it treated its

[47] The first MunBS 29 ferial cycle, 'Feria IV post Pasce', is transcribed in this thesis, Vol. II, p. 123-31.

cantus firmus. The traces of this earlier cycle, minus those movements no longer required because of Senfl's new settings, but with additional alleluias, could then be what was ultimately preserved in MunBS 29.

In conclusions, it must be admitted that, with the current source situation, it may not be possible to demonstrate beyond a doubt that Isaac set ferial days. The absence of comparable authentic pieces makes the only remaining option, stylistic analysis, too deeply problematic, and too full of unknown factors, to be undertaken at this time. However, the discussion of pieces belonging to this class aimed to show that the matter is far from settled at any level.[48] If the arguments in favour of Isaac's authorship of the MunBS 29 ferial cycles are admittedly weak, so too are those that have been marshalled against it. The most unlikely aspect of the currently accepted corpus is its assertion that Isaac set only one part of one ferial day, the introit and alleluia of the Wednesday after Easter found in MunBS 29. In this respect, the assessment of the *Katalog* is most consistent in that it challenges the initial attribution itself. If, however, the attribution is accepted, then there seems no good reason for doubting its applicability to at least some of the other cycles in MunBS 29, for it is reasonable to suppose that Isaac approached them as systematically as he did the other parts of his mass-proper output. Moreover, the acceptance of the MunBS 29 series now has the new consequence of supporting the possibility that the WeimB A ferial days are also Isaac's.

[48] The possibility that Isaac may also have written propers for vespers has been raised by Helmut Hell, suggesting the anonymous cycles of MunBS 52 as candidates ('Senfls Hand', 119). See also Bente, *Neue Wege*, 57-62, and Bente et al., *Katalog*, 178-88. The dating of MunBS 52 to *c.* 1510 has now been revised by Lodes.

IV

Music-Stylistic Evidence for Proposed Attributions and De-Attributions

1. Introduction

The preceding discussion of the *Choralis* sources and of Isaac's individual mass-proper movements has suggested that current worklists, particularly of the non-*Choralis* propers, must be revised. These suggestions were made on the grounds of irregularities in transmission. It remains, in the final section of this thesis, to investigate whether these assertions regarding authenticity are supported by stylistic features of the pieces in question.

Some words of caution are necessary before beginning the main task of this section. Firstly, Isaac's authenticated output of mass-propers is an unusually large body of music. If it is true that the more music we have from a single individual, the more clear and rounded a picture of their style is obtainable, it is also true that the larger the sample group, the more complex this picture is. What emerges from analysis of Isaac's mass-propers is not a uniform set of stylistic criteria, but a vast and diverse range of possibilities. Whilst it is a relatively uncomplicated task to classify Isaac's general preferences from within this overall spectrum, there nonetheless often remain so many examples of procedures that fall outside these categories that such a classification is simplistic or unhelpful, in that it covers all possibilities.[1] Moreover, style analysis is not an entirely objective form of enquiry. The decision to attach importance to certain stylistic phenomena over others remains under the control of the individual scholar.

Secondly, stylistic analysis must both uncover the preferences of an individual composer and also reveal what distinguishes that composer from his contemporaries. The fact

[1] A taxonomy of Isaac's musical language was attempted by Robert Wagner ('Die Choralverarbeitung in Heinrich Isaac's Offizienwerk "Choralis Constantinus": Eine stilanalytische Untersuchung', Ph. D. diss, Munich, 1950). Heinz, 'Isaac und Senfls Propriumskompositionen', attempted to separate Isaac from Senfl stylistically following the same method, and also to apply the results to questions of attribution.

that the quantity of music by Isaac far outstrips that surviving from others of his generation makes comparative judgements unbalanced. It is, on the one hand, possible to find at least some examples of most phenomena used by Isaac's contemporaries within the *Choralis*, and on the other, hard to be sure with other composers that they would never have used a particular procedure if their surviving corpus is small.

Thirdly, the fact that Isaac was particularly close to, and influential upon, the other composers who could have written the pieces under discussion below further muddies the stylistic picture. Those pieces that were composed within Isaac's sphere of influence may easily manifest even the most peculiar characteristics of his music. Imitators can sometimes do a very good job composing music that is stylistically inseparable from that which they are imitating. It is thus possible that even once criteria that distinguish Isaac have been isolated, many of his genuine pieces may nonetheless exclusively occupy a stylistic territory that has become shared, rather than an individual.

These three factors together make the attribution of isolated mass-propers particularly problematic.[2] It may be by no means clear how to interpret the features of controversial works and relate them to any general stylistic profile deducible from unquestionably authentic pieces. Although this applies also to those pieces for which a previous attribution to Isaac was questioned, it is especially troublesome with anonymous works for which Isaac's authorship was suggested. Despite this concern, discussion of the music at a stylistic level is essential, for it would hardly be satisfactory to draw conclusions from transmissional evidence in isolation. The following analyses will attempt to neutralise as far as possible the adverse factors mentioned above. Features of Isaac's style will be framed within the context of his mass-proper output as a whole, and compared to a wide sample of music by other composers. It must be accepted that, sometimes, stylistic evidence cannot avoid remaining equivocal. Above all, it should be understood that the following discussions aim to uncover whether Isaac *could* have written the pieces in question, rather than whether he *did*. To make a case for

[2] On the general problems of attributing anonymous music, see Staehelin, 'Möglichkeiten'.

answering the latter question, the transmissional and contextual evidence must re-enter into consideration. The following section offers music-stylistic analysis of each of the major authorship problems discussed, or proposed for the first time, in this thesis. The different or variant versions of items in *Choralis*-concordant sources are dealt with first. This includes the variants in WeimB A. Second to be treated is the attribution to Senfl of the five-part introit CCII/3. Int. 3. Lastly, analyses are given of the two major groups of non-*Choralis* items examined in Section III: the Augsburg *unica* and the WeimB A high feasts. Despite the problems of stylistic analysis, when all the evidence is collected together, the arguments in favour of the attributions or de-attributions of the previous sections in some instances become as strong as may be hoped (e.g. the Augsburg *unica*). In no case is a previous claim refuted outright by the music. The only major group of repertory that is not analysed is the ferial days. This is due to the speculative nature of the attribution to Isaac and the problems such analysis poses in the absence of authentic works for comparison.

2. Variant or Different Pieces in *Choralis*-Concordant Cycles

Communion 'Dominus/dabit benignitatem': CCI/26 and MunBS 39

The transmissional evidence against the authenticity of CCI/26. Comm. is strong as it stands: MunBS 39, from which the print-models were almost certainly made, offers a different piece at this point. This is the only movement to differ between manuscript and print. Despite the absence of other concordances, this is already enough to suggest that a substitution has taken place.

Stylistically, CCI/26. Comm. is highly unusual.[3] The cantus firmus is set in the tenor voice throughout, in equal semibreves without any rests. It is harmonised perfectly consonantly by the discantus, altus, and bassus, all of which also proceed in equal semibreves

[3] See DTÖ 5/i, p. 122.

with no intervening rests in any part. On each of these counts, this piece is highly unusual, not only amongst the remaining *Choralis* communions, but within the collection as a whole. The assignment of the cantus firmus primarily to the tenor voice is found in only one other communion, CCI/17. Comm.[4] It occurs from time to time, but is by no means common, in other genres.[5] The use of a tenor cantus firmus set in equal semibreves, without rests – the so-called 'pfundnotentenor' style – is manifested only once in the *Choralis*: in the alleluia of the same cycle to which the communion under discussion here belongs.[6] Moments of fully consonant homophony frequently occur within sections that are otherwise vigorously contrapuntal, yet as a characteristic of entire sections it is rare, occurring occasionally only in sequences (see e.g. CCII/7. Sequ. section 1 'Qui caeli').[7] None of these instances is monorhythmic, without rests.

The transmissional and stylistic evidence together strongly suggest that CCI/26. Comm. is not by Isaac. The piece must therefore either replace a prior loss or fill an original absence. Whatever the case, it is curious that the person to whom this compositional task fell made no effort to offer more elaborate music. There is, however, one superficial attempt to imitate Isaac's style: CCI/26. Comm. is lent a small touch of sophistication by the fact that its tenor cantus firmus is notated in breves, read under the mensuration ¢2, in 2:1 proportion to the surrounding voices in ¢. The cue to do this must have come from the preceding alleluia. The latter piece was mentioned above as the only piece in the CC – apart from CCI/26. Comm. – to use a 'pfundnotentenor'. It too applies ¢2 to the cantus firmus-bearing tenor voice, against ¢ in the other parts, although it differs from the communion in that the surrounding parts are not in plain homophony.[8] If the communion found in the print is

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[4] DTÖ 5/i, p. 84.

[5] It is most common in sequence-sections, for obvious reasons.

[6] On equal-note-value style, see Strohm, 'Heinrich Isaac und die Musik in Deutschland', 24-25.

[7] DTÖ 16/i, p. 52.

[8] The mensural combination under discussion here is found elsewhere in the CC, yet never with a cantus firmus in equal notes, without rests. See the discussion of variants in BerlDS 40024, below.

attractive in its simplicity, its characteristics are equally suggestive of a short amount of available time. Perhaps the gap was only noticed at the last minute.

The MunBS 39 'Dominus/dabit benignitatem' is transcribed for the first time in modern notation in Volume II of this thesis (p. 1-2). Before jumping to the easy conclusion that this setting must be Isaac's original, some stylistic peculiarities of the MunBS 39 version must be noted. These peculiarities do not necessarily refute Isaac's authorship outright, yet they do render the situation more confusing than initial appearances would suggest, and raise questions for which there are no immediately obvious answers.

The opening of the piece sets the first phrase of the cantus firmus in four-part imitation across all voices. This is a rare procedure amongst the communions (although it is more prevalent in other genres of the mass-proper). Of the 100 communions in the *Choralis*, six begin in this manner: CCI/3; CCII/4, 8 and 16; CCIII/2. Comm. 1 and III/4. Comm. 4.[9] Of these, only one belongs to the *temporale*. Moreover, CCIII/2. Comm. 1 was attributed to 'Schach' in BerlDS 40024. Its use of this unusual procedure may be a further sign of its inauthenticity. In general, Isaac's communions follow the chant incipit with a choir entry of several or all voices simultaneously. That is, the choir begins with an *initium plenum*, as it was called by Dressler in his classification of *exordia*. The *initium nudum*, that is, following the chant incipit with one voice-part beginning alone, then another entering in imitation – whether all four voices participate or not – is the rarest opening type for Isaac's communions (see CCII/10 and 11 for two-part imitative openings; CCII/15, 17 and 18 for three-part ones).[10] *Initia nuda* are much more characteristic of mass-proper-cycles of the post-Isaac generation, epitomised in the work of Senfl.

Following the imitative opening, the MunBS 39 'Dominus dabit benignitatem' maintains the cantus firmus in the bassus voice, whilst none of the other parts ever again shares any cantus firmus material. This distribution of chant-derived material is not in itself suspicious, for it is quite characteristic of CCIII. Yet, outside the context of the explicitly

[9] DTÖ 5/i, p. 23; DTÖ 16/i, p. 30, 64, 127; CuylerCCIII, p. 92, 192.
[10] Respectively, DTÖ 16/i, p. 81, 88, 119, 133, 139.

bassus-based communions of the *Choralis*'s third volume, it is unknown, either in CCI or CCII. Given the unclear relationship between Isaac's CCIII *sanctorale* and CCI *temporale*, the use of similarities to the former to support the authenticity of music potentially attached to the latter is unsatisfactory. The CCI communions themselves are not stylistically uniform in their approach to cantus firmus distribution, yet they almost never depart from a vocal hierarchy that assigns the chant primarily to the discantus. There is but one exception, CCI/17, which entrusts the chant to the tenor.[11] In the other communions, parts of the cantus firmus may be imitated in the other voices, or entrusted to them in reduced-voice passages in which the discantus may be silent, yet here also there is a clear hierarchy: the tenor is by far the most common secondary cantus firmus-bearing voice, followed by the altus; the bassus almost never participates in cantus firmus material.

The features of the MunBS 39 'Dominus dabit benignitatem' thus suggest that the *Choralis* editors were not the first to have substituted or added a communion to this cycle. If the MunBS 39 version is by Isaac (and there is nothing *per se* to militate against his authorship), then he wrote it in a style associated with a later phase of his activity as a mass-proper composer than that asserted for the CCI *temporale* in the first part of this thesis. Perhaps more likely, given Lodes redating and resituation of MunBS 39, is that the MunBS 39 'Dominus/dabit benignitatem' is a Munich product. The evidence of WeimB A in relation to MunBS 39 further supports this proposal by suggesting a Munich revision of the temporal cycle, particularly of communions. In this case, by far the most likely composer for it would be Senfl. The stylistic features would be much more normal for this latter composer: *initia nuda* were his standard practice, and all his mass-proper compositions, whether in the 'Opus musicum' or not, set the cantus firmus in the bassus. With this hypothesis, it cannot be determined whether the MunBS 39 communion replaced an earlier setting or filled a previous gap. Moreover, the conclusion that the MunBS 39 'Dominus/dabit benignitatem' was composed in Munich may offer a different account for the necessity to make a substitute in

[11] DTÖ 5/i, p. 84.

the print. It may have been not through loss that CCI/26 found itself without a communion in the print-models, but through deliberate omission: perhaps the original compiler knew, when making his copy of MunBS 39, that the piece he found there at this point was not authentic.

Introit 'Vocem iocunditatis/et annuntiate': CCI/47 and MunBS 29

Manuscript MunBS 29 provides the only concordances for CCI/43-48. These concordances are exact except for one piece: the introit for 'Vocem iocunditatis' Sunday appears in the manuscript in a setting quite independent from that in the print (the rest of the cycle is *Choralis*-concordant). Transmission sheds no light on the respective statuses of the two settings, for MunBS 29 is late in terms of the compilation of the *Choralis* print, dating from the later 1540s. It was mentioned above that this manuscript is probably the end-product of a chain of in-house copyings at the Bavarian court. Yet even accepting this, it is still unclear how the two 'Vocem iocunditatis' settings relate to each other, because the earlier links in the copying chain are now missing. Thus, abstractly, four possible explanations suggest themselves:

i) Both the MunBS 29 setting and the *Choralis* setting are by Isaac.

ii) The MunBS 29 setting is the original. A replacement setting by another composer was published in the *Choralis*, most probably to replace a loss to the print-model.

iii) The *Choralis* setting is the original, copied into the print-models from a predecessor to MunBS 29. Sometime between the copying of the print-models in the late 1530s and the copying of MunBS 29, it was necessary to replace this item in the Munich choirbooks with a setting by another composer.

iv) Neither setting is by Isaac. Both the *Choralis* setting and the MunBS 29 setting represent replacements or attempts to fill a gap.

Whilst it is almost impossible to decide between these alternatives without examining the music itself, one argument in favour of possibility (i) must be mentioned. 'Vocem iocunditatis' is prescribed not once, but twice, in the liturgy, firstly for the fifth Sunday after Easter, as found in the *Choralis*, and secondly for the following Wednesday, the Vigil of the Ascension. Indeed, MunBS 29 presents a whole cycle for this latter service, and gives a verbal cue to reuse the introit from the previous Sunday. It is thus easy to find a motivation for Isaac composing two settings of this chant without having to explain one or the other as superfluous to requirements. The *Choralis* and MunBS 29 could each preserve only one of these available settings.

The CCI setting places the cantus firmus in the discantus, as expected, and in keeping with the disposition of the rest of the *temporale* series.[12] The chant-form, insofar as it may be discerned beneath the various moments of decoration and simplification, frequently identifies itself as distinct from that of the GP. This is most obvious at the point where the polyphony begins – the GP gives a rise from *g* to *c'*, whilst the CCI setting has *a* to *c'* – but also involves other moments throughout the piece. Whilst the significance of these variants is unclear, as the research of Theodore Karp and others has shown, two points must be noted.[13] Firstly, they need not militate against either Isaac's authorship or an origin at the Imperial court. Secondly, they are shared with the MunBS 29 setting.

Cantus firmus material is not confined exclusively to the discantus: imitations and pre-imitations of the chant in other voices are found several times throughout the setting. The beginning of the piece provides the most important example, and the only one involving three, rather than two, voices. This opening is of a type found relatively frequently throughout the *Choralis*, and defined by the appearance of the cantus firmus at the outset accompanied by one or two freely composed voices. The cantus firmus part is then imitated by one or two voices (depending on the number of free parts). In CCI, the involvement of only two voices in the cantus firmus material is more common, and almost always obeys the hierarchy

[12] DTÖ 5/i, p. 248.
[13] See Karp, 'Some Chant Models' and 'The Chant Background'; Kempson, 'The Motets', 164-72.

mentioned above in relation to communions: after the discantus, the tenor takes the secondary role in presenting the chant, whilst the altus and bassus are free (see e.g. CCI/38, 42, 43, 44).[14] The opening-type of 'Vocem iocunditatis', with three-part imitation in discantus, altus, and tenor, and a free bassus is statistically the rarest variety, with only one other example in CCI (CCI/32; two examples, CCI/22 and 45 have three-part imitation with a free altus).[15] It is thus unusual, but not unprecedented.

Other voices also take fragments of the cantus firmus in imitation of the discantus elsewhere in the setting. The first instance of this, following the opening, occurs from b. 13, between the bassus and discantus. The conflicting accentuation of the two parts in relation to each other, and the conflict of each line in itself with the prevailing imperfect meter, constitute a positive indication of Isaac's authorship. He was particularly fond of this kind of tactic, and many much more extreme examples may be found throughout the *Choralis*.[16] Further cantus firmus imitations occur between tenor and discantus at b. 17-18, and between these same two voices at b. 42-44. Such a mild amount of strategically placed imitation is characteristic of many introits in CCI. A dialogue-effect, also between tenor and discantus, is found at b. 38-41: the tenor states the complete cantus firmus phrase for 'populum', accompanied by the bassus, whilst the upper two voices remain silent; then the discantus dovetails a repetition of this same phrase into the closing note of the tenor statement. As with more fluidly integrated imitation, this technique is frequent in the *Choralis* (cf. e.g. CCI/25. Int., b. 36-40).[17]

Between b. 45 and b. 51, at the point where the closing textual 'alleluia' refrain begins, the music moves from *tempus imperfectum diminutum* into *proportio sesquialtera*, indicated by the number '3'.[18] Although the layout of the proportional section is in itself typical in its use of conflicting hemiola rhythms indicated by coloration (see altus and bassus,

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[14] DTÖ 5/i, p. 194, 225, 233, 236.
[15] DTÖ 5/i, p. 146, 102, and 240.
[16] See Monterosso Vacchelli, 'Alcune Osservazioni'.
[17] DTÖ 5/i, p. 116.
[18] See Monterosso Vacchelli, 'Alcune Osservazioni' and Gossett, 'The Mensural System'.

b. 45-46), departures of any kind from *tempus imperfectum diminutum* are quite rare in CCI.[19] Despite Isaac's reputation as a master of mensural artifice, the majority of his mass-propers are exclusively in ¢, and this is particularly so in CCI. The use of sesquialtera proportion may be found in only two other CCI introits: those for the seventh Sunday after Pentecost (CCI/9) and 'Laetare' Sunday (CCI/40).[20] The former instance occurs at the word 'alleluia', as in 'Vocem iocunditatis'. In both CCI/9 and CCI/40, the proportional section closes the movement, whilst in 'Vocem iocunditatis', there is a return to ¢ before the final cadence. The degree of importance that should be accorded to this distinction is unclear. Structures precisely parallel to that of 'Vocem iocunditatis' may be found in CCI only outside the introit genre, in the communions, which, together with the reduced-voice sections of tracts, constitute the primary locus of mensural departures from ¢ in that volume (cf. e.g. CCI/19. Comm).[21] Almost all these departures are into sesquialtera proportion. Structures that do not return to ¢ remain most frequent.

The introit verse, based on a recitation formula with opening and closing patterns, presents a compositional problem distinct from those posed by the other chant genres Isaac set as parts of his proper-cycles. It is perhaps in these sections above all that the full range of Isaac's inventiveness may be perceived: the chant material is of the most elementary, stereotyped kind, yet Isaac's treatments cover the whole range of possibilities, from relatively simple homophonic recitiation (e.g. CCI/10), to elaborate imitative polyphony, including canons (e.g. CCI/29, 40) and mensural play (e.g. CCII/14).[22] Whilst the introit verse of 'Vocem iocunditatis' includes no technical artifice, it is amongst the more elaborate and extended treatments of this section-type. It begins in three-part imitation (the tenor is silent

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[19] It is one of the few flaws of the DTÖ edition of CCI that it does not indicate coloration, as this can be a vital clue in understanding the music's accentuation. See Monterosso Vacchelli, 'Alcune Osservazioni', 290-92.

[20] DTÖ 5/i, p. 49, 212.

[21] DTÖ 5/i, p. 92. For a complete table of all departures from ¢ in the *Choralis*, see Gossett, 'The Mensural System', 97-107.

[22] Respectively, DTÖ 5/i, p. 53, 134, 212; DTÖ 16/i, p. 106.

until b. 10), using a motif also found elsewhere in the *Choralis* (cf. e.g. CCII/1. Int. opening).[23] As with the introit antiphon, opening the verse in imitation is not Isaac's most regular practice in CCI, but it is nonetheless far from uncommon (cf. e.g. CCI/8, 24, and 25, all of which use regular imitation in all four voices).[24] The declamation at b. 4-5 (bassus, altus, and discantus) and b. 13-14 (bassus, tenor and altus, then discantus), in which statements of a rhythmic pattern with initial repeated notes are offset one from another in the different voices, is characteristic and frequent throughout the introit verses of the *Choralis*.

Both the introit antiphon and verse end with a cadence that is delayed by continued motion in one or more voices after the others arrive at their final notes. The pattern that closes the antiphon (b. 61 onwards) occurs with some frequency, particularly, as here, with phrygian cadences (cf. e.g. CCI/22. Comm.).[25] Delayed cadences may also be found elsewhere in the *Choralis* at the end of introit verses (cf. e.g. CCI/11).[26] Nonetheless, the particular pattern found in 'Vocem iocunditatis', with its scalic descent across an entire octave in the altus, is unique.

Taken as a whole, the features of the CCI 'Vocem iocunditatis' fall into two categories. Firstly, there are those that are standard parts of Isaac's musical language, such as the rhythmicisation of the cantus firmus and the strategic use of cantus firmus imitation. Secondly, there are those that are rare, but not unprecedented, such as the particular disposition of the introit's opening, and the use of sesquialtera proportion. At no point in the piece is there an indication that it could not have been written by Isaac. On the contrary, the artful blend of these techniques, coupled with an interesting, sometimes subtle rhythmic usage, and a flexible vocal scoring point very much in favour of his authorship. The presence of a number of rare features may perhaps be accounted for by assigning the piece to a phase of Isaac's activity as a mass-proper composer different from that of the rest of the temporal

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[23] DTÖ 16/i, p. 6.
[24] DTÖ 5/i, p. 44, 113, 117.
[25] DTÖ 5/i, p. 106.
[26] DTÖ 5/i, p. 57.

series. If so, this phase must be later, as the temporal series was amongst Isaac's earliest mass-proper provisions in the Imperial repertory.

The MunBS 29 'Vocem iocunditatis' is transcribed for the first time in modern edition in Volume II of this thesis (p. 3-7). This piece is not a variant of the CCI setting, but an independent composition. Nonetheless, despite there being insufficient evidence to posit a direct relationship between the two pieces, there are points of contact that clearly indicate an origin for both within an identical chant-setting practice. Like CCI, MunBS 29 sets the cantus firmus in the discantus. As far as may be determined, the form of the chant set in MunBS 29 shows the same variants from the GP as those found in CCI.[27] Both settings show a similar approach to the reduction of long melismas and to the treatment of certain chant-shapes, such as the falling semitone at the end of a phrase, which is frequently omitted (e.g. 'alleluia', b. 15-16: chant=*f*-*e*, polyphony closes on *f*; 'usque', b. 22-23: chant=*c'*-*b*, polyphony closes on *c'*). Several cantus firmus phrases are given precisely the same rhythm in both settings: compare 'nunciate', MunBS 29, b. 17-20, and CC, b. 18-21; 'liberavit', MunBS 29, b. 32-35, and CC, b. 32-35; and in the verse, 'psalmum dicite nomine eius', MunBS 29, b. 3-10, and CC, b. 3-10. Like its CC counterpart, the MunBS 29 'Vocem iocunditatis' shows an occasional rhythmic conflict with the prevailing meter, to add momentary interest to the otherwise entirely regular pulse (e.g. b. 11-12, altus). Moreover, the antiphon sets the closing 'alleluia' in sesquialtera proportion. In continuing in this proportion until the end, rather than returning to ¢, the structure is more typical of Isaac than is that of CCI. In MunBS 29, the cantus firmus migrates from the discantus for one passage. Between b. 24 and b. 32, the text 'ad extremum terrae' is set as a trio for bassus, tenor, and altus (with the cantus firmus in the tenor). An identical treatment is found at the same point in the CCI setting (cf. CCI, b. 24-32). Also as with the CC setting, the MunBS 29 'Vocem iocunditatis' occasionally imitates

[27] The difference in the chant incipits must be ignored: these are particularly prone to distortion. See Karp, 'The Chant Background', 339.

fragments of the cantus firmus throughout its course: at b. 17, between discantus and bassus; b. 32-35 between discantus and tenor, and again between dicantus and tenor at b. 38-41.

In other ways, the MunBS 'Vocem iocunditatis' differs from the CC setting, often adopting procedures that are more typical of Isaac than the latter piece. It opens with an *initium plenum*, that is, the polyphony begins with all the voices together. This is Isaac's most frequent opening tactic for CCI introits. Moreover, it is a structure increasingly avoided by later composers. The beginning is made more subtle in that the tenor establishes a connection with the cantus firmus by following the contour of its initial rising minor third from *a* to *c'* in smaller note values than the 'real' statement in the discantus, which begins at the same point.

One of the most striking events of the piece occurs in the middle of the above-mentioned trio passage. Between b. 26 and b. 29 a three-note motif is extracted from the cantus firmus, then repeatedly passed between the tenor and bassus-altus pair. Such an interruption of the cantus firmus is a special device highly favoured by Isaac, but much less common in the music of his contemporaries and followers. Most usually Isaac extends a pattern through sequential elaboration at the end of a piece to signal closure. This procedure is as typical of his mass-proper music as it is for his compositions in other genres (cf. e.g. CCII/5. Comm. and the close of the motet *Optime pastor*).[28] In this context, the repetitive and centrally placed, rather than sequential and closing, fragmentation of 'Vocem iocunditatis' may be seen as unusual. Yet it is not without parallels in the *Choralis*. One of the most tantalising of these parallels may be found in CCII/8. Int., b. 10-13, for it treats the same word, 'terra(-rum)'.[29]

The introit verse is simpler than that of the CCI setting. The paired structure of its opening is widespread in the *Choralis*. The tenor's initial motif (*c'-g-a-c'*) provides the only instance of cantus firmus material appearing outside the discantus voice. The remainder of the section applies a neutrally florid and free counterpoint behind which it is difficult to isolate a single individual's hand.

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[28] DTÖ 16/i, p. 39.
[29] DTÖ 16/i, p. 56.

Aspects of MunBS 29's texture and partwriting reinforce the impression that the piece is much older than the manuscript in which it is preserved. Apart from the trio passage in the introit antiphon, where it was sensible to clear the cantus firmus out of the way to allow motivic repetition, the setting preserves a relatively consistent full four-voiced texture. In this it is similar to the WeimB A high feasts (see below), and exemplifies a German compositional preference from around the turn of the sixteenth century that was later to give way to more transparent writing. Even the CCI setting is more flexible and varied in this respect than MunBS 29, a factor that may further support the hypothesis that the former setting dates from later in Isaac's career than the majority of his music for the *temporale*. Turning to the partwriting, configurations such as that found in b. 22, where a suspension is sounded against its resolution, then arrives on a bare octave, are not unknown in Isaac, although they become increasingly avoided amongst the composers of later generations (see also e.g. CCIII/2. Allel. 1, b. 11, discantus and altus).[30]

The stylistic analyses of both 'Vocem iocunditatis' settings together lead to the following conclusions:

i) Neither piece shows any feature that allows Isaac's authorship to be ruled out (although, on the other hand, it cannot be confirmed in either case).

ii) The CCI setting uses a number of procedures that are rare in the context of the *temporale* cycles as a whole; these may indicate a later compositional date.

iii) The MunBS 29 setting shows features that suggest it to be much older than the source in which it is preserved.

These conclusions allow a reassessment of the possibilities given at the opening of this discussion. They argue against a loss to the print-models (possiblities (ii) and (iv)), for in all other known similar instances either another piece from elsewhere in the *Choralis* was reused,

[30] CuylerCCIII, p. 79.

or, in the case of CCI/26, a piece was added that was quite out of stylistic keeping with the rest. They also argue against MunBS 29 being a Munich replacement (possibilities (iii) and (iv)) because of the continued use of stylistically antiquated procedures this would involve. The only remaining possibility is the first, that both settings are by Isaac. There is, on the one hand, no contradictory evidence to this conclusion, and on the other, some available explanations, including the requirements of the liturgy. If this is accepted, then stylistic evidence would suggest that the MunBS 29 setting is the earlier: it has more in common with the first layer of Isaac's mass-proper output found in Weim B A than does the CCI setting.

WeimB A: Variant Versions of CCI Items

If Jürgen Heidrich's dating of the manuscript WeimB A is to be believed, and there is every indication that it is, then this source is the earliest to contain *Choralis* music, preceding the next by at least two decades. Comparison to the print allows the items it preserves to be divided into four categories:

i) Exact concordances.

ii) Variants with an exact relationship to pieces in the *Choralis*, e.g. they share a voice-part. These are all within cycles that are otherwise exactly *Choralis*-concordant.

iii) Settings indirectly related or unrelated to those of the *Choralis*, embedded within otherwise *Choralis*-concordant cycles. These always treat the same cantus firmus.

iv) Entire cycles not found in the *Choralis*. Those for Christmas and Epiphany have *Choralis* counterparts (in CCII), but there is no relation between any of the movements.

Category (i) clearly presents no problems. Included within it are the entirely concordant, but abbreviated, tracts. Category (iv) will be discussed separately below.[31] The present discussion is concerned with categories (ii) and (iii).

Category (ii) comprises eight pieces (numbers are from Table 4, above):

[38]	Dom. II post epiphania	Int. 'Omnis terra adoret'
[43]	Dom. III post epiphania	Comm. 'Mirabantur omnes'
[48]	Dom. in sexagesima	Tract 'Commovisti domine terram'
[51]	Dom. in quinquagesima	Tract 'Iubilate domino omnis terra'
[53]	In capite ieiunii	Int. 'Misereris/omnium domine'
[77]	Dom. III in quadragesima	Comm. 'Passer invenit sibi domum/et turtur nidum'
[95]	Dom. in passione	Comm. 'Hoc corpus quod pro vobis tradetur/hic calix'
[104]	Dom. palmarum	Int. 'Domine/ne longe facias auxilium'

In addition, two introit verses, in pieces [44] and [75], are slightly variant in their non-cantus firmus parts. Both are fully discussed and transcribed by Heidrich.[32] The present discussion will focus on the eight listed pieces. Numbers [38], [43], [77], [95], and [104] shall be dealt with first. The remainder, numbers [48], [51], and [53], will be dealt with separately because they form a distinct sub-group characterised by the importation of secular material in combination with the cantus firmus. The analysis of each of the eight category (ii) pieces aims, firstly, to seek musical evidence for the direction of the dependency. Whilst it was suggested above, on historical grounds, that the *Choralis* variants that differ from WeimB A in not importing secular material may be products of revision at the Bavarian court in the 1520s, such an origin need not necessarily be carried over to the other kinds of variants. As such, the analyses will also consider what role, if any, Isaac may have played in the respective versions of these other types.

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[31] See section IV.5.
[32] See *Chorbücher*, 228 & 244.

The introit 'Omnis terra adoret' [38] and the communion 'Mirabantur omnes' [43] present the simplest of the variants between WeimB A and the *Choralis*: they differ only in that the normally monophonic incipit is also set in polyphony and integrated into the remainder of the music.[33] Because monophonic incipits for introits and communions are almost universally observed throughout Isaac's mass-proper output, it may initially seem that the WeimB A versions are adaptations from regular settings following the normal format. Yet further examination suggests that this conclusion may be hasty. Firstly, although no communion in the *Choralis* has a polyphonic incipit, there is an isolated example of this occurring in an introit, that for All Saints (CCII/21).[34] In this latter case, the incipit and the remainder of the music are so organically linked that there can be no question of later doctoring. Secondly, a wider survey of mass-propers shows that the conventions regarding the treatment of incipits were not fixed. Senfl was to avoid chant incipits in his cycles for the first eleven Sundays after Pentecost. Other sources, such as MunBS 3154, RISM 1539[14], and RISM 1545[5], present some of their incipits in unmeasured four-part homophony.[35] This is perhaps indicative of an unwritten practice of improvising harmonies for these sections, a practice that would clearly significantly narrow the gap between monophony and polyphony. Thirdly, introits and communions with polyphonic incipits are just as unique and curious in the context of WeimB A as they are in the *Choralis*, yet both nonetheless occur. If the WeimB A versions are to be considered as later modifications, then motivations must be sought for making them, yet none presents itself. *A priori* judgement of any relationship must be suspended, and closer examination undertaken.

The WeimB A setting of 'Omnis terra adoret' [38] proceeds identically to CCI/31 from b. 6, with a small number of trivial variants: the D-minor sonority found in WeimB A at the point at which the CC setting begins appears as F-major in the latter version due to changed initial bassus and altus pitches; a number of notes differ in tying or breaking, and

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[33] Compare the transcriptions given in Volume II, p. 56-60 and p. 64-67, with DTÖ 5/i, p. 141 and p. 148.

[34] DTÖ 16/i, p. 161.

[35] See Noblitt (ed.), *Der Kodex des Magister Nicolaus Leopold: Staatsbibliothek München Mus. Ms. 3154* (Kassel, etc., 1987); Georg Rhau, *Musikdrucke VIII: Officia Paschalia de Resurrectione et Ascensione Domini*, ed. Robert L. Parker (Kassel, etc., 1988), 122, 198; Rhau, *Musikdrucke XII*, 291.

there is one difference of decoration; in b. 16 of the verse, the print gives two minims, *g'-f'* in the discantus voice, whilst WeimB A and MunBS 39 give a semibreve *g'*, which is preferable because it avoids an awkward dissonance with the bassus and altus. WeimB A's polyphonic incipit is quite consistent in style both with the remainder of the setting and with the openings of Isaac's CCI introits in general. The opening chant phrase is assigned to the discantus, the principal cantus firmus-bearing voice throughout the whole setting. This phrase is divided into two units separated by a rest (b. 2). The first unit begins the piece, accompanied in free counterpoint by the altus. The tenor and bassus successively imitate the cantus firmus, each at one semibreve's distance (the bassus slightly modifies the pattern). The second unit ('terra', discantus b. 2-4) is stated twice. It is first heard as a discantus-altus-bassus trio. Following this, the discantus falls silent, and the unit is restated with identical rhythm (excepting the extended initial pitch) in the tenor. The surrounding counterpoint from the bassus and altus varies sufficiently in the course of this repetition to mask the structure. Most obviously, the final notes of the phrase form a cadence on A when first heard, and on D when repeated. The cadence at the end of the repetition of the incipit's second unit blends seamlessly into the next cantus firmus phrase in the discantus. It is at this point that the CC setting begins. An opening at this point provides a structure very similar to that found in the WeimB A setting. The cantus firmus phrase for 'adoret' is imitated between discantus and tenor at a semibreve's distance, whilst the altus and bassus provide free contrapuntal accompaniment. As cantus firmus imitation is used throughout the course of the setting, the procedures in neither WeimB A nor CCI stand out as significant opening gestures (cf. WeimB A, b. 11, A. and D.; b. 25, A. and D.; b. 29, D. and T.). It is thus impossible, with the musical evidence of this piece in isolation and the surrounding confusion about the meaning of polyphonic incipits, to decide whether the WeimB A or the CC version came first. Suggestive indications of the priority of WeimB A may be found in the other piece that differs from the CC in exactly the same way, the communion 'Mirabantur omnes' [43]. The conclusions from that piece may be brought back to bear on 'Omnis terra'.

It was Heidrich who first noticed that the communion 'Mirabantur omnes' [43] is like 'Omnis terra' in that it is identical to the setting in the *Choralis* (CCI/32. Comm.) except that its incipit is also set in polyphony.[36] The *Choralis* version begins at WeimB A's b. 6, excluding the altus *d'*. The polyphonic incipit of WeimB A is stylistically in keeping with the rest of the setting. It opens in a manner not uncommon amongst CCI communions: the lower three parts begin together, with cantus firmus material in the altus and free counterpoint in the bassus and tenor; the discantus enters shortly after, in imitation of the altus (cf. e.g. CCI/29. Comm.).[37] This pre-imitation of the cantus firmus phrase assures the incipit's integrity with the subsequent music, because the two remaining cantus firmus units are characterised by the same feature ('de his', in T., b. 6 and D., b. 8; 'que procedebant…', A., b. 10 and D., b. 11). The configuration of the opening of the *Choralis* version of this communion, however, is not regular. There is no parallel elsewhere in the CCI communions for the isolated entry of a voice with free material before the appearance of the main cantus firmus-bearing voice (cf. b. 2, A.). Under normal circumstances, such isolated opening entries state cantus firmus material (cf. e.g. CCI/36. Comm. and 42. Comm.).[38] On the other hand, the procedure is typical within a movement, once a setting is underway. This suggests that the WeimB A setting was first, and that its opening polyphony was later excised, to bring it into line with the standard communion format. Perhaps Isaac initially viewed a polyphonic inicipit as desirable because otherwise the piece would be extremely short. As it stands in the *Choralis*, 'Mirabantur' is the briefest of the CCI communions.

The remaining WeimB A variants differ from their *Choralis* counterparts more substantially than 'Omnis terra' and 'Mirabantur'. The communion 'Passer invenit' [77] is related to CCI/39. Comm. through many identities of pitch and rhythm in the discantus line during the first half of the piece.[39] Some similarities of counterpoint also occur.[40] It is possible to attribute some of these connections to coincidence. Identities in counterpoint may

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[36] Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 227.
[37] DTÖ 5/i, p. 136.
[38] DTÖ 5/i, p. 176, 232.
[39] Vol. II, p. 91; DTÖ 5/i, p. 208.
[40] See Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 245.

automatically arise when reusing the same discantus cantus firmus. Within the cantus firmus itself, the rhythmic patterns are to some extent stereotypical, consisting of initial regular and equal semibreves followed by the standard cadential formula shape of the *clausula cantizans*.[41] Yet comparison with other paired chant settings shows that the number of connections between the two versions of 'Passer invenit' is higher than would ordinarily be expected.[42] This suggests that it is not misplaced to posit a direct relationship between the WeimB A setting and that of the *Choralis*.

Evidence must now be sought to resolve the question of priority and to uncover possible motivations for making a new setting. Music-structural analysis begins to suggest answers to both issues. The two settings explore their cantus firmus material in contrasted ways. Imitative treatments predominate in the WeimB A version. It opens in paired imitation, between the bassus/altus and tenor/discantus. Pre-imitations of the discantus cantus firmus occur in the bassus, b. 5-7, in the tenor, b. 17-21, and again in the bassus, b. 29-31. In b. 52-53, the tenor imitates the free motif of the bassus. The CC setting, on the other hand, imitates cantus firmus material only once, in the tenor at b. 64-65. There is only one other instance of imitative writing of any kind in the setting, at b. 1-2, between tenor and altus. This does not involve the cantus firmus, but its counterpoint. For the remainder of the setting the free voices are related neither to each other nor to the cantus firmus. The fact that two of the instances of imitation in WeimB A involve a cantus firmus line that is shared with the CC version suggests that priority should be accorded to the former setting. It is less likely that unexploited imitative possibilities would lie dormant, only to be revealed later, than vice-versa.

Further stylistic distinctions may be found between the two settings. Firstly, they differ in their approaches to vocal scoring. In WeimB A, full four-voiced texture is relatively consistently maintained. The discantus in particular has no rest longer than a breve (and this only once, in b. 17). The most extended passage in fewer than four voices occurs when the

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[41] On sixteenth-century terminology for cadences, see Meier, *The Modes of Classical Polyphony*, 89-122. On the problem of negotiating between on-the-beat equal semibreves and the syncopated *clausula cantizans*, see Martin Just, 'Polyphony Based on Chant in a Late Fifteenth-Century German Manuscript', *Music in the German Renaissance*, ed. Kmetz, 133.

[42] Compare WeimB A pieces [2], [3], [37], [40], [46], [52], [55], [60], [84], and [86], discussed below.

bassus falls silent and the upper three voices proceed in *fauxbourdon* at b. 57-59. The CC version has more lengthy reduced-voice passages, including a whole phrase in which the discantus voice is silent and the cantus firmus is momentarily assigned to the tenor (b. 36-40). The more flexible approach of the CC version again suggests that it is the later of the pair. Secondly, the CC version closes with a section in *proportio sesquialtera*, a feature never found in the WeimB A variants.

No feature of either version of 'Passer invenit' militates against Isaac's authorship. It is thus possible that he himself made, or supervised, the revision. If a desire simply to make a new setting for musical variety is not a sufficient explanation for why he may have done this, one further possibility suggests itself. The chant forms on which the cantus firmi are based are different in the two settings. It may or may not be significant that the CC uses a form that is closer to that of the GP (see Table 5, below):

Bar (WeimB A / CC)	**WeimB A**	**CC**	**(GP)**
17-18 / 19-20	*c''-a'-c''*	*c''-b♭'-c''*	*c'-b♭-c'*
24 / 27	*a'-g'*	*a'-f'*	*a-f*
36-37 / 41-42	*d'-f'-d'-e'*	*f'-g'-d'-f'*	*f-d-f-g*
46-47 / 52-53	*c''-d''-b♭'*	*c''-d''-c''-b♭'*	*c'-d'-c'-d'*

Table 5. Chant Forms of *Passer invenit* in WeimB A and CCI

The communion 'Hoc corpus quid pro vobis tradetur/hic calix' [95] is related to its CC counterpart (CCI/41) in the same way as that found with 'Passer invenit'.[43] The WeimB A 'Hoc corpus' has a significantly longer monophonic incipit than the CC setting, yet, once polyphony is underway, many cantus firmus phrases are identical in pitch and rhythm.[44] As with 'Passer invenit', this occurs too frequently to be dismissed as chance. Imitative structures in 'Hoc corpus' are less helpful than in the previous instance in suggesting an order of

[43] Vol. II, p. 103; DTÖ 5/i, p. 223.
[44] Tabulated in Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 248.

priority, because they are either shared by both settings or too short to be significant (for the former, cf. the phrase 'hic calix', WeimB A, b. 1-2, CC, b. 12-14, and for the latter, 'novi', WeimB A, b. 5, CC, b. 16-17). However, one feature of the discantus cantus firmus phrase 'est in meo' hints that WeimB A may have been first. This phrase is shared by both settings (cf. WeimB A, D., b. 9-15, CC, D., b. 23-29). The minim-semibreve motif for the two pitches of the word 'in' is offset from the surrounding material by minim rests (WeimB A, b. 12, CC, b. 25-26). Isaac typically uses such isolation of short cantus firmus motifs only when he intends to transfer it in dialogue, or so-called 'hocket', between the voices.[45] This is precisely what happens in the WeimB A version. Indeed, b. 11-12 of the WeimB A setting consist of a precise *redicta* of the entire contrapuntal texture that is highly typical of Isaac in this context. This process is avoided, however, in the CC setting, although the space to permit it still remains.

As with the previous communion, no feature of either version of 'Hoc corpus' allows Isaac's authorship to be ruled out. On the contrary, many moments in both settings are characteristic of his approach to chant-setting. In WeimB A, the simultaneous rest and re-entry of all parts in b. 31-32 is typical of Isaac's rhetorical style.[46] In the CC version, the syncopated treatment of the cantus firmus phrase 'dicit dominus' has many parallels throughout the *Choralis*. Isaac particularly favoured such cross-rhythms. Although Isaac may thus have been responsible for both settings, the motivations behind making a second version are unclear. There is no difference in chant-form, although the form used in the polyphony differs from that given in the GP.

The introit for Palm Sunday, 'Domine/ne longe facias' [104] is more precisely related to its CC counterpart than the two just-discussed communions.[47] The introit verse is exactly the same as that of the CC in all voices. Throughout the antiphon, the lower three parts differ entirely between the two settings, but the discantus voice is almost identical in pitches and

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[45] On this (however incorrect) use of the word 'hocket', see Webern's preface to DTÖ 16/i, x.

[46] Such devices would later be classified by Burmeister, although they were in use considerably before that time. See Patrick Macey, 'Josquin and Musical Rhetoric: *Miserere mei, Deus* and Other Motets', *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Sherr, 485-530.

[47] Vol. II, p. 109; DTÖ 5/i, p. 225.

rests. Apart from trivial variants, only two differences must be noted. Firstly, from b. 46-50 the discantus is silent in the CC version, with the cantus firmus migrating to the tenor. In WeimB A, the cantus firmus remains in the discantus. The proportions remain identical in both settings. Secondly, from b. 56 the two settings part company, offering independent closing bars.

Analysis of the music points in favour of priority being given to the CC version. This version is characterised by systematic pre-imitation of almost every cantus firmus phrase in the altus voice, whilst WeimB A has no imitation of the cantus firmus line at all (cf. in the respective settings, b. 1-7, 11-14, 15-19, 20-22, 25-29, 30-31, 39-42, 50-52). It is unlikely that such extensive imitation would have been possible simply by chance in a pre-existent line. WeimB A's alterations of the CC version's perfectly acceptable underparts must thus be examined to find motivations for the change, and indications of authorship. As the cantus firmus line is identical in both settings, there is no question of a desire to set a different chant form.

The lower voices of the WeimB A setting do not provide new and haphazard counterpoints to the cantus firmus. Rather, they are structured around the pervasive use of a motif that first appears in b. 1, in the tenor voice (*d-f-g-a-g*).[48] This initially seems to be a pre-imitation of the discantus cantus firmus in b. 2. From b. 7 onwards, however, this same motif occurs in almost every bar of the piece. It may derive from the monophonic incipit (see Table 6, overleaf):[49]

[48] Motifs, both here and in subsequent discussion, are determined to be significant if they occur (i) clearly offset on either side by rests, (ii) repeatedly, and (iii) with some consistency of rhythm.

[49] Heidrich considers the motif to be of unidentified secular origin. See *Chorbücher*, 250.

Bar	Voice	Initial Pitch
7-8	T.	*d*
10	B.	*A*
11-12	B.	*d*
14	B.	*A*
16-17	B.	*A*
18-19	T.	*d*
20	A.	g (initial rising 4th)
21	T.	g (initial rising 4th)
22	B.	g (initial rising 4th)
25-26	T.	*a*
27	B.	*d*
27-28	A.	*a*
28-29	T.	*d*
31-32	B.	*d*
35-36	T.	*a*
39	T.	*d*
41	B.	*d*
41-42	T.	*d*
43	B.	*A*
46-47	B.	*A*
48	T.	*a*
50	T.	*a*
52	T.	*d*
54-55	B.	*A*
56	T.	*a*

Table 6. Motivic Recurrence in the Introit *Domine/ne longe facias* (WeimB A [104])

The organisation of these motifs shows no deducible formal structure. They seem to be placed wherever possible, further supporting the hypothesis that this version is later than that of the *Choralis*.

The pervasive use of an ostinato motif against the cantus firmus occurs with surprising frequency in the music of WeimB A. It appears in seven pieces besides 'Domine/ne longe facias': [37], [40], [51], [53], [84], [96], and [100].[50] Although such ostinati were widely used in mass-ordinaries and motets by many of Isaac's contemporaries, including Josquin and Obrecht, a wider survey of mass-proper settings in particular shows that it was an extremely unusual technique in that genre, both in Isaac's time and later. No settings with this feature may be found, for instance, in the mass-propers of either Senfl or Rener, nor amongst the mass-propers of MunBS 3154 and the two volumes of *officia* issued by Georg Rhau. At least six examples, however, may be found in mass-propers securely attributed to Isaac: in CCII/13. Int.; CCII/14. Int.; CCI/20. Int.; CCI/36. Tr.; CCI/40. Tr.; and CCII/19. Int. vs. The latter four have not previously been noticed. Brief details of each shall be given before returning to WeimB A [104].

The closest of these examples to 'Domine/ne longe facias' is found in the introit of the cycle for the Visitation of Mary (CCII/13).[51] A pervasive scalic figure, to the word 'Gaudeamus', appears throughout the introit antiphon.[52] The distribution amongst the voices is more structured than WeimB A, running twice through all four parts in the same order, before reducing by successive omission of the last voice in the series (see Table 7, overleaf):

[50] Vol. II, p. 53, 60, 76, 82, 95, 105.
[51] DTÖ 16/i, p. 95.
[52] There may be a connection here with Josquin's *Missa Gaudeamus*.

Bar	Voice	Initial Pitch
1	T.	*f*
7	B.	*c*
12	A.	*f*
17	D.	*f'*
20	T.	*f*
25	B.	*c*
28	A.	*f*
32	D.	*f'*
36	T.	*f*
38	B.	*c*
42	A.	*f*
46	T.	*f*
51	B.	*c*

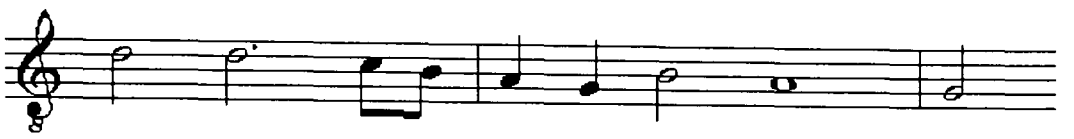
Table 7. Motivic Recurrence in CCII/13. Int.

The introit of the cycle for Mary Magdalen (CCII/14) counterpoints the cantus firmus with the text and melody of a litany pleading for intercession ('Sancta Maria Magdalena, ora pro nobis').[53] The figure is distributed in a rational manner, being passed three times from altus to tenor to bassus. The rhythmic shape of each statement and the distances between them vary to allow it to fit against the cantus firmus satisfactorily (cf. b. 1, 10, and 14; b. 19, 24, and 28; b. 33, 39, and 45).[54]

The ostinato motifs of the remaining four examples have hitherto gone unnoticed. In all of these cases the motivic material remains unidentified and is not related to the cantus firmus. It is hoped that future research may identify sources for some or all of them. The introit for the eighteenth Sunday after Pentecost (CCI/20) contains repeated use of a figure

[53] DTÖ 16/i, p.105.
[54] The use of an imported litany has a parallel in WeimB A [100]. See below.

with a pronounced melodic and rhythmic shape.[55] *Fusae* are relatively rare elsewhere in Isaac's propers, hence their recurrent use as part of the motif gives this introit a distinctive character (see Music Example 1 and Table 8, below):



Music Example 1. Recurring Motif in CCI/20. Int. Pitch as first appearance.

Bar	Voice	Initial Pitch
15-17	T.	*d'*
17-19	B.	*g*
22-24	T.	*d'*
25-27	B.	*d*
38-40	T.	*d'*
40-42	T.	*d'*

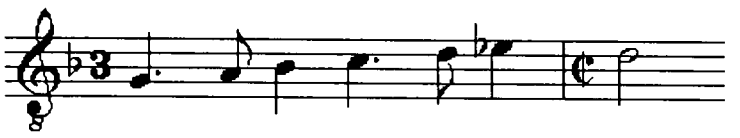
Table 8. Motivic Recurrence in CCI/20. Int.

The third section of the tract for Ash Wednesday (CCI/36; section beginning 'Adiuva nos, Deus') contains an unusually high number of coloured passages in its lower three voices.[56] These passages are offset visually and aurally both from the cantus firmus in the discantus, which never has such coloration, and from the surrounding music within each part, which is in the customary *tempus imperfectum diminutum*. The coloured material shows a consistency of shape on all its appearances that cumulatively lends it significance. The dotted rhythmic pattern and rising scalic shape is used in coloured passages in other CCI tracts, yet these other appearances are isolated rather than repeated (cf. CCI/33. Tr. section 3, 'Si

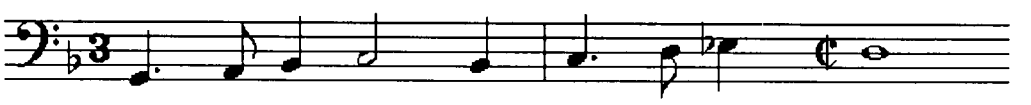
[55] DTÖ 5/i, p. 94.
[56] DTÖ 5/i, p. 174.

iniquitates', and section 4, 'Quia apud'; CCI/35. Tr. section 2, 'Intrate').[57] Two related forms of the material are found, differing in their openings (see Music Example 2 and Table 9, below):

(i)



(ii)



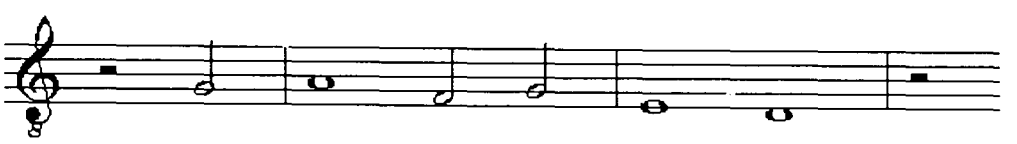
Musical Example 2. Recurring Motifs in CCI/36. Tr. section 3.

Bar (numbering from beginning of section)	**Voice**	**Initial Pitch**	**Form**
14	T.	*g*	(i)
16-17	B.	*d*	(i)
18-19	B.	*d*	(i)
22-23	T.	*g*	(i)
24-25	B.	*G*	(ii)
26-27	T.	*g*	(ii)
30	B.	*G*	(i)
31-32	T.	*g*	(i)
32-33	B.	*G*	(ii)
39-40	B.	*G*	(ii)
41-42	T.	*g*	(i)
43-44	B.	*G*	(ii)

Table 9. Motivic Recurrence in CCI/36. Tr. section 3

[57] DTÖ 5/i, p. 153-54, 165.

The first section of the tract for 'Laetare' Sunday (CCI/40) makes repeated use of a pitch pattern consisting of a twofold rising step plus falling third, closing with a final descending step.[58] The motif is very close in its shape and manner of presentation to the secular imports found in WeimB A [48], [51], and [53], discussed below. The motif draws attention to itself on its first appearance through a combination of factors. Equal-semibreve rhythm is used, a treatment normally accorded only to cantus firmus material. The motif is the first material presented by the tenor voice, which enters in isolation, three breves later than all the remaining parts (see Music Example 3 and Table 10, below):[59]



Music Example 3. Recurring Motif in CCI/40. Tr. section 1. Basic shape (T., b. 18).

[58] DTÖ 5/i, p. 213-14.

[59] Cf. also the introit for Easter (CCII/6; DTÖ 16/i, p. 39). There, the bassus enters alone following the incipit, with the imported *cantio*, 'Christ ist erstanden', in breves and semibreves. The introit for the Presentation of Mary (CCII/23; DTÖ 16/i, p. 174) opens with imitation of a non-cantus firmus related motif in the altus, tenor, and discantus (the cantus firmus, in the bassus voice, enters in b. 3). All the signs point to this constituting a significant quote. The tract for 'Invocavit' Sunday (CCI/37; DTÖ 5/i, p. 179) begins with a prominent melodic shape in the lower parts, heard first in the tenor, and imitated in the altus. This melody is not related to the cantus firmus. This too could be a quotation.

Bar	Voice	Initial Pitch	Comments
4-6	T.	*c′*	Note-values all semibreves
5-8	B.	*c′*	Minims elaborated as *B-A-B-c*
9-11	T.	*c′*	Penultimate semibreve divided into two minims, *a-d′*
11-13	T.	*g*	Two minims as dotted minim-semiminim
15-17	T.	*c′*	End altered to cadence on *d′*
18-20	T.	*g*	
21-22	T.	*d′*	End extended
23-25	B.	*g*	
27-30	T.	*c′*	Note-values doubled
31-33	T.	*c′*	End extended
32-34	A.	*c′*	Final semibreve as minim, then extended
35-38	T.	*c′*	Internally decorated and extended
39-41	T.	*c′*	
41-43	B.	*g*	
43-45	T.	*c′*	Closes on penultimate pitch
49-52	T.	*c′*	Penultimate semibreve divided into two minims, *a-c′*

Table 10. Motivic Recurrence in CCI/40. Tr.

Finally, in the verse of the introit for the Dedication of a Church (CCII/19), the bassus voice twice states a descending tetrachord, beginning on *f*, in equal semibreves.[60] After a minim's rest, the same pattern is again twice stated, beginning on *b♭*. After another minim's rest, a two-fold repetition of the pattern is stated for a third time, returning to the initial pitch of *f*. These final statements modify the rhythm, dotting the first semibreve, and accordingly reducing the second to a minim (see Table 11, overleaf):

[60] DTÖ 16/i, p. 141-42.

Bar	Initial Pitch	Comments
1-2	*f*	Equal semibreves
3-4	*f*	Equal semibreves
5-6	*b* ♭	Separated beforehand by a minim rest; equal semibreves
7-8	*b* ♭	Equal semibreves
10-11	*f*	Separated beforehand by a minim rest; 1st semibreve dotted, 2nd a minim
12-13	*f*	

[14-16: free conclusion; initially preserves descending contour]

Table 11. Motivic Recurrence in CCII/19. Int. vs.

Given the number of examples of ostinato motif usage found in Isaac, and its absence in mass-propers by others, it does not seem excessive to consider this feature to be a positive indicator of his authorship. Returning with this conclusion to WeimB A's 'Domine/ne longe facias' suggests that the setting is Isaac's work, whether it is later than the CC version or not. The repetitions in 'Domine/ne longe facias' are not functionless. They are rhetorical, motivated by, and emphasising, the supplicant nature of the text, which begs God to listen to the plea of the praying soul:

> Domine, ne longe facias auxilium tuum a me, ad defensionem meam aspice, libera me de ore leonis et a cornibus unicornium humilitatem meam.
>
> (Lord, do not take your help from me, look upon my defence, free me from the mouth of the lion and my lowliness from the horns of the unicorns.)

The incorporation of the pitch-pattern associated with the opening vocative 'Lord' into the lower parts of the WeimB A version seeks more effectively to gain God's attention. The

decision to recompose in this way may have resulted from a feeling that Palm Sunday, a day of the greatest liturgical significance, required more special treatment than it had hitherto received. Perhaps an alteration was made to ask for intercession for a particular event and Palm Sunday presented an especially favourable opportunity to do this. Whatever the motivation behind the variants of this piece, the musical evidence that the CC (and MunBS 39) version is earlier than that of WeimB A is surprising in relation to the source datings. It implies that, despite being copied over twenty years later, MunBS 39 may preserve versions that precede those of WeimB A. However, this is certainly not the case in every instance, as the first example from the WeimB A sub-group that imports secular material will show. What is clear is that one blanket hypothesis regarding the relation between the conflicting versions of the CC and WeimB A will not suffice.

WeimB A [48], [51], and [53] all import secular material, identified as such in the manuscript, into a framework in which one or more voice-parts are identical to their counterpart settings in the *Choralis*.[61] Number [48], the tract for Sexagesima Sunday, is the simplest of the group. As it is found in WeimB A, the second section of the piece begins with a statement of the opening phrase of the German song 'In feuers hitz' in the altus voice, in counterpoint with the cantus firmus in the discantus.[62] No further statements from the song occur in any voice, although the text 'seind ich dich meiden muss' is underlain midway through the altus (b. 68-70). The altus melody at this point bears some similarities of contour to that phrase of 'In feuers hitz', but is sufficiently disguised to escape immediate detection. The *Choralis* version of this tract section (CCI/34. Tr. section 2) simply omits the opening song-statement, beginning in the discantus at WeimB A's b. 45, in the altus at b. 47, and in the tenor and bassus at b. 48.[63] Thereafter, both settings proceed identically in all voices. This includes the matching of the altus line for the intermediate quote of 'seind ich dich meiden

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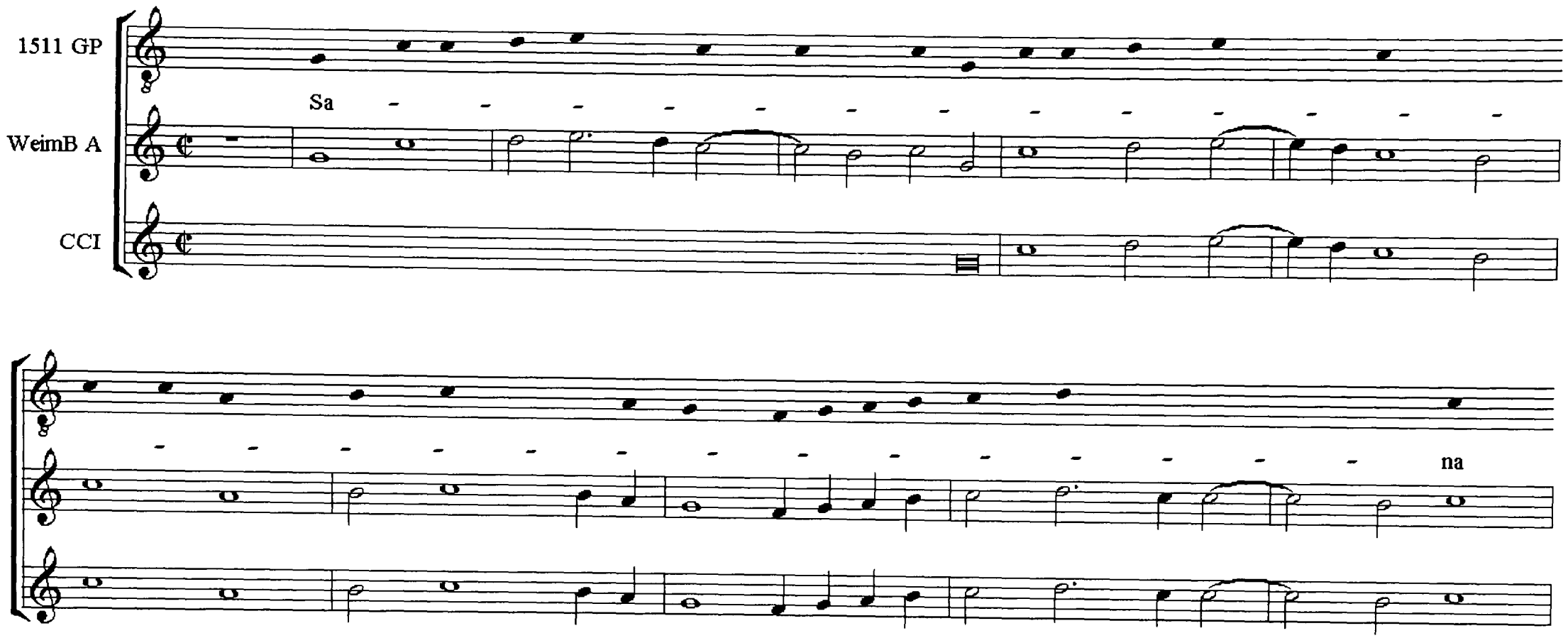
[61] JenaU 30, a manuscript related to WeimB A, gives another instance of secular material imported into a mass-proper: 'Unser sau hat fickeln firklen viel' is added to the tract of the Cathedra S. Petri cycle. See Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 240.

[62] See Volume II, title page and p. 71. Versions of 'In feuers hitz' may be found in the Glogau and Schedel songbooks, as well as in a mass attributed to Johannes Martini. See Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 230-31, on the relationship between these versions and that of WeimB A.

[63] Cf. DTÖ 5/i, p. 159.

muss'. This latter point gives the first hint that priority should be accorded to the WeimB A version. If it could still be argued that the CC version was first and that the altus line at this moment is simply free counterpoint that happens to resemble 'In feuers hitz', comparison of the respective settings' openings with the chant model allows this possibility to be dismissed (see Music Example 4, overleaf):[64]

[64] This was also observed and illustrated by Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 233.



Music Example 4. WeimB A [48] and CCI/34. Tr. section 2, Openings: Comparison with GP Chant

The repeating structure of WeimB A's opening, which may initially suggest that the song-quotation has been grafted on to the CC version, in fact matches the structure of the chant-model itself. The CC version reduces the opening repetition of the chant model to a single statement. Such a cut would be highly unusual for Isaac. The WeimB A setting must have been composed first, and, when its secular reference was later removed, part of the original cantus firmus was also lost. Whilst it is impossible to be certain when this revision was made, the simplest reading of the circumstances of the sources suggests that it occurred in Munich, in the 1520s.

WeimB A [51] and [53] both fall under the variant-type observed above in relation to 'Domine/ne longe facias' [104]. Both share an identical cantus firmus line (normally the discantus) with their *Choralis* counterparts, but differ in their other voices. Both also use their imported material as an ostinato.

The two sections of the tract for Quinquagesima [51] are both set for four voices in WeimB A, but are in reduced scoring in the *Choralis*.[65] The latter presents the first section as a trio, for discantus, altus, and bassus. The cantus firmus is exclusively in the uppermost voice, and differs from the discantus of WeimB A in only a few small details: the rhythms vary in b. 15; at b. 20-21, WeimB A has three semibreves' rest, whilst CC has one; at b. 30-31, WeimB A has two breves' rest, whilst CC has none. The *Choralis* version of the second section is a duet for tenor and bassus. The tenor carries the cantus firmus and is identical in all respects to the discantus of the WeimB A setting.

In both sections of the WeimB A version of this tract, the lower parts are dominated by a six-note motif, underlain in the source with the words 'Zcu Wirtzburg unter der linden'. The origin of this text and melody has not yet been traced.[66] The matter is complicated by the fact that there are two more text syllables than there are notes to carry them: this is most likely due to the omission of upbeats or repeated values that often happens with song quotations,

[65] Cf. Vol. II, p. 76-80 and DTÖ 5/i, p. 164-65.
[66] See Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 234-36.

rather than to a misidentification in the manuscript. The motif appears in two rhythmic guises, one a precise two-fold augmentation of the other (see Table 12, below):

Bar	Voice	Initial Note-Values
3	B.	sb.
8-9	B.	sb.
15-16	B.	mnm.
18-19	B.	sb.
22-23	A.	mnm.
24-25	T.	sb.
24	A.	mnm.
37	A.	mnm.
[section 2:]		
45	T.	mnm.
54	B.	mnm.
57	T.	mnm.
60	B.	mnm.
62	A.	mnm.
63-64	T.	mnm.

Table 12. WeimB A [51], 'Zcu Wirtzburg' Motif

The issue of priority cannot be determined from analysis of the music. None of the variants in the cantus firmus line suggest that one version preceded the other, nor do the underparts of either setting contain any rigorous structures for which planning in the cantus firmus line would have been necessary. Although the WeimB A setting repeats the 'Zcu Wirtzberg' motif in a consistent rhythmic shape, its ability to provide ideal counterpoint to the conventional *clausula cantizans* figure means that it could conceivably have been inserted

against a pre-existent line. When not stating this figure, the lower parts are free and unrelated either to each other or to the cantus firmus. This freedom applies equally to the lower parts of the CC version. They consist of florid passagework that is characteristic of Isaac's reduced-voice writing. There is but a solitary moment of imitation, at the beginning of the second section. This is shared by both settings.

Regarding authorship, both versions could have been composed by Isaac. It was detailed above that the importation and repetition of small motifs, such as is found in the WeimB A version, seem peculiar to him when they appear in mass-propers. On the other hand, the texture and style of the three- and two-part writing found in the CC version fits squarely into his customary treatments of these scorings and is reminiscent of his instrumental writing. The vocal parts span an extremely wide range, particularly the bassus (*F-d'*).

The antiphon of the WeimB A introit to Ash Wednesday, 'Misereris/omnium' [53], has a discantus line identical to that of CCI/36. Int. (trivial differences may be noted in b. 2-3, 8, 36, and 45). In addition, both settings have an almost identical duet passage between b. 36 and b. 45: the upper, altus voice is exactly the same in both settings, whilst the lower part is assigned to the bassus in WeimB A but to the tenor in the CC. The verse is identical in all voices in both settings, but for a trivial difference in the altus, b. 4.[67]

The lower parts of the WeimB A setting of the antiphon reiterate a small motif, consisting of a descending third and a stepwise rise back to the starting pitch. The motif appears firstly beginning on *f'*, but is later subject to a variety of transpositions once its significance has been highlighted. Its closing pattern is frequently altered, occasionally with the addition of a free melodic extension. The fact that patterns similar to the motif may naturally arise in cadential counterpoint allows a rich network of connections to be established. There is also some rhythmic flexibility: the initial repeated minims are sometimes amalgamated into a semibreve, and the dotted pattern of the stepwise ascent is sometimes equalised (see Table 13, overleaf):

---

[67] Cf. Vol. II, p. 82 and DTÖ 5/i, p. 169.

Bar	Voice	Initial Pitch	Comments
1	A.	*f′*	This is the primary form
4	A.	*f′*	
8	A.	*f′*	
10	A.	*d′*	Doubled note-values
14	A.	*d′*	
16	B.	*g*	Closing falling 5th; extended
18	A.	*g′*	Extended; overlaps with next
19	T.	*d′*	Closing falling 5th; extended; overlaps with next
20	B.	*d*	Closing falling 5th; runs directly into next
22	B.	*g*	1st note is short; closing falling 5th
24	A.	*g′*	
24	T.	*d′*	1st note is short; closing falling tone; extended
26	A.	*g′*	
29	A.	*g′*	Runs directly into next
31	A.	*g′*	
33	A.	*f′*	
42	A.	*g′*	
43	A.	*g′*	Runs directly into next
51	A.	*d′*	
54	A.	*g′*	1st note is short; closing falling 4th; extended
56	T.	*d′*	
58	A.	*d′*	
60	T.	*d′*	1st note is short; ends falling 5th; overlaps
61	B.	*g*	Closing falling 5th; extended; overlaps with next
62	A.	*g′*	
65	T.	*a*	
67	T.	*d′*	Closing falling tone; extended
69	A.	*d′*	

Table 13. WeimB A [53], 'Nymmer wurst nur hering' Motif

As with tract [51], analysis cannot ascertain priority between the WeimB A or the *Choralis* setting of 'Misereris/omnium'. Both settings share the most highly structured passage, the duet from b. 36 to b. 45 involving close imitation between the two parts. Elsewhere, neither version extensively relates the lower parts either to the cantus firmus or to each other. Indeed, cantus firmus imitation and the use of a repeating motif are generally mutually exclusive techniques, even when the strictures of counterpoint do not necessarily prevent it. This applies both to the WeimB A pieces and those uncontroversially genuine examples of Isaac discussed above. This distinction may operate within a single piece: when the decision is taken to use imitation, the motif disappears for that phrase. This exclusivity is obviously sensible from the point of view of clarity, for cantus firmus imitation would mask the important motifs. The WeimB A setting of 'Misereris/omnium' is so preoccupied with its motivic treatment that the opportunity for cantus firmus imitation never presents itself, although the motif is occasionally imitated in close succession between two voices (see e.g. b. 3-4, bassus and altus). The lower parts of the CC setting contains two brief patches of imitation that could easily have been created against a pre-existent line (b. 21-23, bassus, tenor and altus; b. 60-61, bassus and discantus).

The motif used in the underparts of the WeimB A version is set to the text 'Nymmer wurst nur hering', referring to the imminent Lenten dietary regime. Heidrich discovered that this imported fragment is not from any art-song, but is a street cry, documented in sixteenth-century Swabia.[68] The transposition of the motif to no less than four different pitches may reflect this original context. The use of such material in a chant-setting was enough to prompt Heidrich to suggest Isaac's authorship for the WeimB A version.[69] From Isaac's remarkable reworking of Turkish music in his piece *La la hö hö*, Heidrich, Strohm, and others have pointed out that Isaac had a particular interest in incorporating the sounds that he heard around him into his music, an interest not evident in the music of other composers of his

[68] See Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 236-40.

[69] This conclusion was arrived at in conjunction with Heidrich's discoveries regarding the manuscript's dating and provenance. See *Chorbücher*, 239.

generation.[70] The hand of Isaac himself is thus strongly indicated behind the WeimB A version due to the nature of the imported material. This conclusion may be further supported by the fact that this material is used as an ostinato, and is in keeping with the historical-contextual placing of the source. In this light, the results of analysing the CC version are problematic in that they reveal nothing to rule out Isaac's hand behind that version too. No feature of this latter piece speaks against his authorship. Indeed, some contrapuntal structures speak in favour of a composer of his generation. There is an octave-leap cadence in b. 9-10, in which the tenor voice, providing the lowest pitch at the resolution, arrives a minim later than expected, leaving an unsupported fourth between discantus and altus. Both phenomena may be found elsewhere in Isaac's music, but are increasingly avoided amongst later composers.[71] If the adaptation was made in 1520s Munich as the source datings suggest, then it was made by a composer well-versed in Isaac's style.

The remaining pieces to be discussed in this section belong to the third of the categories into which the WeimB A music was divided at the outset of this discussion. This group comprises pieces that do not share any identical musical material with their *Choralis* counterparts, yet are found in cycles that otherwise consist of *Choralis*-concordant music. Twelve pieces belong to it. Most are communions:

[70] See Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 238-39; Strohm & Kempson, 'Isaac'. On *La la hö hö*, see Martin Staehelin & Eckhard Neubauer, 'Türkische Derwischmusik bei Heinrich Isaac', *Von Isaac bis Bach – Studien zur alteren Deutschen Musikgeschichte: Festschrift Martin Just zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Frank Heidelberger, Wolfgang Osthoff & Reinhard Wiesend (Kassel, 1991), 27-39.

[71] Other examples of octave-leap cadences are mentioned below. For other structural fourths, cf. e.g. CCI/32. Comm. b. 4 (DTÖ 5/i, p. 148).

[2]	Dom. III adventu	Allel. 'Excita domine'
[3]	Dom. III adventu	Comm. 'Dicite/pusillanimis'
[37]	Dom. I post epiphania	Comm. 'Fili quid fecisti nobis/sic ego et pater tuus'
[40]	Dom. II post epiphania	Comm. 'Dicit dominus/implete idrias aqua'
[45]	Dom in septuagesima	Tr. 'De profundis clamavi'
[46]	Dom. in septuagesima	Comm. 'Illumina/faciem tuam'
[52]	Dom. in quinquagesima	Comm. 'Manducaverunt/et saturati sunt nimis'
[55]	In capite ieiunii	Comm. 'Qui meditabitur/in lege domini'
[60]	Dom. I in quadragesima	Comm. 'Scapulis suis/obumbrati tibi'
[84]	Dom. IV in quadragesima	Int. 'Laetare/Ierusalem et conventum'
[86]	Dom. IV in quadragesima	Comm. 'Ierusalem/qui edificatur'
[106]	Dom. palmarum	Comm. 'Pater si non potest/hic calix'

The following analyses aim firstly to uncover any relationships between the WeimB A and *Choralis* settings. For even if musical material is not directly shared, higher-level points of contact can nonetheless be found between many of the pairs. This shows that a more direct relationship exists between the versions than has hitherto been admitted. Determining more precisely what that relationship is – which setting came first, what role Isaac played in both members of each pair, and what the motivations for recomposing were – remains difficult on the basis of the music alone. Three explanations may account for the pieces of this group in relation to the *Choralis*:

i) Neither setting is by Isaac, and both fill a gap.

ii) One or other of the settings is not by Isaac. Several scenarios are possible: one manuscript may present deliberate replacements of Isaac's originals; or the copyist of one of the sources may have found the cycles incomplete, and hence was required to procure the missing movements. The possibility that Isaac himself replaced music by other composers seems remote.

iii) Isaac composed both the WeimB A setting and the CC setting. Priority and the motivation for recomposing remain to be determined.

It is safe immediately to discount possibility (i). Isaac's temporal series belongs to an early phase of his activity as a composer of mass-propers, and it would make little sense for him to have left so many cycles unfinished. The pedigree of both WeimB A and the CC is reliable enough to trust that at least one or other of them preserves Isaac's own music for these sections. Deciding between possibilities (ii) and (iii) is more difficult. Some preliminary remarks are necessary before beginning stylistic analysis of the pieces themselves.

Up to now, possibility (ii) has been the accepted explanation for the WeimB A variants. The CC versions canonised in the print were agreed to be Isaac's work, whilst those of WeimB A were attributed to others. This theory had potentially the greatest credibility in the past. The necessity of accounting for the absence of Isaac's originals in WeimB A gave rise to elaborate theories involving copying from incomplete exemplars.[72] Yet the new source information of Heidrich and Lodes, and the earlier sections of this thesis, have shown that the issue is not as clear-cut as may be desired. Other solutions may therefore be permitted. The source situation and the evidence from the analyses above leave open both possibility (ii) and possibility (iii), but reverse the hitherto accepted order of priority. If only one of the settings is to be accepted as Isaac's, then it is more likely that the authentic setting is that of WeimB A, rather than that of the CC. If both are accepted as Isaac's, then that of WeimB A is most likely

[72] See e.g. Hell, 'Senfls Hand', 92-94.

to be first. So far as motivations are concerned for why settings may have been recast, adaptation for a different rite must be discounted, for each WeimB A item sets exactly the same text as its *Choralis* counterpart. However, variants of chant-form are evident and intrinsically musical exploration also cannot be ruled out.

The alleluia 'Excita domine' [2] shows connections with its CC counterpart by sharing with it a number of significant structural features.[73] Both settings begin their 'Alleluia' sections with imitation between the tenor and discantus, at two breves' distance. This is so despite the fact that the respective sections are either based on different chant-forms, or interpret their cantus firmi differently. As it is given in the GP, the chant is in mode 4, beginning and ending both 'Alleluia' and verse on the *subfinalis*. The CC setting obeys this pattern, whilst WeimB A centres each of these moments not on the *subfinalis*, but on the *finalis*. It is impossible to say whether this results from compositional intervention or from the use of another chant-form, yet in either case, an explanation for making a new setting is provided. Furthermore, both settings treat the verse text 'ut salvos facias' in a similar way. Both offset this text through a break beforehand that provides a clean separation unlike anywhere else in the rest of either piece. In WeimB A, this is achieved through holding the cadential harmony for a breve, then bringing off the discantus, altus, and bassus for another semibreve whilst the tenor sustains its cadential pitch (b. 31-32). The CC version is yet more emphatic, suspending all motion for a breve, after which occurs a minim's rest in all parts. In WeimB A, following the break, the bassus, altus, and discantus then enter in homophony in semibreves, whilst in the CC, all four parts enter in homophony. This manner of textual highlighting is a special rhetorical device that Isaac uses throughout his chant settings, albeit sparingly, usually no more than once or twice within a cycle.

Nothing rules out Isaac's authorship out for the WeimB A setting. All the techniques that it applies are familiar from authentic music. Like the CC setting, it abbreviates lengthy

[73] Vol. II, p. 26 and DTÖ 5/i, p. 129.

chant-melismas, including the 'Alleluia' *jubilus*.[74] Its division, distribution, and rhythmicisation of the cantus firmus are typical. Cantus firmus imitation between the upper three voices is a feature at various moments throughout the piece (b. 17-18, A. and D.; b. 21-22, A. and D.; b. 24-25, A. and D.; b. 27, D. and T; b. 33-34, D. and T.; CC: b. 14-16, T. and D.; b. 21-24, A. and D.; b. 27-28, A. and T.; b. 51, T. and D.). The lack of inclusion of the bassus in the scheme shows a voice hierarchy familiar from many discantus chant settings by Isaac, but which is much less common in the more homogeneous music of the generation that followed him. The flexible and artful approach to texture, contrasting these imitative passages with homophonic treatments, points to accepting this piece as Isaac's. That the CC version is later, whether it is by Isaac or not, is suggested by both transmission and style: the CC version is more free in its use of reduced-voice scorings, it appears to adhere more closely to its chant-model, and its rhetoric is more emphatic.

The communion to the same cycle, 'Dicite/pusillanimis' [3] has one point of contact with its CC counterpart (CCI/28).[75] Both settings treat the words 'Deus noster' to a repeated-note motif, derived from the cantus firmus, that is passed between all four voices (WeimB A, b. 19-21; CC, b. 16-19). Elsewhere, imitation is rare, occurring but once more in either setting (WeimB A, b. 15-16, T. and D.; CC, b. 23-25, D. and T.). This kind of disjointed syllabic declamation is a common feature of Isaac's style, and obviously suggested by the momentary syllabic nature of the cantus firmus. If this parallel need not necessarily suggest dependency, it nonetheless betrays a communality of chant-setting practice. There was no obligation to set the passage in this rhythm, divided across all four voices. Many similar cantus firmus shapes to that found at 'Deus noster' receive conventional treatment in semibreves, surrounded by more active surrounding free voices (cf. e.g. WeimB A [46], b. 4-5).

Comparison of the WeimB A and CC settings shows that the length of the monophonic incipit differs: that of WeimB A is shorter than that of the CC. Differences of

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[74] See Karp, 'Some Chant Models', 333. Wagner's assertion that Isaac always incorporates the melisma in other voices is not compelling ('Die Choralverarbeitung', 43).

[75] Vol. II, p. 28 and DTÖ 5/i, p. 131.

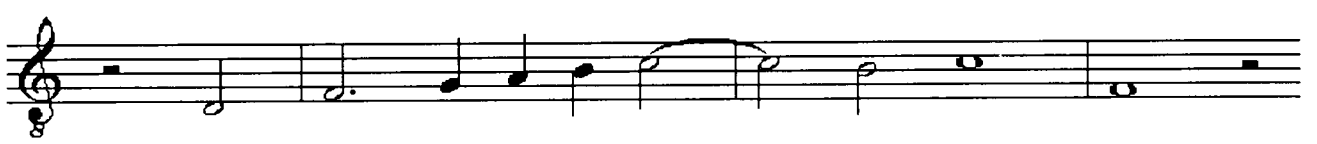
incipit length also occur in three other WeimB A pieces, 'Fili quid fecisti nobis/sic ego' [37] and 'Pater si non potest/hic calix' [106], discussed below, and 'Hoc corpus quid pro vobis tradetur/hic calix' [95], discussed above. In these three latter instances, WeimB A's incipit is longer. It is not clear what factors governed the length of an incipit, yet the need to make an alteration would provide a motivation for recomposition. Working with this hypothesis initiates a search for any traces the process may leave. Such traces are indeed discernible, allowing speculations concerning the relationship and ordering of the two settings of 'Dicite pusillanimis'. WeimB A opens conventionally in four-part homophony for the word 'pusillanimis'. Following this, the cantus firmus phrase for 'confortamini' is assigned to the altus. The discantus enters in the middle of that altus phrase with the next cantus firmus section, 'et nolite', having never stated the phrase for 'confortamini' despite being the main cantus firmus-bearing voice (b. 7). This manner of overlapping is a rare, but not unprecedented, treatment in Isaac, for noninitial cantus firmus phrases. The opening structure of the CC setting is unique amongst the CCI communions. It begins with a trio, for bassus, tenor, and altus, setting the word 'confortamini' (b. 1-5). The cantus firmus is in the altus. The discantus, the principal cantus firmus-bearing voice for the remainder of the setting, begins in b. 6, with the phrase 'et nolite'. Only two other CCI communions begin with substantial trios (CCI/20 and 43).[76] Yet neither of these is as long as that of CCI/28, nor does either involve beginning with a statement of an entire cantus firmus phrase in a subsidiary voice, only allowing the main cantus firmus-bearing voice to enter after this initial phrase has been stated. On the other hand, parallels with the treatment of this same phrase in WeimB A are clear: both settings assign the same chant phrase to the same subsidiary voice, and both disallow its appearance in the discantus. The highly unorthodox opening procedure of the CC setting, and its similarities to that point in WeimB A, lead to the conclusion that the CC version is an attempt to rework the normative treatment of WeimB A. An attempt was made to preserve some of the features of the older setting at the point at which the new one, with a longer

[76] DTÖ 5/i, p. 97, 235.

incipit, was now desired to begin. It is impossible to say with certainty what role Isaac played in this process. Neither setting shows any feature that refutes his authorship.

Of the remainder of the WeimB A pieces under discussion here, numbers [37], [40], [84], and [86] are characterised by the pitting against the cantus firmus of a recurring motif in the free voices. This clearly brings them into close alignment with pieces [51], [53], and [104], discussed above. Given the weight of evidence for Isaac's authorship of the WeimB A versions of each of these latter settings, the possibility looms large at the outset that he is also responsible for the remaining pieces sharing this characteristic.

The communion 'Fili quid fecisti nobis sic/ego et patris tuus' [37] has no points of contact with its CC counterpart beyond also setting its cantus firmus in the discantus voice.[77] The underparts are characterised by an arch-shaped motif, always beginning on the pitch of *d* (see Music Example 5 and Table 14, below):



Music Example 5. Recurring Motif in WeimB A [37]

Bar	Voice	Comments
10-13	T.	
12-14	A.	No final descent
13-16	T.	
16-18	T.	
18-21	T.	
22-25	T.	
25-27	B.	Overlaps with next
25-28	T.	
32-35	T.	

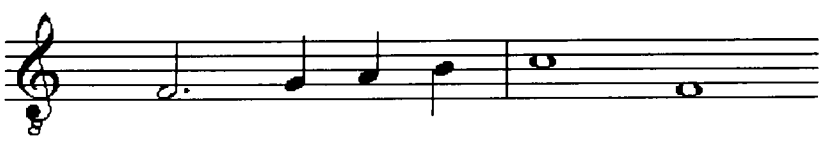
Table 14. Motivic Recurrence in WeimB A [37]

[77] Cf. Vol. II, p. 53 and DTÖ 5/i, p. 140.

The style is fully in keeping with Isaac's. The division, distribution, and rhythmicisation of the cantus firmus are all typical. Imitation of the cantus firmus in the free voices shows the mutually exclusive relationship with statements of the repeating motif noted above in relation to other WeimB A pieces, and also in secure music by Isaac. There are no further relationships between the free parts beyond that noted in Table 14, between bassus and tenor in b. 25-28. The opening structure is of a type found in many CCI communions. The counterpoint exhibits only one notable feature, an exposed fourth on the first beat of b. 30. Examples of this may also be found in Isaac.

As with 'Fili quid fecisti nobis sic/ego et patris tuus' [37], the communion 'Dicit dominus/implete hydrias' [40] has no parallels with its CC counterpart (CCI/31).[78] Yet a shared chant background, or adaptation style, is indicated by the use in both settings of a cantus firmus with identical pitch-variants in comparison to the chant-form given in the GP. Whilst it was mentioned above that the precise significance of chant forms and variants is by no means clear, the identity between the two settings is important in itself, whatever the motivation for the occurrence.

The suggestion that the free parts of 'Dicit dominus' [40] contain an ostinato motif was first advanced by Heidrich.[79] Moreover, he claimed a relationship between the motif he identified as significant and that which dominates 'Fili quid fecisti nobis' [37] (see Music Example 6 and Table 15, below; compare with Music Example 5):



Music Example 6. Motif in WeimB A [40] Noted as Important by Heidrich.

[78] Cf. Vol. II, p. 60 and DTÖ 5/i, p. 144.
[79] *Chorbücher*, 226.

Bar	Voice	Initial Pitch	Comments
8-9	T.	*f*	Not offset by previous rest
9-10	B.	*F*	
36-38	T.	*f*	
39-41	B.	*f*	Overlaps with next
40-42	T.	*c'*	
42-43	B.	*c*	
46-47	T.	*f*	
47-49	B.	*f*	Overlaps with next
48-50	T.	*c'*	

Table 15. Possible Motivic Recurrence in WeimB A [40]

Heidrich's conclusions about the significance of this motif may be seriously questioned. Its presence is highly localised and the repetitions are tied to recurring structures in the cantus firmus. Its shape is of such common currency in the music of the later-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries that it amounts to a stereotyped contrapuntal formula. Nonetheless, although the presence of a repeating motif, described above as an indicator of Isaac's authorship, must thus be ruled out, stylistic analysis of the piece on its own terms does not reveal positive evidence to refute this piece as his. The cantus firmus and free parts are treated conventionally, and show no contrapuntal procedure unknown to Isaac. The careful balance of applying or avoiding polyphonic repetition points towards Isaac or someone heavily under his influence. The cantus firmus has a number of units with identical pitch patterns. These are even given identical rhythmicisation. Yet during the course of the piece, a formulaic approach to the free-voice counterpoint that accompanies them is avoided (cf. e.g. b. 6-7 and b. 14-15; b. 37-40 and b. 41-43). Other composers of Isaac's generation were much more prone to giving such repeated units identical counterpoint.[80] The latter parts of the final two cantus firmus phrases reverse this approach. Not only is the chant for these parts identical in pitch and rhythm, but so too is the free-voice counterpoint (cf. b. 56-58 and b. 62-end; extra

[80] See e.g. Heinrich Finck's sequence 'Grates nunc omnes', in Rhau, *Musikdrucke XII*, 167-72.

closing material is added to the second of these). The creation of a parallel between the penultimate and final phrases must be classed as a deliberate compositional choice, for it was not prompted by intrinsic features of the chant. The CCI setting of the same chant avoids it, yet the repeating structure of WeimB A is one of several typical tactics Isaac used to achieve and emphasise closure (cf., as another example, CCIII/11 Int., end of antiphon).[81] Besides isolated and strategic use of repetition, other tactics of closure include delaying one voice's arrival on its closing pitches, switching to *proportio sesquialtera*, sequential patterning, and forcing a voice to depart from the ambitus in which it has operated up to that point (this may work either in an upward or downward direction, and is the rhetorical device later to be called *hypobole* or *hyperbole* by Burmeister; cf. e.g. CCIII/1. Sequ. 'Rictus bovis', altus, and 'Non est domus', bassus).[82] WeimB A [40] thus has positive stylistic indicators of Isaac's authorship. Judgement must be suspended on the CC version, for it is more neutral.

The introit for 'Laetare' Sunday, 'Laetare/Ierusalem et conventum' [84] is the only piece in the introit genre to belong to a cycle with *Choralis* concordances, yet to differ wholesale from its counterpart in the print (CCI/40).[83] There are no direct points of contact between the two settings. Nonetheless, as with [40], a shared chant background or approach to the cantus firmus adaptation is indicated by shared differences of chant-form in comparison to the GP.

There is little to comment upon in the style and distribution of the cantus firmus. However, turning to the free-voice counterpoint, it has hitherto gone unnoticed, even by Heidrich, the most recent and thorough scholar of WeimB A's music, that this introit employs a repeating melodic motif throughout (see Music Example 7 and Table 16, overleaf):

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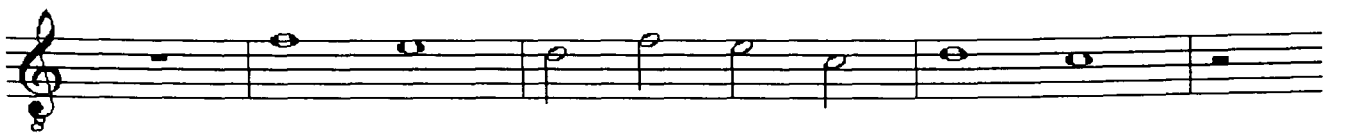
[81] CuylerCCIII, p. 332-33.
[82] CuylerCCIII, p. 72, 75.
[83] Cf. Vol. II, p. 95 and DTÖ 5/i, p. 210.



Music Example 7. Recurring Motif in WeimB A [84].

Bar	Voice	Initial Pitch	Comments
2-6	T.	*f'*	All semibreves; internal elaboration of antepenultimate pitch
12-14	B.	*f*	Last note amputated
18-20	B.	*f*	1st minim as semibreve; ending modified
23-25	B.	*f*	Opening rhythm modified
26-29	B.	*f*	Modified from 4th note
29-31	T.	*f'*	1st semibreve as minim
37-39	T.	*f'*	
40-42	T.	*c'*	1st semibreve as minim rest-minim
50-54	T.	*c'*	Internally elaborated from 4th note to counterpoint next entry
51-54	B.	*f*	
56-59	T.	*b♭*	Elaborated from 4th note
63-65	T.	*f'*	Extended from last note
[Verse:]			
1-end	T.	*f'*	Penultimate semibreve broken in two; last note held

Table 16. Motivic Recurrence in WeimB A [84]

The recurring motif appears firstly in the tenor. It claims attention through being the first material stated by that voice, and through entering a breve after the other parts, in the middle of their phrase. The motif's initial presentation is in equal semibreves, although it subsequently gains a different and consistent rhythmic shape. Its appearance in the introit verse is a particularly striking confirmation of its importance. The motif's simple melodic pattern suggests an origin in secular song.

It will be recalled from above that the first section of the tract following this introit provided one of the examples of the use of an ostinato motif in a piece securely attributable to Isaac. The manner in which that tract presents its motif is identical in format to that found in WeimB A [84]. This stylistic proximity is sufficient to suggest that WeimB A is the work either of a superb imitator or of Isaac himself. It must be admitted that the intermovement bonding that this similarity creates is rare in mass-proper cycles, not only in Isaac's time, but throughout the genre's history. Yet there are several examples of cycles by Isaac that make use of imported material in more than one movement: CCII/6 imports the *cantio* 'Christus surrexit' into its introit and the two additional chants 'Regina caeli laetare' and 'Victimae paschali' into its sequence, whilst CCII/15 imports 'Virgo prudentissima' into its introit and 'Descendi in hortum meum' into its alleluia.[84] The motivation for the imports in the two CCII cycles is clearly liturgical. An identification of the material in WeimB A [84] and [85] may help reveal the motivations for these imports as well.

The CCI counterpart to WeimB A [84] is highly unusual in its use of a double imitation-canon in its verse. There is only one other imitation-canon in CCI, in the introit for the fourth Sunday in Advent. The latter cycle, discussed below, appears in a different version, without any canon, in WeimB A, raising questions about the status of the CC version. In both instances, the desire to add a canon may provide a possible motivation for recomposing. Whether it was Isaac himself who made this change cannot be determined with security.

The communion 'Ierusalem/qui edificatur' [86] contains a repeating unit that differs from those described up to this point.[85] The tenor voice counterpoints the discantus cantus firmus not with a short pattern, but with a long phrase. This phrase is twice repeated. Its pitches and rhythms are subject to more variance than in other cases (see Table 17, overleaf):

[84] DTÖ 16/i, p. 39-41, 44-48, 113-16.
[85] Vol. II, p. 100.

Statement	Bar	Comments
I	1-14	
II	14-32	'ad dominum Deum tuum' heard twice, firstly beginning a third higher
III	32-end	Opens in equal semibreves; final phrase elaborated for the close

Table 17. Repeating Imported Material in WeimB A [86]

The source of this tenor phrase is identified through its distinct text, 'Ierusalem, Ierusalem, convertere ad dominum Deum tuum'. This is the formula traditionally used to close the readings from the Book of Jeremiah prescribed at the 'tenebrae' services of the last week of Lent. The decision to import this phrase into this communion must have been prompted both by its seasonal appropriateness, and by the mention of Jerusalem in the communion's text.

The manner in which WeimB A [86] presents its material has parallels to two movements in CCII that also import lengthy additional material and repeat it several times within the movement. The introit of CCII/6, 'Resurrexi/et adhuc tecum sum', incorporates the Easter *cantio* 'Christus surrexit' ('Christ ist erstanden') into its lower three voices, whilst the introit of CCII/18, 'Gaudeamus/omnes in domino', does the same with the antiphon 'Cum iocunditate', prescribed for the Office of the same day.[86] It is difficult to know whether this parallel is sufficient to assure Isaac's authorship of WeimB A [86]. Importation of additional chants against the cantus firmus was common in some genres in Isaac's time (e.g. the *Salve regina*). If it is true that this technique was a feature noted by Glarean as characteristic of Isaac, therefore particularly susceptible to imitation by those under his influence, it is equally true that its occurrence in mass-propers not by Isaac nonetheless remains rare. No examples

[86] DTÖ 16/i, p. 39, 134.

are found, for instance, in Senfl. It may not be coincidental that one instance of this in RISM 1539[14] is assigned to Isaac.[87]

Five WeimB A pieces, numbers [45], [46], [52], [55], [60], and [106], remain to be discussed. They are all of a conventional type, with none of the phenomena mentioned in connection with the other items discussed above. They all set the cantus firmus intact in the discantus voice, in the standard rhythmic pattern of initial equal semibreves, changing to smaller note-values as cadential points are approached. They may involve the free voices more or less consistently in cantus firmus imitation. They show textural freedom in their movement between cantus firmus imitation, free counterpoint, occasion use of *fauxbourdon*, and of homophonic declamation. Whilst the pieces have no direct connections to their CC counterparts, their general style is in keeping with Isaac's. The following commentaries will limit themselves to pointing out any features that are particularly suggestive of either of Isaac's authorship or of a relationship to the CC setting.

The tract 'De profundis clamavi' [45] presents variants of the final two sections in four-voice scoring. The *Choralis* has a duet for the penultimate section, and a section beginning with an extended duet passage for the last.[88] The other sections of the tract concord exactly between the CC and WeimB A, demonstrating that the two versions must stem from a common source. The variant type observed is similar to that also found in the tract for Quinquagesima [51], except that there is no relation between the respective cantus firmus-bearing voices of WeimB A and the CC. The variants show WeimB A's resistance to reduced-voice scoring. As such, Isaac may have produced the WeimB A version of 'De profundis' specifically for Saxony. The two WeimB A variant sections share polyphony at their beginnings, due to an identity in the chant's openings of these sections. This is also the case in the CC version. No indications for determining priority against the CC readings can be found in the music. There is no reason to doubt Isaac's authorship of the WeimB A versions.

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[87] See above, Section III.2, Table 3, no. 41, and accompanying notes. There is one other instance of importation in RISM 1539[14]. Galliculus's setting of the Easter sequence 'Victimae paschali/Agnus redemit' imports the Easter *cantio* 'Christ ist erstanden' into its first two verses. Galliculus also grafts a setting of the same song onto the end of his Paschal 'Agnus Dei', published in the same collection.

[88] Cf. Vol. II, p. 65 and DTÖ 5/i, p. 153-54.

For instance, the syncopated altus line in b. 57-60 is typical of Isaac's rhythmic practice. The CC version also appears authentic. The florid duet writing is similar to many other such passages in Isaac's music. The combination of the first full choral entry with a change into *proportio sesquialtera* in the middle of the final section shows a skillful, rhetorical approach to chant setting.

'Illumina/faciem tuam' [46] contains an antiquated octave-leap cadence at the end of the chant phrase 'et salvum me fac' (b. 13-14). This type of cadence is not the commonest, either in WeimB A or in Isaac's chant settings, yet the CC 'Illumina/faciem' (CCI/33) also has one at the end of precisely the same cantus firmus phrase (b. 15-16).[89] In the latter setting, the bassus's arrival on the upper octave pitch of the formula is delayed by a minim, yet that does not negate the effect. The CC setting has an absolutely correct octave leap cadence in b. 33-34; this is not matched in WeimB A.

The pair of settings of 'Manducaverunt/et saturati sunt' ([52] and CCI/35) both use imitative structures at identical points throughout their courses (see Table 18, overleaf):[90]

[89] Cf. Vol. II, p. 69 and DTÖ 5/i, p. 154.
[90] Cf. Vol. II, p. 80 and DTÖ 5/i, p. 167-68.

Text	Bar (WeimB A)	Voice / Pitch Interval / Time Interval	Bar (CC)	Voice / Pitch Interval / Time Interval
et desiderium	5-6	D-T / lower 8ve / 1 sb.	8	T-D / upper 4th / 1 sb.
eorum	9-13	A-D / upper 4th / 1 sb.	13	T-D / upper 4th / 1 sb.
attulit	13-14	T-D / upper 4th / 1 sb.	17-18	A-D / upper 4th / 1 sb.
non sunt	24-25	T-D / upper 8ve / 2 sb.	28-29	D-T / lower 8ve / 2 sb.
a desiderio	27-29	T-D / upper 8ve / 3 sb.	31-32	D-T / lower 8ve / 2.5 sb.

Table 18. Imitative Structures in WeimB A [52] and CCI/35. Comm.

The incrementally increasing time-distance of imitation, whether created by luck through the exigencies of counterpoint, or by design, is present in both settings. Furthermore, both pieces end with sequential emphasis. It was mentioned above that this was a technique of which Isaac was particularly fond as a marker of closure. The sequential pattern uses the same rhythmic figure in both WeimB A and the CC. If these identities may suggest a relationship, comparison of the differences may then suggest an order of priority. In WeimB A, the treatment of the chant phrase 'eis dominus' is undoubtedly the piece's least successful moment (b. 16-24). The counterpoint is formulaic (cf. b. 18-19 and their virtual repetition in b. 20-21), and the reliance on the altus to provide all the rhythmic activity against semibreves in the other parts is weak. The CC version uses *fauxbourdon* parallel 6/3s at this same point, creating a momentary passage of great lucidity at the heart of the piece (b. 21-27). The CC setting is distinctly more effective. On these grounds it may be possible to assign it a later dating. The WeimB A setting has parallel fifths in b. 3. This is not something that would have troubled Isaac, nor something that he would have felt he had to 'correct', as the many examples (and also of parallel octaves) throughout the *Choralis* show. Bezecny and Rabl helpfully indicate many of the sets of parallels in their edition (see e. g. p. 81, 103, 151, 158, 217).

The WeimB A and CC settings of 'Qui meditabitur' ([55] and CCI/36) may be related in their shared use of an unusual opening procedure.[91] Both begin with a tenor/bassus duet, in which the former voice takes the cantus firmus, whilst the latter has ascending scalic counterpoint, in dotted rhythm. In WeimB A, the tenor/bassus duet presents the first cantus firmus phrase almost in its entirety. The discantus enters in b. 5, echoing the tenor, with new surrounding counterpoint. Such an opening for a communion is extremely unusual amongst the WeimB A repertory. Only two other communions, [57] and [81], are similar, whilst the others almost all use an *initium plenum*. The CC version opens with the same dialogue structure, but on a more compact scale. The discantus and altus cut the lower-voice duet short

[91] Cf. Vol. II, p. 87 and DTÖ 5/i, p. 176.

on the second semibreve of b. 2. Nonetheless, the procedure is still distinct and unusual amongst the CCI communions.

There are no connections between the WeimB A setting of 'Scapulis suis' [60] and its CC counterpart (CCI/37).[92] The WeimB A setting betrays an ambition beyond that of simply presenting the chant in polyphony by allowing a cantus firmus phrase to be heard twice, in different voices (discantus, b. 5-7, repeated in the tenor, b. 8-11). This tactic, whose purpose is only to give the music a dimension it would otherwise lack, is not used in basic and functional settings, yet it is judiciously applied from time to time by Isaac. The two bars of trio texture that arise are particularly noticeable in the context of the generally full-voiced WeimB A music.

Like 'Scapulis suis', the communion 'Pater si non potest/hic calix transire' [106] has no connections to the CC setting of the same text (CCI/42. Comm.).[93] The settings differ further in that WeimB A has a significantly longer chant incipit that the CC version (other instances of varied incipit length were observed above). The CC setting has no unusual features. It is conventional in its opening procedure, consisting of paired imitation between tenor/bassus and discantus/altus, and in its treatment of the cantus firmus through the remainder of the setting. The free voices regularly share cantus firmus-derived material in imitation (b. 13-14, D. and T.; b. 16-17, D. and T.; b. 23-25, B., T., and D.). The WeimB A setting, however, is striking in its setting the cantus firmus in strict imitation-canon throughout its course. This canon is between discantus and altus, at one semibreve's distance, at the lower fourth, and is written out in full in the source. The free tenor and bassus voices are unrelated either to the cantus firmus or to each other. Although no feature of the WeimB A setting in itself suggests that it could not have been written by Isaac, in the context of the music of the temporal series, the use of canon technique is extremely unusual. There are but two parallel examples in all the cycles that were to make up CCI, and both of these occupy a

[92] Cf. Vol. II, p. 89 and DTÖ 5/i, p. 192.
[93] Cf. Vol. II, p. 113 and DTÖ 5/i, p. 232.

problematic status in relation to WeimB A, which provides non-canonic rival versions.[94] Whilst the latter two cases contain other musical evidence that suggests that the canonic versions were later, no further clues are available in the case of 'Pater si non potest'.

In conclusion, the analyses of the WeimB A pieces that were the focus of this section present a mixed collection of results. The issues of priority and authorship cannot be established with equal degrees of security for each piece. The most clear-cut case, that of piece [48], speaks clearly in favour of the WeimB A version being the earlier. There is no reason to doubt that the WeimB A original was Isaac's work. These conclusions may extend to some of the less decisive cases, in which the features of the music imply these same results, but do not categorically assert them. In particular, the imported street-cry of WeimB A [53] is strongly suggestive of Isaac. A number of the related communions point towards the priority of the WeimB A versions in their technical features. Most importantly, at no point do any of WeimB A's variant or entirely non-concordant pieces rule out Isaac's authorship. The style of cantus firmus setting in its rhythms, decoration, and divisions into units, its imitative treatment in free voices, the free-voice counterpoint when not imitating the cantus firmus, overall dissonance treatment, and cadential formulae, are all of types that he used. Textural manipulation – the passages of *fauxbourdon*, the offsetting of important words by breaks and homophonic treatment – are equally consistent with the style of the securely attributed parts of his temporal series.[95] This is further supported by the use in a surprisingly large number of WeimB A pieces of ostinato motifs, a technique that, when it occurs in mass-propers, is associated particularly with Isaac. These results are supported by manuscript chronology.

Some motivations, both musical and extramusical, suggest themselves to account for the recomposition of these pieces. The production-contexts of the sources suggest that, at least in the cases where the WeimB A versions contain secular songs, the MunBS 39-CC adaptations that remove them could be products of the Bavarian reception of Isaac in the

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[94] See below.

[95] CCII and CCIII are stylistically different. As a commissioned set dealing with high feasts, the former is more elaborate in its use of artifice. The latter applies distinct techniques because of its placement of the cantus firmus in the bassus. For instance, cadences require the use of different *clausulae*.

1520s, rather than the result of revision by Isaac himself for the Imperial court. Whilst it is possible that some of the other variant pieces, not involving secular song quotations, may also be Munich products, it is not necessarily justified to extend such an origin to all the MunBS 39-CC variants. Firstly, different motivations must lie behind the other variants, because neither version contains any potentially offensive secular quotations. Secondly, none of the MunBS 39-CC versions can be disattributed from Isaac stylistically. Thus if they are Munich products, they were written by someone intimately acquainted with Isaac's style. Thirdly, there is no reason to discount the possibility that the Imperial temporal series was modified during its lifetime in the Imperial chapel. Fourthly, the analytical evidence of one item, number [104], suggests that any single hypothesis is not sufficient in itself, and that the MunBS 39-CC versions may in some instances be earlier than those of WeimB A, despite source chronology and context. This last point in particular acts as a warning that complex, possibly unrecoverable processes may lie behind the WeimB A/MunBS39-CC variants. These may have involved reconstruction from memory and other equally elusive possibilities.

WeimB A [4] and [5]: The Cycle for the Fourth Sunday in Advent

The fourth Sunday in Advent is the only occasion for which both WeimB A and CCI provide cycles, yet in which no movement is shared. However, the observations and conclusions regarding the other variants and parallel settings of WeimB A inevitably invite a comparison to be made of the Advent IV cycle with its *Choralis* counterpart. For it is possible that connections similar to those between other WeimB A/MunBS 39-CC variants may exist, and that similar conclusions may be drawn.[96]

The overall movement-makeup differs between WeimB A and the CC.[97] In WeimB A, the cycle consists only of an introit and alleluia, whilst the print includes the appropriate communion. It is possible that the users of WeimB A expected to borrow the communion

[96] On this cycle, see also Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 215-16.
[97] Cf. Vol. II, p. 30-36 and DTÖ 5/i, p. 132-36.

from elsewhere. The chant of this movement, 'Ecce virgo concipiet', is prescribed for both the preceding Thursday as well as the Annunciation of Mary. That such borrowing was anticipated is suggested by the status of the communion in the CC print. It is one of the three pieces shared by both CCI and CCII.[98] As such, it could have been transferred from the Constance commission into the temporal series at the Imperial court. Alternatively, the CC setting of this communion may even be a Bavarian completion of the cycle, made for inclusion in MunBS 39, which was then taken over into the published Constance music, to fill a gap or loss. Senfl had to add a setting of this communion to Isaac's Marian cycle in the 'Opus musicum' (MunBS 38).

The WeimB A and CC settings of the introit 'Memento nostri domine/in beneplacito' show a sufficient number of significant parallels to suggest a direct dependency. WeimB A opens with imitative stretto in all parts, on a point derived from cantus firmus material. Although the bassus and tenor pursue this for only the first four notes, the altus and discantus are in strict imitation for no less than the first twelve bars, at the upper fourth at a semibreve's distance. The CC setting is one of only two examples in CCI where strict imitation-canon is used throughout.[99] The canonic material is adapted from the cantus firmus. In both the antiphon and the verse, the discantus is derived from the altus, at the upper fourth, at a semibreve's distance, exactly the same relationship as is present in WeimB A's treatment of its opening phrase. The CC setting avoids the obligation to treat the entire cantus firmus in such strict fashion by the use of extended rests in the canonic voices (b. 30-36; b. 46-55). During these gaps, the bassus and tenor continue in duet. In WeimB A, three further phrases after the opening are subject to special treatments that also have parallels in the CC version:

[98] Cf. DTÖ 5/i, p. 136 and DTÖ 16/i, p. 38-39.
[99] The other is the introit to 'Laetare' Sunday, discussed above.

i) From b. 13-16, 'visita' is set as an altus/bassus duet, with the cantus firmus in the altus. The CC version of this phrase presents the only moment when a free voice also partakes of the imitative-canonic texture (b. 16-18, tenor).

ii) From b. 25, 'ad vivendum in bonitate' is set as a bassus/tenor duet with the cantus firmus in the lowest voice, returning to a full four-voice texture with the cantus firmus in the discantus for the following phrase, 'electorum'. This is the same in the CC version. Both settings use identical rhythms and counterpoint at the duet's close (cf. WeimB A, b. 29-31 and CC, b. 35-37). If this pattern may be conventional, it betrays a communality of chant-setting practice.

iii) From b. 36-40, 'in laetitia' is set in *fauxbourdon* for the upper three voices. The CC version has the second of its lower voice duets here (*fauxbourdon* is not available within the canonic structure).

Procedural similarities may also be found in the introit verse. The WeimB A setting explores various canonic relations between the bassus and the discantus (the altus and tenor voices share less strictly in the imitative texture). The bassus always leads, and the relationships remain strict throughout the entire cantus firmus phrase. There is one trivial exception: the falling fifth, *e-A*, in the bassus, b. 4-5 is not copied in the discantus; rather, the latter voice repeats the same pitch, *a'*.

WeimB A's exploration of imitative possibilities is a relatively unusual phenomenon for an introit verse, yet it is mirrored by the even more extraordinary strictly canonic treatment of the same section in the CC. In the latter, each of the canonic voices is paired with a free voice: the altus with the bassus, and the discantus with the tenor. Except for the very opening, when the tenor and bassus begin together before either canonic voice, the free voices respect the phrase lengths and divisions of their canonic counterparts, resting when they rest, and sounding when they sound.

It thus seems acceptable, on the basis of the procedural similarities mentioned above, to posit a direct relationship between the WeimB A and *Choralis* versions of 'Memento nostri

domine'. The motivation for the change, in whichever direction it operates, seems tied to the principal technical feature of the CC version, strict canon. The CC version of 'Memento nostri domine' is one of only two pieces in the CC temporal series to use this device. The other example is in the verse of the introit for 'Laetare' Sunday (CCI/40).[100] These two introits do not just provide the sole examples of canon. They are also the only instances when movements of this genre stand at complete variance in their WeimB A and CC versions. This suggests that there is a link in these cases between replacement and strict canon.

The order of priority may only be suggested by hypotheses related to this motivating factor. Three admittedly speculative arguments imply that the non-canonic, WeimB A version is first. Firstly, there is no obvious reason why a canon should be avoided. If some reason did exist, there would still be the possibility of reworking the canonic cantus firmus line in a non-canonic manner, yet this does not occur. Secondly, and on the other hand, the later desire to make a more artful setting is a comprehensible compositional practice. The CC setting exploits the procedures inherent in the strictly imitative opening phrase of WeimB A in a more systematic manner. Any desire to make a new canonic setting would inevitably result in wholesale recomposition. The likelihood of being able to use a non-canonically conceived pre-existent line in a canonic manner is negligible. Thirdly, in the context of Isaac's temporal series, strict canon is highly unusual, with only two examples in the whole of CCI. It is much more common, however, in the Constance commission propers. Isaac or another may thus have modified parts of the temporal series to incorporate the device later.

Stylistic analysis of each of the settings of 'Memento nostri' shows that neither has any feature to rule out Isaac's authorship. The WeimB A version is in many ways more typical of his music than the CC version with its strikingly unusual canon. In the verse in particular, the alteration of the imitative parameters, resisting the application of a single relationship across even the small scale of the section, is highly characteristic of Isaac. The opening structure of the same section equally demonstrates this concern for *varietas*: the altus

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[100] DTÖ 5/i, p. 212.

first imitates the tenor at the upper fifth, at two semibreves' distance; then the bassus imitates the altus, again at two semibreves' distance, but now at the lower octave; the discantus then imitates the bassus at one semibreve's distance, at the upper eleventh.

Apart from strict canon, the CC setting manifests structural procedures characteristic of Isaac, if not of him alone. The free voices only share material of any kind between themselves at the close of the introit antiphon. For the final three bars of the section (b. 71-74) the bassus and tenor also become strictly canonic, at precisely the same pitch- and time-intervals as the altus/discantus canon. This departure from previous norms signifies closure. Isaac's customary practice of allowing greater freedom at endings is not available within the canonic structure. Even within the small scale of an introit verse, closure is signalled by subtle and judicious use of sequence: the complete polyphony of b. 8-10 repeats in b. 10-12, down a fourth, bringing the section to its final cadence.

The WeimB A setting of the alleluia has a direct relationship with its CC counterpart.[101] In the 'Alleluia' section the discantus line is identical throughout its course to that of the CC version. The latter differs only in that it is longer than WeimB A, continuing with further material after the point at which WeimB A places its final cadence. Other parts of the polyphonic texture in this section are also identical in addition to the discantus: the altus lines match in b. 1-2 and b. 5-7, as do the tenor lines in b. 2. Direct relationships that cannot be attributed to chance continue in the verse. The tenor/discantus imitative structure for the phrase 'et noli' is precisely identical in both settings (cf. WeimB A, b. 19-25, and CC, b. 22-28). The triadic cantus firmus phrase at 'relaxa' is treated similarly in both pieces, in imitation between the upper three parts over a held bassus pitch (cf. WeimB A, b. 29-31, and CC, b. 34-36).

The musical evidence does not permit any conclusions regarding priority. Regarding authorship, nothing in the WeimB A or CC settings conflicts with an attribution to Isaac. The quantity of material shared between the two 'Alleluia' sections makes them stylistically

[101] See also Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 216.

inseparable. In the WeimB A setting of the verse, the opening imitation of cantus firmus material involving all four parts shows the subtle asymmetry that Isaac often cultivated in order to keep his music as full of *varietas* as possible. The first three entries, the altus, bassus, and tenor, are all equally spaced, imitating at the distance of a breve, yet the final entry, of the discantus, carrying the cantus firmus proper, delays its predicted arrival by a semibreve. The treatment of the third syllable of the word 'facinora' deserves some comment. In the chant, an exceptionally long melisma, of more than fifty notes, occurs at this point.[102] The WeimB A setting abbreviates this melisma according to Isaac's normal chant-setting practice, yet nonetheless structures its treatment into three phrases, each with a distinct vocal scoring, and each marked by a closing cadence (there are no cadences within the units). Unit 1 occurs from b. 37-40, and is given to the discantus, altus, and tenor; unit 2 occurs between b. 40-44, in the altus, tenor, and bassus, whilst the final unit, from b. 43-47, is fully scored in four voices. This division of a single word differs from Isaac's generally operational chant-setting principle that verbal units of the original chant should be preserved intact, with no intervening rests in the polyphonic cantus firmus line, yet it is not without parallels in the CC (cf. e.g. the close of CCI/34. Tr. section 1). The treatment of the 'facinora' melisma in the CC applies the standard practice, eliminating most of its notes and allowing no intervening rests in the discantus line (cf. WeimB A, b. 34-47, and CC, b. 41-47). At the end of the WeimB A setting, the final cantus firmus phrase, 'plebis tue' is, for the only time in the piece, repeated wholesale in the tenor after having been heard in the discantus (cf. b. 48-, D. and b. 51-, T.). The employment of such a tactic at the end of a setting, to signal closure, has many parallels in authenticated Isaac.

In conclusion, both movements of the WeimB A Advent IV cycle relate to their CC counterparts. What evidence there is to assert priority suggests that the two movements of the former precede the latter. Both the WeimB A and CC settings of this cycle can convincingly be attributed to Isaac. In the case of the introit, a motivation for revision is advanced by the

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[102] See GP, fol. 9.

desire to elaborate the technical feature of canon. Motivations for changing the alleluia are less obvious.

BerlDS 40024: Variants

In Section II.7 of this thesis, it was claimed that BerlDS 40024 was copied from a model prepared for the print of CCIII. It was mentioned then that there are nonetheless some variants between the manuscript and the 1555 publication. These fall into three classes:

i) Missing voice-parts:

CCIII/2. Sequ. 'Aethiopes horridos': print missing tenor and bassus.

CCIII/12. Int. 'Ne timeas Zacharia/exaudita est oratio': print missing tenor.

CCIII/4. Sequ. 2 'Quo devicit': BerlDS has no altus.

ii) Variant voice-parts:

CCIII/3. Int. 3 'Iusti epulentur/et exultent': altus and tenor differ (other three voices do not).

iii) Variant sections:

CCIII/6. Int. 4 'Dilexisti iustitiam/et odisti': verse differs.

CCIII/6. All. 2 'Specie tua': 'Alleluia' differs.

The first category is trivial. In the first two cases, the more fully scored readings of BerlDS are supported by concordances in VienNB 18745 and the 'Opus musicum', and the print is clearly in error.[103] Moreover, the print's omissions are obvious on musical grounds, for its readings lack musical sense. These two are not the only instances in which the print omits a voice part. The altus is missing from the communion of CCIII/24.[104] All must have been accidentally overlooked when the print was being prepared in the presses. With the final item

[103] CuylerCCIII, p. 88, 351.
[104] Restored in the transcription in Vol. II of this thesis, p. 23-25. Cf. CuylerCCIII, 446-47.

in the category, CCIII/4. Sequ. 2, the print gives a written-out resolution to a canon between discantus and altus, whilst BerlDS leaves the resolution latent.[105]

Discussion of the one member of the second category, CCIII/3. Int. 3, will be undertaken in a separate section below, because it was earlier proposed that this piece is by Senfl.

The status of the entirely variant sections listed in the third category above remains to be determined. As BerlDS was copied from the print-model and provides the only prepublication concordances of the movements concerned, one or other of the variants must be a substitute. Either the readings published in the print were present in the print-models Päminger copied but had to be replaced, or Päminger copied the print-models as he found them and changes were later made to the print-models. The possibility that the sections were completely absent in the print-models, and that both Päminger and those who prepared the print for publications each had to find polyphony for these sections can be discounted by the same evidence that also speaks against Päminger having made any kind of substitution. That is, every contribution he was required to make to the BerlDS cycles is scrupulously initialled, yet neither of the variant sections bears any authorship indication.

Stylistic examination of the BerlDS version of the verse of CCIII/6. Int. 4 shows a feature that is distinctly reminiscent of Isaac. This is its use, in the cantus firmus-bearing bassus voice, of the proportional signature 𝔠2, against plain 𝔠 in the other three voices. Precise correspondences of this mensural combination can be found in CCI/26. Allel. and CCII/24. Int. (𝔠2 in bassus). It may justifiably be termed a 'mensural fingerprint', for not only does it have parallels in indisputably authentic pieces, but it does not occur in the music of others. Päminger, and other mass-proper composers of the post-Isaac generation, such as Senfl, use only 𝔠, 𝔠3, and Ø. Moreover, neither Päminger nor Senfl ever combines these with different proportional signatures simultaneously.

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[105] CuylerCCIII, p. 183-84.

The suggestion that the BerlDS version of this introit verse is by Isaac casts doubt on the authenticity of the CC setting. Several unorthodox aspects of the CC verse indicate that this suspicion is not misplaced.[106] The chant formula it uses as a cantus firmus differs from that used in every other mode 8 introit in the *Choralis*. Isaac's customary opening pitch-pattern is *f-d-d-f* (cf. CCI/2, 26, 30, 37, 42, 45; CCII/2, 8, 17; CCIII/4. Int. 1, 5. Int. 4).[107] The CC version of this verse, however, uses the so-called 'Germanic' chant-dialect form *f-c-d-f*, replacing the initial descending minor third with a fourth.[108] BerlDS concords with Isaac's standard practice. The CC version is also unique at a contrapuntal-structural level. Free-figural imitation before the entry of the cantus firmus, as found in tenor in b. 2, does not occur in other introit verses in the *Choralis*. Stylistic evidence thus asserts the conclusion that BerlDS preserves Isaac's version, whilst the CC does not.

These results suggest that the other variant section in BerlDS, of the 'Alleluia' of CCIII/6. All. 2, should be understood in the same way. The music remains equivocal, neither supporting nor refuting such a view. In both its BerlDS and CC versions, the section is short, and with no unusual features. Comprehensive stylistic judgements are difficult from such limited material. The BerlDS version makes a neat parallel with the subsequent verse by matching its opening structure of four successive imitative entries, in the order altus-discantus-tenor-bassus (the last being the main cantus firmus-bearing voice). Other such examples may be found in the CC, yet this practice is by no means universal. The absence of such a structural parallel in the CC version cannot be used to argue for its inauthenticity. The different opening structure of the CC version is not in itself untypical of Isaac (cf. e.g. CCIII/3. All. 3).[109] Similarly, no other feature of the CC version of the 'Alleluia' allows its authenticity to be doubted. The cantus firmus is treated in a typical fashion, beginning with

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[106] See CuylerCCIII, p. 248-49.

[107] DTÖ 5/i, p. 10, 121, 138, 178, 226, 241; DTÖ 16/i, p. 12, 57, 128; CuylerCCIII, p. 154, 203. CCI/2 is highly decorated; CCIII/5. Int. 4 uses a descending fourth at the very opening, for tonal clarity, but restores the descending third in subsequent imitations.

[108] See Peter Wagner, 'Das germanische Dialekt des gregorianischen Gesanges', *Das Graduale der St. Thomaskirche zu Leipzig*, pt. 2 (Publikationen älterer Musik, 7; Leipzig, 1922; repr. Hildesheim, 1967); Maria-Elizabeth Heisler, 'Die Problematik des "germanischen" oder "deutschen" Choraldialekts', *SMH* 27 (1985), 67-82.

[109] CuylerCCIII, p. 114-17.

regular semibreves, then breaking into smaller note values. The *jubilus* is freely paraphrased. The use of a sequence at the close is characteristic (b. 12-14). A full triad for the final chord is not Isaac's most common practice, although there are still enough examples throughout the CC to rule out the possibility of viewing this as extraordinary (e.g. CCIII/2. Allel. 2; 3. Allel. 9; 5. Allel. 6; 9; 16; 21; 24).[110]

3. CCIII/3. Int. 3, 'Iusti epulentur/et exultent': Isaac or Senfl?

From the transmissional evidence of Section II.6, five reasons suggested that CCIII/3. Int. 3 is not by Isaac, but rather, probably by Senfl:

i) The piece is unique amongst Isaac's mass-propers by being in five voices.

ii) The attribution to Isaac rests only on inclusion in the *Choralis*, which may not necessarily be sufficient.

iii) The Common of Saints, to which CCIII/3. Int. 3 belongs, is particularly prone to absorbing music by a variety of composers. Indeed, this section of the *Choralis* is known to contain music by Senfl, and also Schach, Block, and Slatkonia (if the BerlDS attributions are to be trusted). Hence the possibility that yet another piece in the CCIII Common of Saints is by Senfl has secure precedents.

iv) The 'Heidelberg' Inventory gives evidence of five-voice propers for the Common of Saints by Senfl.

v) The five-voice settings by Senfl that the 'Heidelberg' Inventory mentions must have come from Munich and have been available when the print models were being compiled there. The 'Heidelberg' description includes a title that may be equated with CCIII/3. Int. 3.

[110] CuylerCCIII, p. 82, 128, 215, 319, 377, 413, 437.

The following analysis consists of three stages. Firstly, the fact that BerlDS 40024 and the CC transmit variant altus and tenor voice-part readings must be addressed in order to clarify the relative status of the variants and establish which text is to be analysed. Secondly, an excursion into scoring techniques is necessary to show that 'Iusti epulentur' was originally conceived as a five-voice piece, and is not an adaptation from an older, four-voice work. Only after this can the third stage of stylistic analysis begin. This will compare the structure of 'Iusti epulentur' with authentic settings by Isaac and Senfl in order to ascertain whether an attribution to the latter is convincing.

The first matter that must be addressed is that of which textual reading for 'Iusti epulentur' is to be preferred. BerlDS 40024 transmits altus and tenor voices that vary from those of the CC. However, the variant voice-parts of BerlDS are directly related to those in the CC. The altus begins both sections of the introit identically in both versions. In b. 3-5, the altus voice departs from the CC reading, but is identical to the CC version of the tenor at that point. The BerlDS tenor differs from the CC in the antiphon: instead of being independent, it follows the bassus cantus firmus in parallel thirds. At the beginning of the verse, however, the BerlDS tenor line is identical to the material assigned to the vagans voice in the CC (the BerlDS vagans differs momentarily from that of the CC at this point, following the tenor in parallel thirds).[111] These connections cannot be coincidence. The lines could proceed in any number of ways, thus the fact that there are identities is significant. As a result, the differences must be assigned to revision or informed recreation from memory. Transmissional evidence points strongly in favour of the *Choralis* version being the later of the two. The case of BerlDS's variant verse for CCIII/6. Int. 4., discussed above, suggested that Päminger faithfully copied what he found, and that variant readings between BerlDS 40024 and the *Choralis* print arise as a result of alterations to the print-models, whatever the motivations behind making those alterations may be. If this may initially suggest that analysis should proceed with the earlier, BerlDS versions of the altus and tenor parts, the possibility that 'Iusti

[111] Cf. the incipits in Pätzig, 'Liturgische Grundlagen', II, 98 and CuylerCCIII, p. 99-101.

epulentur' may be by Senfl raises the chance that the CC version may have arisen from intervention from the composer himself. It was shown in Section II.6 above that two extra pieces were added to the print-models after Päminger's copying, hence it is possible that the print's compilers also acquired a more recent version of 'Iusti epulentur' at the same time. Analysis of how the voice-parts vary musically supports the hypothesis that revision, whether by the composer or some other, lies behind the variants. In the BerlDS version, at the opening of the piece, the tenor voice shows little linear independence, but rather, follows the bassus cantus firmus in parallel thirds. The *Choralis* version gives the part a more sophisticated and significant role of its own, divorced from the activity of the other voices. On the other hand, there is no evidence that the compilers of the print ever made wilful or needless alterations to the music. On these grounds, the *Choralis* version shall be used in the stylistic analysis below. It should be noted, in any case, that the results would not significantly differ if the BerlDS version was used, for, despite local differences, both versions of each of the variant voice-parts occupy the same register and ambitus, and neither contains cantus firmus-related material that would alter the structure.

The next stage in attributing 'Iusti epulentur' to Senfl consists of examining whether the piece is an original five-voice conception or an adaptation of an earlier four-voice work. It is vital to address this question because adaptation through the addition of voices was not unknown.[112] Yet, if adaptation can be ruled out, then it immediately becomes distinctly less likely that Isaac is the author of 'Iusti epulentur', for his use of this scoring is otherwise unparalleled in his mass proper output. Simultaneously, the case in favour of Senfl would be reinforced, because he is the only composer known to have written a significant body of settings for the Common of Saints for these forces. Werner Heinz, the only previous scholar to make musical commentary on 'Iusti epulentur', assumed it to be adapted from a four-voice version solely because of the piece's disagreement in scoring with the rest of the *Choralis*.[113] He could not support this claim with the sources because the piece's only concordance, in

[112] See Section IV.5, below.
[113] 'Isaacs und Senfls Propriums-Kompositionen', 57.

BerlDS 40024, is also in five parts. Furthermore, Heinz offered no evidence of adaptation drawn from the music itself. The following paragraphs will address this question for the first time.

If 'Iusti epulentur' is an adaptation, then it must be possible to remove one of its voices yet still maintain an acceptable musical structure. Such removal is obviously impossible with respect to the principal cantus firmus-bearing voice, the bassus. Moreover, it is equally impossible with the discantus, for this voice also has a major role presenting cantus firmus material in dialogue with the bassus. This outer-voice cantus firmus scaffold is essential to the music's fabric (see Table 19, below):

Text	Voice	Bar
et exultent	D	1-4
	B	5-8
in conspectu	D	8-10
	B	10-12
Dei	D	12-14
	B	14-16
delectentur	D	16-18
	B	18-23
	D	20-24
[in laetitia]	[bassus only]	[25-29]
[free close]		[29-33]

Table 19. Cantus Firmus Distribution in CCIII/3. Int. 3

This confines the possibility of addition to the inner parts, the altus, tenor, and vagans. In the antiphon, none of these voices partakes in cantus firmus material, and none is related to any other voice. In the verse, the altus and tenor match the cantus firmus's general contour, though they play no structurally significant role in its presentation. Thus an assessment of

whether any of these inner parts is inessential must examine other features, of range and contrapuntal function.

If 'Iusti epulentur' was originally for four voices, then it is reasonable to expect that the added voice would occupy significantly the same musical space as one of the pre-existent parts. This is not so. Rather, the five voices are equally distributed throughout the texture. The two most closely coincident parts are the vagans and bassus, yet given the bassus' extremely restricted range throughout the majority of the piece (limited to the third *B♭-d* for the first twenty-one bars), the vagans fulfils an important role mediating between the bassus and tenor. Omission of any one of the inner parts would result in an unusual gap not characteristic of four-voice music (see Table 20, below):

Voice	Range (Antiphon)	Range (Verse)	Pitch Centre
Discantus	*f'-e''♭*	*a'-f''* (*f* once)	*b'♭*
Altus	*b♭-b'♭* (*f* once, b. 28)	*b♭-a'*	*f*
Tenor	*a-g'* (*f* once, b. 12)	*f-f'*	*b♭*
Vagans	*B♭-d'*	*B♭-d'*	*f*
Bassus	*G-d* (leaps to *b♭*, b. 29)	*G-f* (leaps to *b♭* and *c'*, b. 12)	*B♭*

Table 20. Voice Range and Ambitus in CCIII/3. Int. 3

Analysis of contrapuntal functions supports this suggestion that each of the inner parts plays an essential role. If the vagans were to be omitted, then structural fourths would occur in the antiphon, b. 4, 9, 13, and 24, and the verse, b. 8.[114] If the tenor were omitted then a structural fourth would occur in the antiphon, b. 24, last minim. Omission of the altus never gives rise to structural fourths. However, that voice plays a vital role in providing cadential *clausulae*. Without it, b. 6 of the antiphon, for instance, would lack a *clausula cantizans* and create the distinct and audible effect of missing a necessary part.

[114] It was observed above that Isaac does occasionally permit structural fourths. Nonetheless, so many occurences would be unprecedented.

Although it is still hypothetically possible that the bassus/discantus cantus firmus scaffold was extracted from an earlier four-voice piece and all three inner voices newly composed, such a conclusion constitutes a convoluted interpretation with absolute lack of supporting evidence. It is thus rejected. The music suggests that an adaptation theory in relation to 'Iusti epulentur' be dismissed, and the piece accepted as an original five-voice work. This is a significant step in attributing the piece to Senfl, for whilst he is known to have composed five-voice music for the mass-proper, Isaac is not.

The third stage of the analysis of 'Iusti epulentur', searching for distinctive stylistic fingerprints that allow either Isaac's authorship to be ruled out, or Senfl's to be asserted, is problematic. The fact that the setting is in five voices introduces a factor whose influence cannot be determined in the near-absence of other surviving chant settings in this scoring attributable to either composer. As far as is known, Isaac never made such settings. Comparison with his five-voice music in other genres will not compensate for this lack. From Senfl, but two five-voice chant-settings remain: the Christmas sequence 'Grates nunc omnes' (in MunBS 38), and the introit for Trinity Sunday (in MunBS 36).[115] Scoring is more than a question of sonority. It can determine style and structural features. This is immediately obvious, for instance, in a comparison of Isaac's three-part writing with that for four parts. Similarly, in his six-voice works, the distribution of the cantus firmus amongst all the parts can create music with a span that is profoundly different from that of settings in four. An attempt to determine the authorship of 'Iusti epulentur' through analysis of features that are not influenced by scoring soon runs into difficulty. For in these terms the piece is largely situated in the common ground that the two composers shared. It contains no procedure that is exclusive to, or unused by, either.

The distribution of the cantus firmus in dialogue is a procedure used by both composers, although neither generally partners the bassus with the discantus voice, nor so rigorously disallows other voices a share in cantus firmus material. The closest example to

[115] In Senfl, *Sämtliche Werke*, vols. 8 and 9 respectively. The sequence for Trinity Sunday may be considered to be in six voices, as it begins and ends in this scoring. The majority of internal sections are for smaller groups.

'Iusti epulentur' from Isaac, and the only other introit to use bassus and discantus in dialogue, is CCIII/3. Int. 4.[116] There, the structure is masked by opening imitation in three voices and abandonment of any dialogue or imitation in the fourth phrase. The treatment of the final phrase to three-fold repetition, with the discantus both preceding and following the bassus, is very similar to that found in 'Iusti epulentur'. More usually, Isaac sets the bassus in dialogue with the tenor. CCIII/3. Int. 5 and CCIII/11. Int. are representative, and illustrate the variety Isaac normally introduces into these structures.[117] Widely spaced dialogue alternates with closer imitation, the leading voice switches between the parts, the pitch-interval of imitation varies, and other voices sometimes share cantus firmus material. Isaac also distributed the cantus firmus in dialogue in one of his six-voice introits, *Cibavit eos/ex adipe*.[118] It too shows a variety absent in 'Iusti epulentur'. The role of leading voice switches in the middle of the piece, and dialogue is abandoned for the final phrase (see Table 21, below):

Text	Bar	Voice
ex adipe	1-4	D.2
	5-8	T.
frumenti	6-10	D.2
	10-12	T.
alleluia	13-16	D.2
	15-19	T.
et de petra, melle	19-23	D.2
	22-26	T.
saturavit eos	27-33	T.
	33-38	D.2
alleluia	39-41	T.
	41-43	D.2
alleluia	44-50	T.
	49-54	D.2

[final 'alleluia' not treated in dialogue]

Table 21. Cantus Firmus Distribution in Isaac's Six-Voice *Cibavit eos/ex adipe* (MunBS 31)

[116] CuylerCCIII, p. 102.
[117] CuylerCCIII, p. 103, 331.
[118] See Isaac, *Introiten II*, 17-22.

Similar preferences in relation to cantus firmus dialogue structures are observable in Senfl. That is, he does not favour using the discantus as dialogue-partner. There are no examples in his mass-proper music where such a structure is systematically applied, although it is frequently used with individual chant-phrases. However, Senfl regularly sets the bassus cantus firmus in alternation or imitation with the tenor. Indeed, such treatment, applied with variable consistency to each cantus firmus phrase in different settings, is so common as to be considered a hallmark of Senfl's chant-setting style, whatever the scoring. The Christmas introit 'Puer natus est nobis/et filius' provides a typical, and consistent, four-voice example.[119] Both of Senfl's five-voice proper-items also use precisely this structure. A description of the introit for Trinity Sunday will suffice for both. In this piece, the cantus firmus phrases largely preserve identical pitch and rhythm patterns when passed between the voices. As in the examples from Isaac cited above, the structure is masked by allowing additional voices also to share in the imitation at strategically important moments (cf. e.g. b. 4, vagans), and by allowing imitation of free motifs between the free voices. Variety arises by three times reversing the role of leading voice. The primary bassus/tenor structure is set out in Table 22, overleaf:

[119] Senfl, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 8, 23-25.

Text	Bar	Voice
sancta	5-6	B.
	6-8	T.
Trinitas	8-11	B.
	10-13	T.
atque	14-16	T.
	14-16	B.
indivisa	16-20	T.
	19-23	B.
unitas	23-28	T.
	24-28	B.
confitebimur	30-33	B.
	33-36	T.
ei	35-37	B.
	37-39	T.
quia fecit	39-41	B.
	40-42	T.
nobiscum	42-45	T.
	43-45	B.
misericordiam	46-55	T.
	49-56	B.
suam	56-64	T.
	57-64	B.

Table 22. Cantus Firmus Distribution in Senfl's Five-Voice Introit *Benedicta sit/sancta Trinitas*

The overall cantus firmus structuring as a dialogue in 'Iusti epulentur' thus cannot be considered the exclusive preserve of either Isaac or Senfl. Nor may any of the remaining features of 'Iusti epulentur'. The cantus firmus line closely adheres to the chant-model (c.f. GP, fol. 151'). The added decorations, such as the filling-in of the chant's rising third in b. 14, are typical of both composers. The appending of a free conclusion after the cantus firmus has ended, and the signalling of that free conclusion by a departure from the previous ambitus in the cantus firmus-bearing voice, are also typical closing tactics in both men's music. Examples of these features in Isaac have already been given. For Senfl, the end of the antiphon of the introit 'Lux fulgebit/hodie', for the second mass of Christmas Day, provides one example of many. In that piece, the cantus firmus, in the bassus voice, never extends above *g* before the closing bars. On reaching the close, however, a free conclusion is appended, signalled by beginning on the pitch *c'*.[120] The dissonance treatment of 'Iusti epulentur' also occupies the common ground that Isaac and Senfl shared. The simultaneous sounding of suspension and resolution in the verse, b. 15, is a practice observable in both composers' works (see e.g. Isaac, six-part introit *Salve sancta parens*, b. 13; and Senfl, CCIII/1. Int., b. 9, *Haec dies*, part 6, close, and *Populе meus*, b. 8).[121]

In conclusion, it is not possible to assign 'Iusti epulentur' to either Isaac or Senfl on stylistic grounds alone. The music's features are either common to both, or equally atypical. The equivocal nature of the results of stylistic analysis forces the burden of proof for the authorship of 'Iusti epulentur' onto transmissional evidence. This is so whether Isaac or Senfl is accepted as its author. The case in favour of the former, resting solely on inclusion in the *Choralis*, is weaker than that created by the counterarguments in favour of the latter. Given the peculiarities of 'Iusti epulentur', Senfl's known activity composing five-part settings for the Common of Saints, and the fact that stylistic evidence offers no reason why the piece could not be his, it is most reasonable to accept that Senfl is indeed its author.

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[120] See Senfl, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 8, 19-20.
[121] In Isaac, *Introiten II*, CuylerCCIII, p. 57, and Senfl, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 11 respectively.

4. De-Attributed Non-*Choralis* Items: The AugsS 7 and 23 *unica*

It is not possible within the confines of the space available here to examine every one of the Augsburg 'Isaac' *unica* at a musical-analytical level. Thus a representative sample of two alleluias and a sequence has been chosen. They are sufficient to demonstrate a general case, for each piece consistently refutes Isaac's authorship. These results can be assumed also to apply in the other doubtful instances. These pieces are given for the first time in modern transcription in the second volume of this thesis (p. 115-22).

Analysis of the alleluia *Laetabitur iustus* (non-*Choralis* item no. 28) is particularly revealing because it is one of the few non-*Choralis* items in the Augsburg manuscripts whose existence cannot be justified by lack of provision in the print. The piece is stylistically quite unlike any of Isaac's genuine mass-proper settings. Firstly, as can be seen by comparison with the chant given with the transcription, and with CCIII/4. Allel. 1, the Augsburg alleluia has no basis in chant.[122] This is unprecedented for Isaac. The Augsburg *Laetabitur iustus* sets the 'Alleluia' section in free non-imitative counterpoint. The verse begins in imitation with a point that was thoroughly conventional in the later sixteenth century. This latter section quickly lapses into a homophony only occasionally enlivened by independent part-movement. Apart from the brief opening imitation, the syllables of the verse text largely coincide in all voices. In particular, the simultaneous declamation on minims and semiminims found in b. 13-15 is entirely uncharacteristic of Isaac: no *Choralis* alleluia (or any piece in another genre) ever does this. The combination of this feature with textual repetition in all voices is equally uncharacteristic of Isaac, but typical of later composers. The twin facts that the Augsburg *Laetabitur iustus* avoids procedures conventional for Isaac and employs procedures from a later time forces the obvious conclusion that the piece is not by Isaac. This result in turn supports the adaptation hypothesis advanced above, and rejects the possibility that the Augsburg manuscripts contain otherwise unknown pieces by Isaac.

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[122] Cf. Vol. II, p. 115 and CuylerCCIII, p. 168.

The other two Augsburg items to be discussed here, the alleluia *Venite ad me omnes* (non-*Choralis* item no. 39) and the sequence-fragment *Verbum sapientiae/O Narcisse fons eloquio* (non-*Choralis* item no. 50), have both already been explained as necessary later additions due to lack of provision in the *Choralis* for the items needed at the Augsburg monastery of St. Ulrich and Afra.[123] Stylistic analysis lends further support to this suggestion. For whilst neither piece shows all the highly uncharacteristic features cited in relation to *Laetabitur iustus* – both are more musically neutral – there are nonetheless factors which once again speak against Isaac's authorship.

The alleluia *Venite ad me omnes* has only the loosest of foundations in chant, or arguably none at all.[124] In the 'Alleluia' section the opening phrase of the tenor voice (b. 1-3) bears some resemblance to the opening of the chant: both pass from *g* to *f* before rising to *c'*. In the verse, the bass initially also resembles the pitches of the chant at that point (b. 8-13). It is tempting to dismiss these similarities as little more than coincidence, for the matches are not exact, and lines with the overall shape of a rising then falling fourth are extremely common. Moreover, whether the bassus line in the verse is chant-derived or not, its text-underlay is clearly highly divergent from that of the chant, and cannot be otherwise. This is completely atypical for Isaac. In his work, not only is a cantus firmus usually more thoroughly employed, but polyphonic chant-references can always be underlain identically to their monophonic counterparts.[125] The relation between chant and polyphonic setting in securely attributed Isaac propers is much more intimate than that apparent in this piece.

It is difficult to say whether the sequence-fragment *Verbum sapientiae/O Narcisse fons eloquio* is polyphonically complete as it stands or an extract from a longer setting. Whatever the case, the piece is clearly fragmentary in a manner different from the other pieces so classified amongst Isaac's non-*Choralis* propers (Table 3, nos. 47-49). The others in

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[123] See Section III.3, above.

[124] A contemporary form of this chant is not easily available because it is not present in the GP. It was thus necessary to consult the *Liber Usualis*, which may have no relation to anything known in sixteenth-century Augsburg. Still, no line of the polyphony is clearly chant-derived.

[125] The problems in this respect with the modern *Choralis* editions (and indeed with the *Choralis* print itself) have been noted above, in Section I.3.

this group were extracted for pedagogical demonstration, whilst *Verbum sapientiae/O Narcisse fons eloquio* fulfils a liturgical need. The piece draws on a sequence assigned not to St. Narcissus, but to St. Afra, from which it treats verse nineteen and parts of the final verse twenty-one.[126] The Augsburg setting thus demonstrates the practice of singling out internal sequence verses for special local rituals.[127] The motivation behind the choice of these particular verses is obvious. An extra layer of meaning would have been present for those aware of the text's provenance within a sequence to St. Afra. They would have recalled the special relationship between Narcissus and Afra, and indirectly paid homage to the latter, whose relics were kept in the church for which the Augsburg manuscript was compiled.[128] The feast of St. Afra itself was celebrated with a different polyphonic sequence, *Botrus cypri*, which may suggest that a complete setting of *Verbum sapientiae* never existed. Nonetheless, *O Narcisse fons eloquio* may have been created by retexting the appropriate parts of a setting of the sequence for St. Nicholas, *Laude Christo debita*. This latter shared a melody with *Verbum sapientiae*, and such verbal exchanges were not unknown. Indeed, the last three verses of Senfl's setting of the St. Nicholas sequence in MunBS 37 are double-texted with *O Narcisse fons eloquio*. Two sequences in VienNB 18745 also receive double-texts.

Unlike the other two Augsburg pieces examined, the three sections of this sequence-fragment are based, wholly or in part, on a chant cantus firmus. In the first section, 'O Narcisse', the tenor voice carries the chant throughout, and largely unchanged, except for the final phrase ('mortis et martyrio'; see transcription). The homophonic texture effectively absorbs the *cantus prius factus*. Its presence is only betrayed in that the tenor voice differs from the others by repeating previous material precisely (b. 1-4=b. 5-8). If this initially seems to bring the piece more recognizably into Isaac's stylistic orbit, the exclusive placing of the cantus firmus in the tenor is unusual in the wider context of his mass-proper settings. So too is an entire section in homophony and *tempus perfectum diminutum.* Whilst both of these occur

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[126] See Joseph Kehrein, *Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters aus Handschriften und Drucken* (Mainz, 1873; repr. 1969), No. 754.

[127] See Bloxam, 'Plainsong and Polyphony for the Blessed Virgin', 66 n. 32.

[128] On Afra and Narcissus, see Section III.3, above.

with some frequency within sections, their absolute predominance is unprecedented.[129] A wider search for parallels with this piece beyond the confines of the genre of the sequence shows that the piece that most closely approaches the style of this section is the communion to CCI/26, a piece whose authenticity has been seriously questioned above. The 'O Narcisse' section is only fractionally more sophisticated than that setting insofar as it provides rests at the end of each text phrase. That aside, the unrelenting homophony, the absence of dissonance, even at cadence-points (the only dissonances are the passing-notes in b. 6 and b. 7), and the placing of the cantus firmus in the tenor bring these two pieces into an orbit quite at odds with Isaac's stylistic profile. The next section, 'Christe pacis hostia' is initially freely composed. Only from b. 13-16 ('lux et lucis gloria') is a cantus firmus apparent. Once again it is exclusive to the tenor voice. For the final section, 'Fac nos frui', the chant is paraphrased in the first superius part (though this is usually only the second-highest voice in the texture).

Besides the peculiarities of each section of the piece, its neutrality as a whole speaks against Isaac's authorship. In the securely attributed sequences for patron saints or other venerated figures, Isaac customarily made a special effort to create a much more rhetorically flexible effect than that of this piece (cf. e.g. the sequences for Sts. Geberhard, Pelagius, and Conrad, CCII/16, 17, and 24).[130] The five-voice section in particular is uncharacteristically unrelenting in its use of full scoring. If Isaac had been commissioned to write propers for Augsburg it is difficult to imagine that he would have submitted this piece.

It would seem that a special Augsburg repertory from Isaac, or indeed any contribution from him beyond the music available in the *Choralis* print, must be ruled out so far as AugsS 7 and AugsS 23 are concerned. Yet this should not diminish the importance of these manuscripts, for they offer vital testimony to the far from neutral reception of the print itself. They show how Isaac's music continued as a living force, fulfilling a practical need, almost sixty years after the composer's death.

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[129] Cf. e.g. CCII/3, Sequ. v. 12, 'Patris etiam', which closes in triple-time homophony (DTÖ 16/i, p. 23). When entire sections are in Ø, they are invariable rich in rhythmic contrast between the voices. The piece of genuine Isaac most comparable to *O Narcisse* is CCII/22, Sequ., final verse (DTÖ 16/i, p. 173).

[130] DTÖ 16/i, p. 123, 130, 184.

5. Anonymous Cycles Attributed: WeimB A High Feasts

Section III.5 of this thesis detailed the de-attribution, on manuscript-chronological grounds, of the WeimB A Christmas and Epiphany cycles from Rener, and of the Christmas Vigil cycle (or at least its introit) from Senfl. The latter cycle's presence in the 'Opus musicum' allowed a reattribution to Isaac, on logical grounds. The 'Opus' collection contains music only by Senfl and Isaac. Music not by one of these composers must be by the other. Some musical peculiarities supported this reattribution. The cycles formerly attributed to Rener, however, were not so readily reassignable. Nonetheless, a number of items of circumstantial evidence, including the reattribution of the Christmas Vigil, suggested the possibility that they, and the other high feast cycles of WeimB A, may be an early contribution by Isaac to Imperial repertory. It now remains to examine whether this hypothesis may be supported stylistically. The following discussion will firstly devote special consideration to the two cycles attributed to Rener, for they demand stylistic examination of both the challenge to their accepted authorship and the suggested reassignment to Isaac. Observations on the remaining high feast settings follow this.

There are many features in the WeimB A Christmas and Epiphany cycles that point to their stemming from a skilled and resourceful composer of Isaac's generation with a fluid and creative approach to chant-setting.[131] Careful and effective interplay between homophonic, declamatory style and more linear counterpoint is frequent in both cycles (see e.g. the Christmas sequence, v. 2 'Per quem' and v. 9 'Gaude dei'; the Epiphany sequence, v. 12, 'Huic omnes'). In the Christmas alleluia verse, formulaicism is avoided by imaginative rewriting of the free voices around rhythmically and motivically identical recurrences in the cantus firmus (cf. 'illuxit nobis', b. 17-24 and 'descendit lux magna', b. 46-54). The same movement uses so-called 'hocket' style motivic interplay at 'gentes'. The final verse of the Epiphany sequence ends with a sort of *fauxbourdon* texture: all parts move in synchrony, the

[131] The WeimB A Christmas and Epiphany cycles are published in Rener, *Collected Works*, vol. 1, cycles I and IV. Bar numbers here and subsequently refer to that edition.

upper three in parallel 6/4s, whilst the lowest voice provides a free bass-line to avoid potential dissonances. The Epiphany communion gives an example of an octave-leap cadence (b. 15-16), and closes with a long pedal point.

Although it is difficult to make clear judgements given that Rener's surviving oeuvre comprises only two proper-cycles apart from those in WeimB A (and one of those is of the special type that uses a cantus firmus 'pfundnotentenor', written in chant-notation) the features of the WeimB A cycles do not seem to be typical of that composer.[132] No instances may be found in his secure works of octave-leap cadences, simultaneous breaks in all four voices followed by syllabic declamation, *fauxbourdon*-like textures, *initia plena* (in the non-'pfundnotentenor' cycle), and final pedal-notes or sequences. On the other hand, both Rener's secure cycles contain features that distance them from the WeimB A cycles. One such feature is a much more generous use of pairs of *fusae*. This trait is shared with other composers of Rener's generation, such as Sixt Dietrich, but is distinctly unusual in Isaac.[133] There is not a single pair in the WeimB A Christmas and Epiphany cycles. Rener's 'Cycle II' is characterised by consistent use throughout of the archaic under-third cadential formula. The low *D* at the end of its communion is not a note used in Isaac's propers.

If there are thus stylistic features that reinforce the transmissional evidence against Rener's authorship of the WeimB A Christmas and Epiphany cycles, the same stylistic criteria support a reattribution to Isaac. Only one peculiarity needs to be mentioned. The introit for Christmas Day differs from every other movement in the two cycles in assigning the main cantus firmus not to the discantus but to the tenor.[134] This is unusual in the context of Isaac's CCI introits. Nonetheless, it is not unprecedented, for identical treatments may be found in the introits of CCI/6 and 7.[135] The treatment is equally unusual in its context in WeimB A, and may have been provoked by a desire to make the first polyphonic item to be heard at the most

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[132] The secure cycles are those numbered II and III in Rener, *Collected Works*, vol. 1.

[133] See Section IV.2, above, where the presence of *fusae* helped to isolate imported material. See also the discussion of motivic sharing between WeimB A and the MunBS 31 six-voice introits below.

[134] This is excluding certain sections of the sequences, where freedom of cantus firmus assignment is easy to exploit (e.g. the Christmas sequence, v. 2). Such freedom is also a feature of Isaac's sequences.

[135] DTÖ 5/i, p. 33, 38.

important mass of Christmas as distinctive as possible. The effect is modified by the bassus imitating the tenor for virtually the entire course of the piece. Although the imitation is generally strict, the presence of a small number of changes and a varying distance and interval of imitation render the process non-canonic. The tenor consistently takes the role of leading voice up to the final chant-phrase, whereupon this pattern is reversed (bassus, b. 45-49=tenor b. 50-end). This manner of signalling closure has been discussed above as characteristic of Isaac.[136]

Settings securely by Isaac of the Christmas and Epiphany chants are available not only in the Constance commission works published in CCII, but also amongst Isaac's six-voice introits. Although it has been outlined above that no feature of the WeimB A cycles is contradictory to Isaac's style, comparative analysis between them and the securely attributed settings may allow further evidence in favour of Isaac's authorship to be uncovered and clarify their hypothetical place within his output.

Comparison of the WeimB A Christmas and Epiphany settings with their CCII counterparts reveals not similarities, but rather, significant differences in three main respects:

[136] See Section IV.3, above.

i) WeimB A favours full four-voice textures. Passages in reduced scorings within sections are kept relatively brief.[137] Compare e.g. the Christmas cycles' respective settings of the beginning of the alleluia verse, or of the sequence v. 6 ('Hec praesens'), and the Epiphany cycles' treatments of the beginning of the alleluia verse, or of the sequence v. 10 ('Verbum ens'). The lengthy duets and trios of the *Choralis* versions have no counterparts in WeimB A. Whilst the approach of the *Choralis* settings, which belong to the Constance commission, is unusual, that of WeimB A is a typical 'German' compositional preference around the turn of the sixteenth century.

ii) WeimB A favours *tempus imperfectum diminutum* almost exclusively. There is but one short passage in triple-time within both the WeimB A cycles, at the end of verse 6 of the Christmas sequence ('Hec praesens'). The CCII settings, on the other hand, show a mensural diversity that is unusual even in the wider context of the *Choralis* itself.

iii) WeimB A favours continuity over internal sectional divisions. This is partly a consequence of the other features on this list: an antiphonal interplay of vocal scoring, such as that in the CCII Epiphany sequence v. 10 ('Anno hominis tricesimo') is not evident in WeimB A, nor is the combination of vocal interplay and mensural change found in the CCII Christmas sequence, v. 10 ('Christe patris unice'). Simultaneous rests in all parts are less frequent. There are four instances of this in WeimB A (Christmas, sequence v. 2 ('Per quem'), b. 8; v. 6 ('Hoc praesens'), b. 43; v. 9 ('Gaude Dei'), b. 63; Epiphany, communion, b. 10). In the CCII cycles, on the other hand, six instances are found (Christmas, alleluia verse; Epiphany, alleluia verse; sequence v. 6 ('Secum munera'), twice; v. 10 ('Anno hominis tricesimo'); v. 12; communion).

[137] It has already been noted in Section III.5, above, that WeimB A avoids reduced-voice sections altogether. This cannot be charged to Isaac, for it is clear that earlier versions with those reduced-voice sections existed.

These important contrasts in approach render the WeimB A Christmas and Epiphany cycles stylistically quite distinct from those of CCII. However, it does not immediately follow that Isaac's potential authorship of the WeimB A cycles may therefore be ruled out. On the contrary, the hypothesised place of the WeimB A cycles within Isaac's output would lead one to anticipate precisely this in relation to the Constance commission works. The respective cycles would be separated by as much as a decade in composition-date, with all that that entails for changing tastes and personal compositional preferences, and they were for different institutions with more or less divergent needs and capabilities. Isaac was a composer renowned for his stylistic flexibility, and stylistic contrasts between Constantine and Imperial repertory are readily observable within Isaac's authentic mass-proper corpus itself. Indeed, precisely those criteria that distance the WeimB A Christmas and Epiphany cycles from their CCII counterparts ally them with Isaac's securely attributed music for the Sundays of the temporal series, also found in WeimB A and published in CCI.

It is justified to expect a comparison of the WeimB A Christmas and Epiphany cycles with the six-voice introits of MunBS 31 to be more telling than those with CCII. This is so despite the difference in scoring, whose effect admittedly cannot be ignored. The six-voice settings are automatically forced to be more expansive than those in four voices due to the necessity of creating extra space in which to present essential material in two additional parts. Nonetheless, there exist at least two known instances of Isaac transforming four-voice mass-ordinaries into six-voice settings: one a pair of *Missae de Beata Virgine*, the other the pair of masses on 'Wohlauf Gesell'.[138] This suggests that the hunt for motivic connections between the WeimB A and the MunBS music is not ill-founded, and their discovery not insignificant. Moreover, the six-voice introits in all likelihood do not pose the chronological and institutional differences that served to distinguish the CCII settings so radically. They are

[138] See the literature cited in Table 3, note to pieces 76-79; Thomas Noblitt, 'Contrafacta in Isaac's *Missae Wohlauf Gesell, von hinnen*', *AcM* 46 (1974), 208-16.

Imperial – indeed, they constitute Isaac's only secure Imperial high feast settings – and were perhaps amongst his earliest contributions to that repertory.[139]

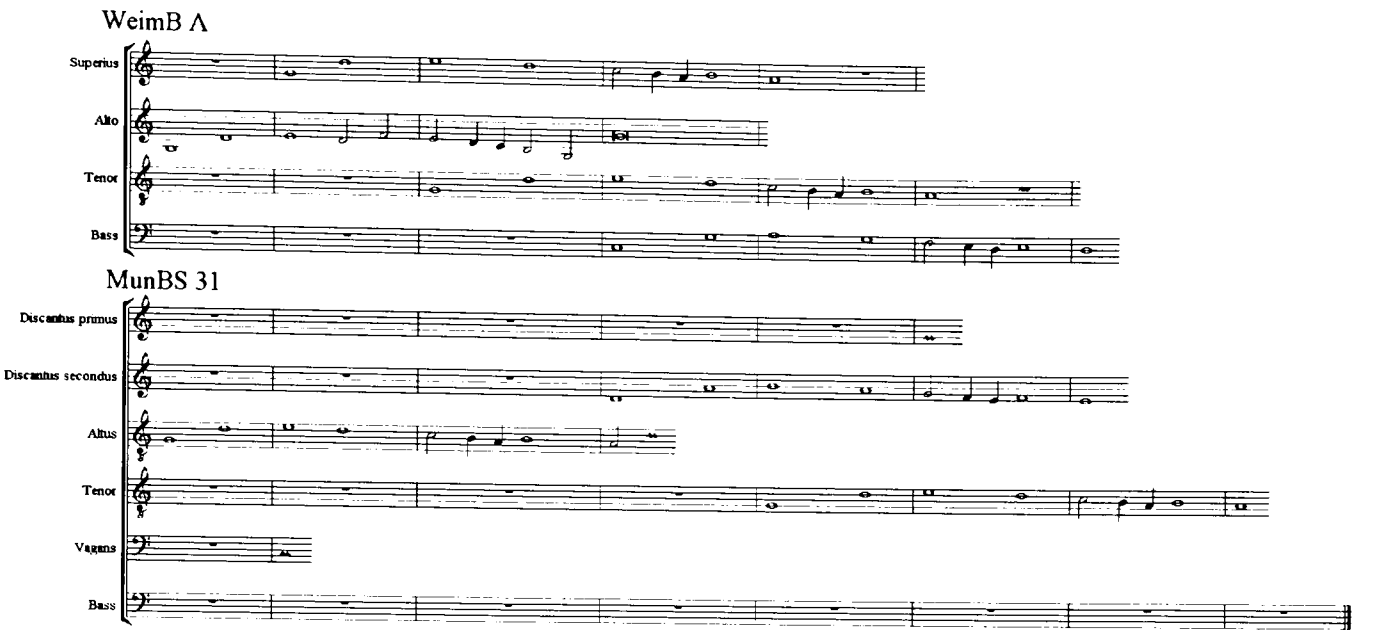
A direct comparison of the music of the WeimB A Christmas and Epiphany introits with their six-voice counterparts does indeed bring to light a significant number of instances of reliance on identical material. Overleaf, Music Examples 8 (a) (i)-(iii) and (b) (i) demonstrate motivic correspondences of both pitch and rhythm across entire chant phrases. Examples 8 (a) (i)-(iii) also show an identical disposition of several motivic statements within the contrapuntal framework. Examples 8 (a) (iv) and (b) (ii) present close, but not exact, similarities:

[139] See Strohm & Kempson, 'Isaac'. Strohm's suggested dating is made on logical grounds. Transmission remains mute on the matter, as the only source of these pieces, MunBS 31, is late.

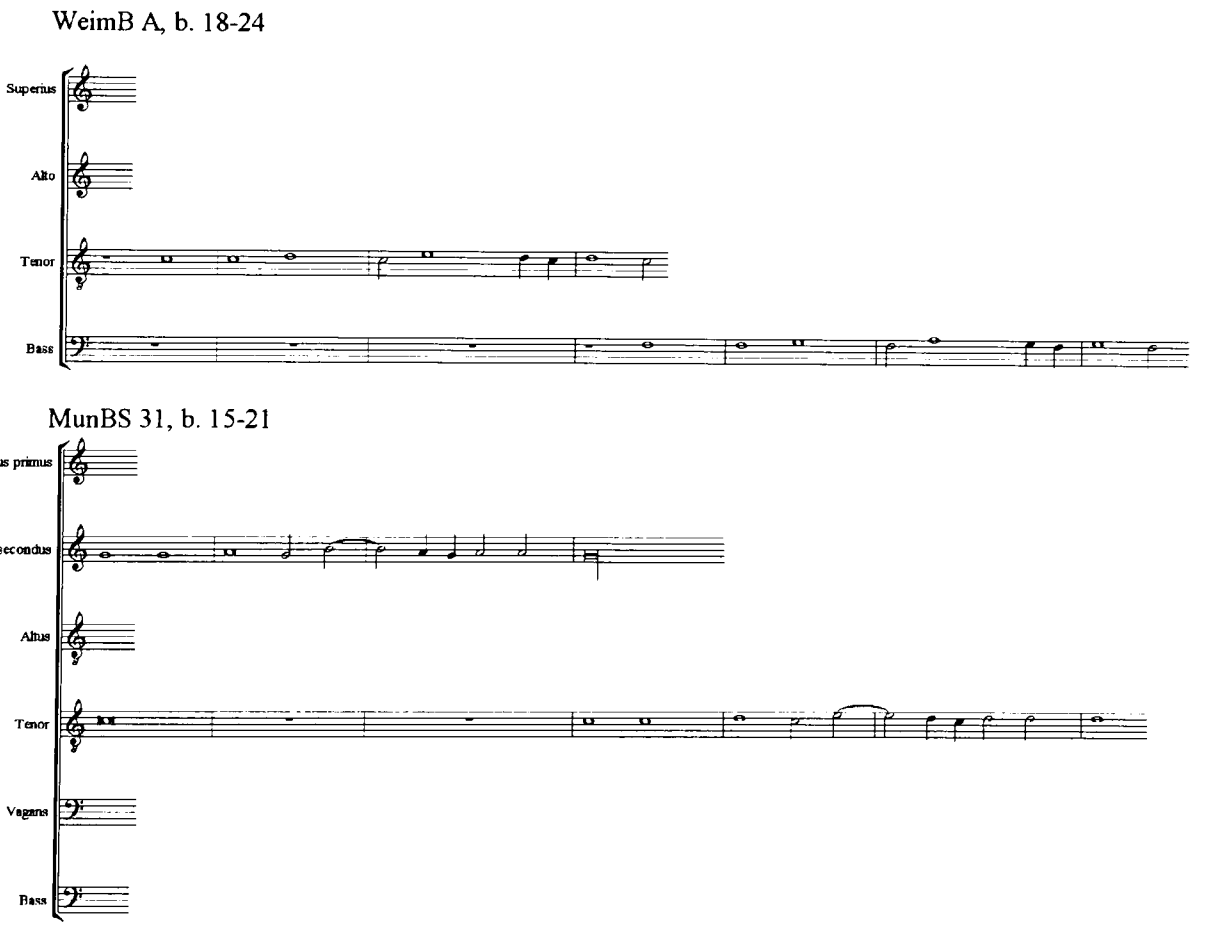
Music Example 8. Motivic Sharing in WeimB A and MunBS 31 Christmas and Epiphany Introits

(a) *Puer natus est nobis/et filius*:

(i) opening motif

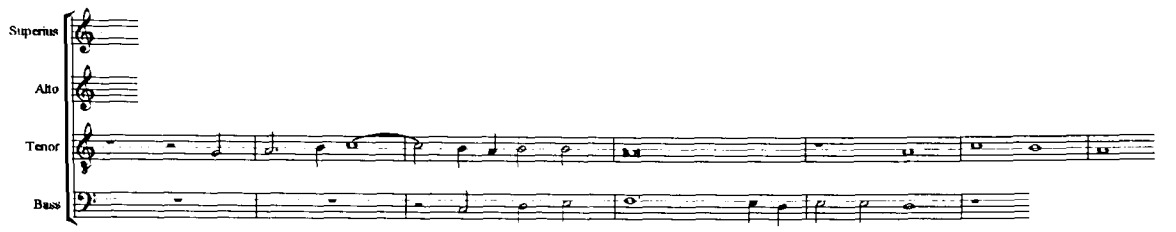


(ii) 'super humerum'



(iii) 'consilii'

WeimB A, b. 40-46

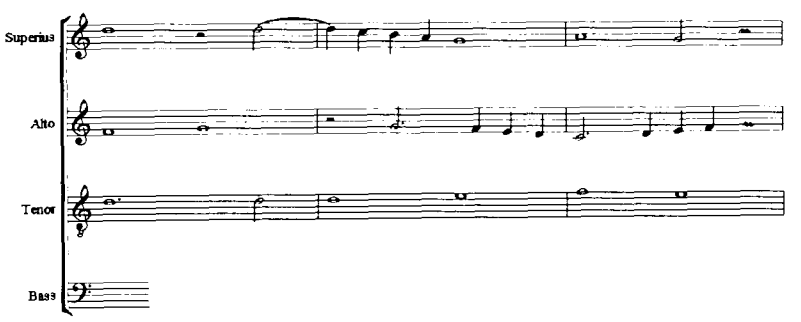


MunBS 31, b. 36-41

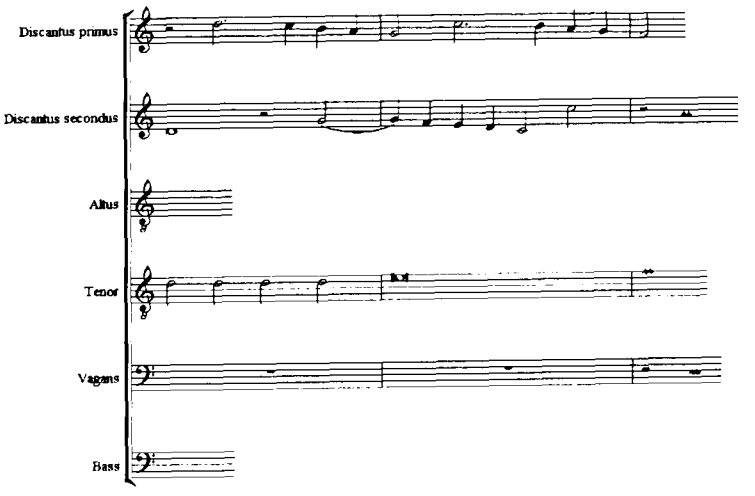


(iv) Verse, patterning at 'mirabilia'

WeimB A, b. 58-60



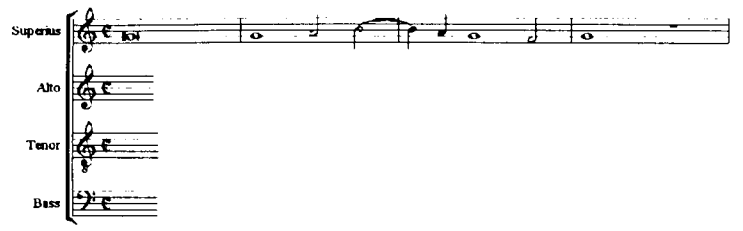
MunBS 31, b. 8-10



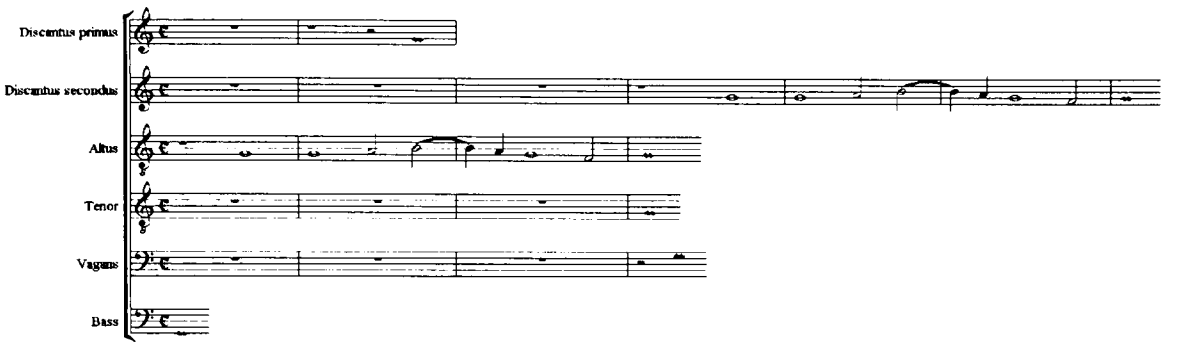
(b) *Ecce/advenit dominator*

(i) opening motif

WeimB A

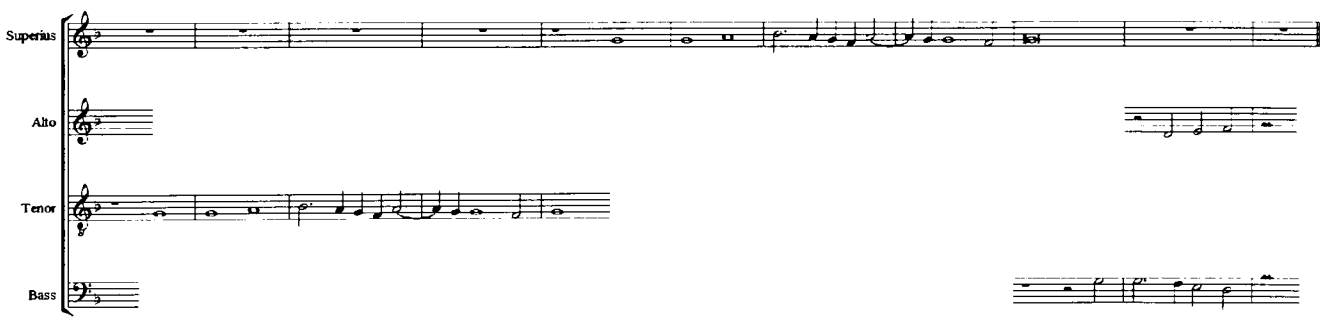


MunBS 31

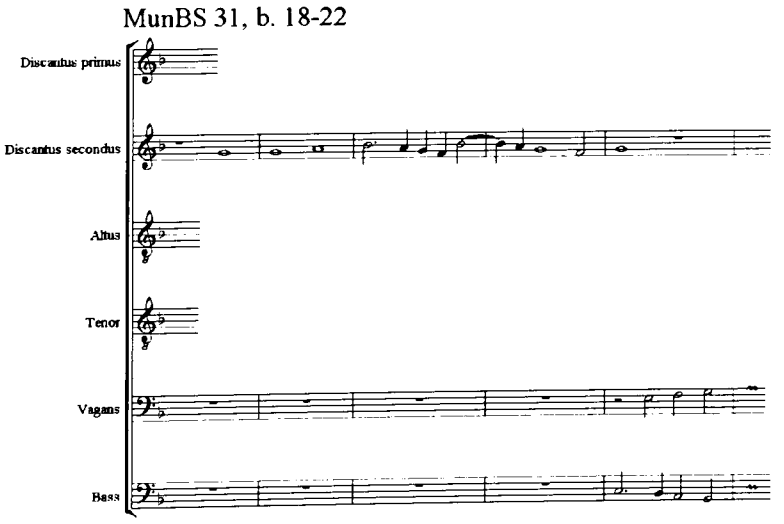


(ii) 'in manu'

WeimB A, b. 13-23



MunBS 31, b. 18-22



The possibility that these connections resulted from chance must be confronted. Most of the matches concern the cantus firmus-bearing voice, which is obviously limited in its pitch-choices and may have been subject to stereotypical rhythmic patterning. The options available for motivic imitation or transference within the contrapuntal framework are also limited, and governed by the shape of the motifs themselves. To address this issue, and to contextualise the connections found between the WeimB A and MunBS introits against a wider backdrop, a revealing comparison may be made with a 'control-group' of other treatments of *Puer natus* and *Ecce advenit*, by Rener, Senfl, and others in Rhau's *Officia de Nativitate* (RISM 1545[5]), as well as those by Isaac in CCII. The results suggest that the chance element may be dismissed, and that the connections found between WeimB A and MunBS 31 are indeed significant.[140] In only one instance, a *Puer natus* setting in RISM 1545[5], does a control-group member manifest any of the motifs that link the WeimB A and MunBS introits. It may be more than coincidental that the RISM setting is attributed to Isaac.[141] Beyond this, the control-group demonstrates that the motifs used in WeimB A and MunBS are distinct, for none offers any further precise correspondence with them. Two of Rener's *Puer natus* settings come closest: both begin with a motif like Example 8 (a) (i), but replace the pattern of a minim and two semiminims with a dotted minim and two *fusae*.[142] In general, the control-group shows how infrequent chance connections are, and how different two settings of the same chant may be. In this light it seems fair to conclude a dependency between WeimB A and MunBS settings. Although this ultimately does not assure Isaac's authorship of the former cycles, it is a major step in complementing at a stylistic level the suggestion that such a hypothesis is not misplaced.

If the connections between the WeimB A and MunBS 31 Christmas and Epiphany introits are accepted, an admittedly speculative historical account may be constructed to explain them. Strohm has proposed that the six-voice introits were amongst Isaac's earliest

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[140] Uniquely, the introit *Ecce advenit* is given in two settings in WeimB A. The second of these was printed by Rhau under Rener's name (see Table 4). The first has not been included in the control-group because its relation to the second is not clear. It is transcribed in Volume II of this thesis (p. 51-52).

[141] See Table 3, no. 35 and Rhau, *Musikdrucke XII*, 173-75.

[142] See Rener, *Collected Works*, vol. 1, 'Cycle II' and the individual setting, no. 17.

contributions to the Imperial mass-proper repertory. Six-voice music at this time was extremely rare, and required particular forces for its performance, forces that were almost certainly not available at the Saxon court. Moreover, the fact that the WeimB A readings of the tracts of Isaac's temporal series systematically omit all sections that deviate from four parts shows that scoring was an issue in the reception of this music. It is thus possible that Isaac made four-part versions of the introits specifically for the Saxon court, using material from his six-voice settings. Unlike the tract sections, the entire introits of major feasts could not simply be left aside. As the remaining movements of each cycle have no six-voice partners, it is possible that they were four-part Imperial repertory that could be directly taken over without adaptation.

An extraordinary direct musical connection forces two of the remaining WeimB A high feast cycles, those for St. Stephen and St. John, to be drawn into any argument concerning the authorship of those for Christmas and Epiphany, as well as links the Christmas and Epiphany cycles themselves. The alleluias of these four cycles are all set in practically identical polyphony.[143] In each, the 'Alleluia' section is absolutely identical, allowing for a small number of trivial variants. The verses are all constructed from the same polyphonic building-blocks, although the precise arrangement and length of these blocks is of necessity flexible in order to deal with the respective verse-texts' varying structures. This identity is possible due to the fact that the chant cantus firmi for these items are themselves all related. Indeed, the alleluias *Dies sanctificatus* (Christmas Day), *Video caelos* (St. Stephen), *Hic est discipulus* (St. John), and *Vidimus stellam* (Epiphany) belong to one of the largest families of alleluias with related chant melodies.[144] Nonetheless, the reflecting of cantus firmus identity in the polyphonic settings is clearly by no means an obligation. Four other members of the same alleluia family are set in the *Choralis*, yet none shows any points of contact with the WeimB A settings (cf. CCI/18. All. 'In exitu Israel'; CCII/12. All. 'Tu es Petrus'; CCIII/15.

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[143] Whilst this is obvious even from the most cursory examination, full details are given in Heidrich, *Chorbücher*, 218-21.

[144] See, most recently, Theodore Karp, *Aspects of Orality and Formularity in Gregorian Chant* (Illinois, 1998), 162-79.

All. 'Tu es Petrus'; CCIII/3. All. 'Sancti tui'; CCIII/5. All. 'Inveni David').[145] The matching that is found in WeimB A need not be seen simply as a labour-saving ploy, whether for the composer or for the singers. Indeed, this seems an unlikely explanation considering that a skilled composer was evidently engaged in setting the introits, sequences, and communions of these feasts. Rather, the parallelisms may constitute a conscious compositional decision, whose intent was precisely to preserve and emphasise the identity that is evident amongst the chants. Such polyphonic linking between the constituent cycles of a mass-proper series in fact has at least two significant precedents, in the introits of Brassart, and in the proper-cycles attributed to Dufay in Trent 88.[146] Viewed in this light, the use of recurrent polyphony in WeimB A is a historically recognisable technique of mass-propers to bind the high feast cycles together as a unified group. These internal musical links directly force the extension of whatever authorship conclusions are reached regarding individual members of this group to the group as a whole.

The remaining five cycles of WeimB A's Christmas group, including those for St. Stephen and St. John, are all anonymous *unica*. As the reuse of polyphony in four of the alleluias has already suggested, these remaining cycles are all cut from a similar musical cloth to each other and to the Christmas and Epiphany cycles. In stylistic terms, they neither contribute significant additional details, nor contradict any of the foregoing observations. There is no feature in any of these remaining settings that refutes the possibility of Isaac's authorship. To illustrate, and to conclude this section, the cycle for St. John will be examined, as representative of all the remaining cycles. This cycle is the most potentially fruitful because it provides the only opportunity, apart from those available with the Christmas and Epiphany cycles, for comparative analysis with settings securely attributed to Isaac. Secure settings by Isaac of the alleluia and sequence for St. John are found in the 'Opus musicum', and are the only two of his works found in those manuscripts to have been omitted from the

[145] DTÖ 5/i, p. 87; DTÖ 16/i, p. 90; CuylerCCIII, p. 371, 126, 208
[146] See Fallows, *Dufay*, 188-89, and the literature cited there. Also Section II.2, above.

CC print.[147] The WeimB A St. John cycle and Isaac's secure settings of the St. John alleluia and sequence are transcribed in Volume II of this thesis (p. 8-18, 38-51).

The distribution of the cantus firmus in the WeimB A St. John cycle is fully in keeping with the general style that is found in Isaac's temporal series as a whole. All movements have the discantus as the principal cantus firmus-bearing voice. Imitative passages are frequent, and may involve either one or several of the free parts (see e.g. the introit, b. 30). The 'Tibi sumus' section of the sequence sets the cantus firmus in dialogue between the discantus and altus, reversing the role of leading voice for the final phrase. Isaac's fondness for this structural disposition has been noted above. The communion opens and closes with quasi-canon between the discantus and altus voices (b. 1-9 and b. 27-end). Dissonances are handled in a conventional manner. Contrapuntal features are equally typical, with the octave-leap cadential structure remaining in evidence (see e.g. communion, b. 12; the form is modified by inclusion of an intervening rest, to allow the bassus to begin a new phrase after the leap).

The individual movements manifest a sensitivity to rhetorical and lucid delivery of the text that is as characteristic of Isaac's music as it is rare in that of his contemporaries. The introit antiphon has a passage in *fauxbourdon* (b. 13-). The verse of the same movement sets its initial phrase for the upper three parts alone. This is followed by a rest in all parts, then homophonic and syllabic declamation in full scoring. A similar tactic is also found in the alleluia verse (b. 50-). The final verse of the sequence ('Johannes Christi care') declaims its opening name not in the customary semibreves, but in breves, heightening the effect with fully scored homophony. The bassus adds a small amount of decorative detail. This lengthening of note-values for moments of particular solemnity is a practice transferred from the monophonic chant performance.[148] The same technique is evident throughout Isaac's chant-settings, but is also found in the works of many other composers. In Isaac, it is always

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[147] The St. John sequence polyphony is identical to that for St. Laurence (CCIII/21). See above, Section III.2, Table 3, notes to pieces 25 and 26.

[148] See Berry, 'The Performance of Plainsong in the Later Middle Ages and the Sixteenth Century'.

used sparingly. A name, whether of a saint or of Jesus, is a particularly favoured locus for its occurrence (see e.g. CCII/20. Intr.; CCIII/21. Sequ. penultimate section).[149]

The WeimB A settings of the St. John alleluia and sequence may be directly compared with securely attributed settings of the same by Isaac, from the 'Opus musicum'. The unclear relationship between Isaac's bassus cantus firmus settings and those that use the discantus, and the fundamental compositional difference that separates them, would suggest *a priori* that relatively few points of contact may be expected.[150] Nonetheless, there do exist a number of identities and similarities shared between the two versions. If these do not allow a direct dependency to be asserted, they clearly demonstrate the stylistic proximity of the WeimB A cycle with Isaac's music.

The most telling parallels are found in the alleluia. A relationship between the WeimB A and 'Opus' settings of this movement is of special importance because the WeimB A alleluia is one of those that is linked by direct polyphonic transference to other WeimB A alleluias in the Christmas-period group. The cantus firmus phrase 'discipulus ille' receives identical pitch and rhythm contours in its initial parts in both settings (cf. WeimB A, b. 14-20, discantus and MunBS, b. 29-35, bassus). This is significant, for neither element is forced by the cantus firmus or the conventions of chant-setting. The chant has a lengthy melisma at that point, which is simplified in its polyphonic treatment (see the GP, fol. 15'). That both settings should make the same pitch choices from this melisma would seem more than coincidence. Equally, the rhythmic features go beyond standard regular semibreves into smaller note values. Again, the potential distribution of these note-values is not fixed, thus the identity betrays a common and distinct chant-setting practice. More tentative parallels, which could possibly have arisen simply by chance, may be found between WeimB A b. 36-38, discantus and MunBS b. 52-55, altus and at the imitative complex at 'quia' (WeimB A, b. 57-58 and MunBS 42-44).

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[149] DTÖ 16/i, p. 152; CuylerCCIII, p. 418-19.
[150] See Section II.4, above.

In conclusion, stylistic uniformity and direct musical connections suggest a common origin for the WeimB A high feast group. They are clearly the work of a skilled and resourceful composer. Although it must be admitted that absolute evidence in favour of Isaac's authorship is lacking, the attribution to him first raised on transmissional and manuscript-contextual grounds is fully convincing in stylistic terms. The music shows many features found throughout his securely attributed works. In particular, the high feasts are closely aligned with his music for the temporal series, also found in WeimB A and published as CCI. Moreover, several pieces have direct musical connections with other settings that Isaac made of the same chants. There is thus no contradictory evidence against viewing the WeimB A high feasts as survivors of an Imperial high feast series hitherto believed to be lost, never composed, or only contain six-voice introits.

V

Summary and Conclusions

The goal of this thesis was to address the many issues and questions that exist in modern scholarship regarding Isaac's monumental contribution to the mass-proper genre. To begin this task, the introductory chapter (Section I) aimed to set out the changing ways in which Isaac has been understood from his time to ours, and to explain the distinctive position that he occupies in current musicology. By doing this, the exposition attempted to establish the motivations behind undertaking the research that forms the main body of this thesis and the particular directions it should take.

The first main section (Section II) concerned the *Choralis* print. The initial parts of the section presented the earlier history of the mass-proper, and known historical data concerning Isaac's involvement with the genre. This was followed by detailed analysis of the surviving *Choralis* sources, using the most recent codicological information in order to lay vitally important foundations for all further research into this music. Given the wide chronological divide between the composer and the print and the necessity of understanding the relationship between both sides of this divide, the goal of the section was four-fold:

i) To identify the chronology of each print item.

ii) To identify the provenance of each print item.

iii) To uncover the transmission of the music to the print-makers, and to detail the creation-process of the print itself.

iv) To determine the relationship of the items as they are preserved in the sources and in the print to Isaac's original mass-proper projects, including the pinpointing of pieces in the print that are not by Isaac.

This analysis led to the conclusion that Isaac began writing propers as soon as he entered Maximilian's service. CCI, excluding Trinity Sunday, and CCIII are of Imperial origin. CCII, and the Trinity Sunday cycle from CCI, comprise the music commissioned by Constance cathedral. Bente's theory of a Constance origin for the beginning of CCIII can be discounted. The Imperial music of CCI dates from *c.* 1496-1500, the Constance Commission from *c.* 1508-9. CCIII is of indeterminate date, although at least some probably dates from Isaac's later years, *c.* 1510-17. Thus the order of the prints represents the order of composition on a large scale, although some of CCI stems from later revisions of the music Isaac originally provided. Some of these revisions were most probably made in Munich in the 1520s when the music was adapted for Bavarian usage, although some may also have been carried out in the Imperial chapel.

For making the print, the later part of CCI was drawn from the Munich sources MunBS 39 and a predecessor to MunBS 29. The rest of CCI can also be presumed to have come via Munich, though sources are no longer extant. CCII arrived at the printer most likely through a copy passed on by an ex-member of Constance cathedral choir who did not follow the establishment to Überlingen in 1527. CCIII was in part taken from the 'Opus musicum' and in part compiled from a loose collection of Common of Saints items available at Munich, and containing music not only by Isaac, but also by others. Whilst some of the instances of music by others in CCIII have long been known, the reattribution to Senfl of one further piece, CCIII/3. Int. 3, was suggested. The entire preparation-process for the print was near-complete by *c.* 1537. A small number of changes were nonetheless made before the collection finally reached the printing-press.

The analysis of the transmission process forced a re-evaluation of the relationship between Isaac's mass-proper projects and the print. The extended afterlife of Isaac's music testified to by both print and manuscript sources is characterised not by static preservation, but by a dynamic process that effected both internal and external changes upon its material. The transmission of the print has a hitherto unsuspected complexity, involving the reshaping of Isaac's music in accordance with new agendas at each transmission-stage. This applies

both to the preprint sources and to the print itself. Later-sixteenth-century reception continued in precisely the same transformative manner. Thus Isaac's projects are not directly represented in the print nor in any other surviving source, although comparison of the surviving sources to each other allows glimpses into Isaac's original projects.

The unpicking of the source information led firstly to a reconsideration of Isaac's projects themselves, and their place in his career. Isaac's secure four-voice mass-propers for the Imperial chapel consist of a temporal series and a sanctoral series. However, both musical evidence and source preservation leave the relationship between these two series unclear. Although they are nonoverlapping in terms of coverage, they are separated chronologically in Isaac's career, take distinct and different musical approaches to the cantus firmus, and only seem to have been clearly joined together in the *Choralis* print itself. Whilst it is fair to assume that the Constance commission music is preserved intact and in its entirety in the print, the research led to the hitherto unconsidered conclusion that this project must have contained not only mass-propers, but also ordinaries. The CCIII *Missa Paschalis* was identified as a possible Constance ordinary.

An important result of the source analysis was the demonstration that sources with a legitimacy equal to, or even greater than, those used for the print became sidelined in the transmission-process. This issue led to the second main section of this thesis (Section III). Firstly, Section III subjected the currently accepted corpus of Isaac's non-*Choralis* propers, drawn up on the basis of manuscript attributions, to reappraisal. A case-study was made of the largest later collection of manuscript *unica* attributed to Isaac, found in the Augsburg sources AugsS 7 and AugsS 23. The examination showed that the authenticity of these pieces as works of Isaac must be seriously doubted. This allowed the possibility that Isaac composed specifically for Augsburg to be ruled out, leaving no evidence that Isaac composed for any institution apart from the Imperial chapel and Constance cathedral. Rather, AugsS 7 and AugsS 23 testify to Isaac's late-sixteenth-century reception. The cycles as they were published in the *Choralis* were adapted to the liturgical demands of their new Augsburg

context through the addition of (locally produced?) chant-settings for which there was no provision in the print.

Secondly, the possibility of parts of Isaac's mass-proper projects surviving anonymously was reassessed in the light of Section II's analysis of the print and its sources. In particular, this concerned Imperial high feast settings, which do not seem to be present in the *Choralis* print. The theories of several earlier scholars regarding these high feasts were discussed. Whilst that of Helmut Hell was found to be largely unsupportable, Strohm's proposal that the MunBS 31 six-voice introits number amongst Isaac's first contributions to Imperial mass-propers is convincing. Nonetheless, the results of this thesis suggested that there may have been more to this repertory than simply the six-voice series, and that some of this music may in fact be preserved in the manuscript WeimB A. In addition, it is possible that Isaac set ferial days, both in Lent and for the weeks after Easter and Pentecost. These may be identical with those found in WeimB A and MunBS 29.

The third main section (Section IV) set out to evaluate through musical analysis the attributions and de-attributions proposed on transmissional grounds in Sections II and III. This involved consideration of individual pieces and groups within the *Choralis* itself, within Isaac's accepted non-*Choralis* proper output, and within anonymous repertory. The music-stylistic evidence in no instance contradicted the conclusions obtained from transmission. Two pieces in the *Choralis* were de-attributed from Isaac. The first, CCI/26. Comm., was almost certainly a late addition to fill a gap in the print-models. Whilst MunBS 39 preserves a different setting of this chant, some stylistic peculiarities prevented its unconditional acceptance as Isaac's original. The second, CCIII/3. Int. 3, may be by Senfl. The variant readings of CCI music found in WeimB A seem, firstly, to be Isaac's work, and, secondly, mostly to constitute versions earlier than those found in the print. The use of an ostinato pattern throughout many of the WeimB A versions was identified as a special feature peculiar to Isaac when it appears in mass-propers. A number of hitherto unnoticed examples of similar structures were found within the *Choralis*. Some of the WeimB A variants contain secular song quotations in their underparts that were removed in the versions printed in the *Choralis*

and taken from MunBS 39. The latter versions may stem from adaptation to suit the Bavarian liturgy when this music was received there in the 1520s. This same origin may apply to other differences between WeimB A and MunBS 39-CCI, although in at least one instance MunBS 39-CCI seems to preserve an earlier version than that found in WeimB A.

Of variants from other manuscript sources, it was shown that BerlDS 40024 offers more secure readings than the print of a number of pieces in CCIII. The two settings of the introit 'Vocem iocunditatis', from CCI/47, and MunBS 29 both appear to be Isaac's work. From the accepted non-*Choralis* propers, stylistic examination of the Augsburg *unica* served to reinforce the earlier hypothesis that these pieces are not by Isaac, but are later additions, perhaps from the 1570s when AugsS7 and AugsS 23 were compiled, to fulfil the specific requirements of the institution for which the manuscripts were created. From the anonymous pieces potentially by Isaac, the WeimB A high feasts were subjected to close scrutiny. Because of the reuse of identical polyphony in the alleluias of four of the cycles, the high feasts may be considered a unified group. Authorship suggestions from one or two of the cycles may legitimately be extended to cover the remainder. Some direct musical connections were found with the MunBS 31 six-voice introits, and the general stylistic proximity to known music by Isaac was detailed. The four-voice Christmas and Epiphany introits may have been specially adapted for the Saxon court, for which scoring was clearly an issue. An attribution of these cycles to Isaac was thus convincing in both transmissional and musical terms. Music for ferial days was not analysed in Section IV because these cycles represent the most hypothetical of all the proposed alterations to Isaac's corpus, despite transmissional evidence suggesting that Isaac did compose for these days. At the present time, the lack of sufficient concrete evidence made the building of an appropriately convincing case impossible, whether for or against Isaac's authorship. It is hoped that this music may soon receive the attention it deserves. A transcription of a ferial day cycle from MunBS 29 is given in Volume II to provide initial encouragement to interested scholars.

The results of this thesis are not simply ends in themselves, but also foundations for future research. The deepening and reshaping of the understanding of both the place of the

mass-proper within Isaac's output, and the history of this music's passage, or not, to the printing-press offered in this thesis cannot be expected to be the last word on the matter. Although I believe that what has been presented is the most thorough and reasonable reading of the evidence currently available, some conclusions have of necessity been speculative or hypothetical. My wish is that they may act as a stimulus and a challenge to future scholars, who may either read the existing evidence differently or have new information with which to support or refute my conclusions. Moreover, this thesis has left many avenues of investigation entirely untouched. I hope that my conclusions will facilitate research in these directions by providing a firm basis from which to begin.

Manuscript and Print Sigla

1. Manuscript Sigla

AugsS 7	Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Tonkunst Schletterer 7
AugsS 23	Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Tonkunst Schletterer 23
BasU F.VI.26h	Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. F.VI.26h
BerlDS 40024	Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Mus. 40024
BerlPS 40013	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Mus. 40013
BerlS 40021	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Mus. 40021 (contains three pieces labelled 'Ysac de manu sua')
BudOS 2	Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms. Bártfa 2
BudOS 8	Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms. Bártfa 8
BudOS 20	Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms. Bártfa 20
BudOS 22	Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms. Bártfa 22
BudOS 23	Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms. Bártfa 23

BudOS 24	Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms. Bártfa 24
BudOS P1	Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms. Bártfa Mus. Pr. 1
BudOS P6	Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms. Bártfa Mus. Pr. 6
BudOS P17	Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms. Bártfa Mus. Pr. 17
DessAL 134	Dessau, Anhaltische Landesbücherei, Hs. 134 8° (not listed in *Census-Catalogue*)
DresSL 1/D/505	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms. Mus. 1/D/505 (olim Bibliothek der St. Annenkirche Ms. 1248)
DresSL 1/D/506	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms. Mus. 1/D/506 (olim Bibliothek der St. Annenkirche Ms. 1126)
DresSL 1/E/24	Dresden, Sächsiche Landesbibliothek, Ms. Mus. 1/E/24
DresSL Glashütte 5	Dresden, Sächsiche Landesbibliothek, Ms. Glashütte 5
DresSL Grimma 53	Dresden, Sächsiche Landesbibliothek, Ms. Grimma 53
DresSL Grimma 57	Dresden, Sächsiche Landesbibliothek, Ms. Grimma 57
DresSL Grimma 59	Dresden, Sächsiche Landesbibliothek, Ms. Grimma 59

DresSL Löbau 51	Dresden, Sächsiche Landesbibliothek, Ms. Löbau 51
EisS s. s.	Eisenach, Stadtarchiv, Ms. s. s. ('Eisenacher Cantorenbuch')
ErlU 473/1	Erlangen, Universtätsbibliothek, Ms. 473/1
ErlU 473/3	Erlangen, Universtätsbibliothek, Ms. 473/3
ErlU 473/4	Erlangen, Universtätsbibliothek, Ms. 473/4
FlorBN II.I.232	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. II.I.232 (olim Magliabecchi XIX. 58)
'Heidelberg' Inventory	Heidelberg, Codex Pal. Germ 318 (a list of the books in Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich's library in Neuberg, 1544)
HradKM 17	Hradec Králové, Krajske Muzeum, Literární Archiv, Ms. II.A.17
JenaU 30	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Ms. 30
JenaU 33	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Ms. 33
KlosA 70	Klosterneuberg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift, Cod. 70
KönSU 1740	Königsberg (now Kaliningrad), former Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 1740 (olim Pb. 11)

LeipU 49/50	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Bibliothek der Thomaskirche, Ms. 49/50
MunBS 19	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Ms. 19
MunBS 25	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Ms. 25
MunBS 26	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Ms. 26
MunBS 29	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Ms. 29
MunBS 31	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Ms. 31
MunBS 33	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Ms. 33
MunBS 35	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Ms. 35 ('Opus musicum', Summer, book B)
MunBS 36	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Ms. 36 ('Opus musicum', Summer, book A)
MunBS 37	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Ms. 37 ('Opus musicum', Winter, book B)
MunBS 38	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Ms. 38 ('Opus musicum', Winter, book A)

MunBS 39	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Ms. 39
MunBS 47	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Ms. 47
MunBS 52	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Ms. 52
MunBS 53	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Ms. 53
MunBS 3154	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Ms. 3154 ('Chorbuch des Nicolaus Leopold')
MunBS 3936	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Ms. 3936
NurGN 8820Q	Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Ms. 8820 Q
OrL 1053	Oranienbaum, Landeshauptarchiv, Sachsen-Anhalt, Aussenstelle Oranienbaum, GAR NS Nr. 1053 (not listed in *Census-Catalogue*)
RegB 838-43	Regensburg, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. A. R. 838-43
RegB 878-82	Regensburg, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. A. R. 878-82
RegB 894-907	Regensburg, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. A. R. 894-907
RegB C 96	Regensburg, Zentralbibliothek, C 96

RegB C 100	Regensburg, Zentralbibliothek, C 100
RosU 49	Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Mus. Saec. XVI-49
SGallS 463	Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 463 ('Tschudi Liederbuch')
SGallS 530	Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 530 ('Fridolin Sicher organ tablature')
StuttL 32	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Ms. musica folio I 32
StuttL 40	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Ms. musica folio I 40
StuttL 42	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Ms. musica folio I 42
VienNB 18745	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung 18745
VienNB 18810	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung 18810
WeimB A	Weimar, Bibliothek der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchengemeinde, Ms. A
WeimB B	Weimar, Bibliothek der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchengemeinde, Ms. B
WrocS 14	Wrocław [Breslau], former Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Mus. 14 (lost)

WrocS 92	Wrocław [Breslau], former Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Mus. 92 (lost)
WrocU 101	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Ms. 101
ZerbstH s. s.	Zerbst, former Herzogliches Haus- und Staatsarchiv, Ms. s. s. (lost)
ZürZ 169	Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. car. V 169
ZwiR 94/1	Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, Ms. 94/1

2. Print Sigla

RISM 1537[1] — Johannes Ott, *Novum et insigne opus musicum* (Nuremberg, 1537).

RISM 1539[14] — Georg Rhau, *Officia Paschalia de Resurrectione et Ascensione Domini* (Wittenberg, 1539; Rhau, *Musikdrucke VIII*, ed. Robert L. Parker).

RISM 1539[27] — Georg Forster, *Frische teutsche Liedlein*, first part (Nuremberg, 1539; ed. Kurt Gudewill, Das Erbe deutscher Musik 20).

RISM 1541[2] — Johannes Petreius, *Trium vocum cantiones centum* (Nuremberg, 1541; facsimile, intro. by H. Mayer Brown, Renaissance Music in Facsimile 26).

RISM 1544[20] — Johannes Ott, *Hundert und fünffzehen guter newer Liedlein* (Nuremberg, 1544).

RISM 1545[5] — Georg Rhau, *Officiorum (ut vocant) de Nativitate, Circumcisione, Epiphaniae Domini & Purificatione &c. Tomus Primus* (Wittenberg, 1545; Rhau, *Musikdrucke XII*, ed. Franz Krautwurst).

RISM 1545[7] — Georg Rhau, *Bicinia Gallica, Latina, Germanica* (Wittenberg, 1545; Rhau, *Musikdrucke VI*, ed. Bruce Bellingham).

RISM 1549[16] — Johannes Montanus & Ulrich Neuber (ed. Erasmus Rotenbucher), *Diphona amoena et florida* (Nuremberg, 1549).

RISM 1549[37]	Georg Forster, Frische teutsche Liedlein, third part (Nuremberg, 1549).
CCI	*Primus tomus Coralis Constantini, ut vulgo vocant...Authore nunquam satis laudato Musico, Henrico Isaac* (Nuremberg, 1550).
CCII	*Tomus secundus Coralis Constantini...Authore Henrico Isaac, Maximiliani Cesaris quondam Archimusico* (Nuremberg, 1555).
CCIII	*Choralis Henrici Isaac tertius tomus* (Nuremberg, 1555).
RISM 1573[2]	*Primus tomus eccesiasticarum cantionum...a prima dominica adventus, usque ad passionem domini...per Leonartum Pamingerum compositarum* (Nuremberg, 1573).
RISM 1573[3]	*Secundus tomus ecclesiasticarum cantionum...a passione domini...usque ad primam dominicam post festum S. Trinitatis, per Leonartum Paminger compositarum* (Nuremberg, 1573).
RISM 1576[1]	*Tertius tomus ecclesiaticarum cantionum...a prima dominica post festum S. Trinitatis usque ad primam dominica adventus...autore Leonarto Pamingero* (Nuremberg, 1576).
RISM 1580[2]	*Quartus tomus cantionum ecclesiasticarum...continens 1. Psalmos. 2. Singularum tonorum, et eorundem differentiarum (quam contrapunctum vocant) Psalmodiam. 3. Aliquot pias preces, et sacrae scripturae sententias. Autore Leonarto Paminger.*

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