THE MULTIVOICE SACRED MUSIC OF NICOLAS GOMBERT: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION

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Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of

Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH ARTS AND SCIENCES

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THE MULTIVOICE SACRED MUSIC OF NICOLAS GOMBERT: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF STYLE AND CONTEXT

Brandi A. Neal, PhD

University of Pittsburgh, 2011

This dissertation examines the sacred compositions for six or more voices by Nicolas Gombert (1495-1560). Two multivoice (six or more voices) compositional techniques emerged in sixteenth-century Europe. The first of these, the Italian double-choir (*coro spezzato*) technique, has received far more attention from scholars. This practice divided the vocal ensemble into two groups that sang either separately or together, and whose members remained consistent throughout the musical composition. The second technique, practiced by composers in northern Europe, also split settings into two or more vocal groups, but the members of the groupings constantly changed. This dissertation examines the second practice of multivoice writing in the sacred music of Gombert.

My study is concerned with multiple issues essential in understanding Gombert's works and their relationship to other techniques of vocal writing in the sixteenth century. Among these issues, I focus on compositional procedure and context, both historical and musical. I examine Gombert's multivoice techniques across three sacred genres, motets, masses and his single complete *octo tonorum* cycle of Magnificats. I highlight the mechanical procedures of the pervading imitative style and how it may have been adapted to larger settings.

I have found evidence of a distinct change in his compositional process in settings for more than six voices. Gombert's motets demonstrate this change in procedure. Whereas his motets for six voices show procedures utilized in settings for four and five voices, the motets also demonstrate handling of vocal groupings that appears with greater frequency in his settings for more than six voices. To further contextualize Gombert's music, I discuss how Gombert negotiates and adapts other styles and integrates them within his own. All of his multivoice masses, for example, integrate musical techniques and styles from the previous generation. The Magnificat cycle presents a unique opportunity to examine Gombert's multivoice processes as a case study.

Nicolas Gombert has been a murky figure and his works have been somewhat dismissed as compositional curiosities due to the density of his pervading imitation style. This dissertation sheds light on Gombert's compositional processes and adds to our understanding of multivoice writing in the mid-sixteenth century.

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PREFACE

I would like to thank the many people who assisted me with the research and preparation of this dissertation. Michele Magnabosco and the staff of the Accademia Filarmonica di Verona were gracious with their time and resources. Professors Andrew Miller and Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski were also forthcoming with their expertise. John Bradley, Joshua Rifkin, Stephen Rice, Bernadette Nelson, Jennifer Thomas, David Rothenberg and Christopher Ruth were indispensable in their contributions to this study.

I'd also like to thank my Carolina family, Ivan Raykoff, Jennifer Ottervik, Julie Hubbert and Doug Graham for their nurturing. The late Dr. Dorothy K. Payne was always encouraging and the ultimate candy source in times of need. My Pitt family, the staff in the Music Department and Arts and Sciences Advising Center, were always cheerful and encouraging.

My committee was, of course, the backbone of my dissertation and I'd like to thank Professors Francesca Savoia, Don Franklin, Alan Lewis, Jim Cassaro and Mary Lewis for their (loving) criticism, suggestions and help. I'd like to thank my adviser Mary Lewis, particularly, for putting up with me.

My friends, Lyndsey, Dana, Quentin, David, Christina, Joanna, Dorcinda, Oye, Elizabeth, Kim and Hille and Tarese, are awesome and kept me grounded throughout the writing process. Finally, I'd like to thank my family for their support during the dissertation process, especially my mother, Redosha H. Neal.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Two approaches to composing for six or more voices emerged in Europe in the 1530s and 1540s. Musicologists have given more attention to one approach, the northern Italian polychoral style, where choirs were split consistently into two antiphonal groups. Less focus has been directed to northern European composers who developed an alternate approach to composing for larger forces. Rather than splitting their ensembles into two consistent and well-defined choirs, the northern Europeans adapted the style of pervading imitation that had been customary for four-and five-voice settings to settings for six or more voices. Due to the problems that potentially arise when applying pervading imitation to more than five voices, northern composers generally altered their compositional procedures to suit these multivoice settings. My dissertation examines the adaptation processes of this unique approach to large-group vocal settings in the works of Nicolas Gombert (c. 1495-1560), a composer associated with Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500-1558).

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¹ Among the numerous terms for this style, including systematic imitation and syntactic imitation, pervading imitation seems the most ubiquitous.

² In this study, "multivoice" refers to works for six or more voices.

Nicolas Gombert was listed as a singer in the chapel of Charles V in 1526, was promoted to *maître des enfants* in 1529, and was an unofficial court composer of the emperor. He was dismissed from imperial service and succeeded by Cornelius Canis by 1540, yet continued to compose while in retirement at Tournai. Gombert is regarded as the leading practitioner of the pervading imitative style which employed systematic imitation as its main organizing principle.³ In this dissertation I examine the possible occasions for and compositional processes in Gombert's multivoice motets, masses and his cycle of *Magnificats*.

1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM AND APPROACH

Three issues are central to my study: compositional procedure, context, both historical and musical, and significance. In investigating Gombert's technique in applying or adapting the imitative style to multivoice settings, propose occasions for which these works were composed and examine how these pieces fit within the greater framework of composing for six or more voices in the sixteenth century. The core questions to be asked are: what were the compositional procedures employed in these exceptional works and what were the conditions that promoted their composition? Accordingly, my approaches to the multivoice works are through style and context.

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³ George Nugent and Eric Jas, "Gombert, Nicolas," *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 18 November 2007), http://www.grovemusic.com>.

Concerning style, I examine the mechanical procedures of the pervading imitative style and how it may have been adapted to larger settings. Intuitively, it would seem likely that the procedures employed in the conventional mass and motet for four and five voices would change as they are applied to settings for six, seven, eight, ten, and twelve voices. Gombert's imitative style must have been altered in these larger settings to retain musical coherence and ease the laborious technical requirements inherent in the translation of pervading imitation to a multivoice setting. For example, Nugent and Jas suggest that "because of the technical demands of [Gombert's] multi-voice writing, these [multivoice] works contain more direct repetition, sequence and ostinato than his other music." The techniques described by Nugent and Jas are largely absent, however, from Gombert's sacred genres. Their absence illustrates the possible accommodations necessary for multivoice compositions. In addition to those suggested by Nugent and Jas, this dissertation examines specific techniques Gombert employs in his sacred multivoice settings.

The investigation of historical context informs our understanding of these works. Though many of the details of Gombert's employment remain obscure, the large part of his surviving work was created for use in the imperial chapel and to accompany imperial activities. In the case of the motets specifically, it is possible that these works may have had some function within the rituals held at court. The larger settings, for seven to twelve voices, likely accompanied important ceremonies associated with Charles V's activities. Considering the prominence of Gombert's patron, there would be numerous occasions that needed special musical compositions. Gombert's multivoice sacred works, particularly his larger motets, would easily satisfy these

.

⁴ Ibid.

needs. The existence of several multivoice *contrafacta* further supports this hypothesis. Charles V traveled extensively with his court chapel and the various venues encountered offered opportunities for the performance of the multivoice works. It would have been practical to reuse elaborate music for these occasions whenever appropriate. I examine a group of multivoice sacred *contrafacta* in Gombert's surviving output that may have been used in such a way.

Additionally, I compare the compositional procedures employed in these works to other compositional techniques of the sixteenth century. As noted earlier, polychoral works retain their vocal groupings, while Gombert's multivoice compositions do not. His groupings are flexible, and constantly changing. This distinction is crucial in determining the greater significance of Gombert's multivoice style.

1.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Presently there is no study that addresses the application of the post-Josquin imitative style to works for six or more voices. However, there are numerous biographical and stylistic studies concerning Gombert, or polychoral and multivoice music in the Renaissance. This literature review addresses a selected number of these studies to provide a foundation for my approach to Gombert's multivoice works.

Though seventy years have passed since it was first published, the leading biographical and stylistic study of Nicolas Gombert and his music is Joseph Schmidt-Görg's *Nicolas Gombert*,

Kapellmeister Kaiser Karls V. Leben und Werk.⁵ This monograph illuminates the life and musical activities of Gombert, and provides the earliest insights into the musical activities in the court of Charles V.

Before Schmidt-Görg's study, Hans Eppstein published *Nicolas Gombert als Motettenkomponist*, which serves as a guide to the compositional processes at work within Gombert's motets.⁶ In addition to providing some biographical information, Eppstein discusses the formal, melodic, imitative, and "tonal" aspects of Gombert's motet style within the framework of the standard formal construction and imitative style in the music of Josquin. His study provides the earliest modern style guide to Gombert's works.

Alan Lewis's "Un certo che di grandezza': Nicolas Gombert's First Book of Four-Part Motets (1539)" examines the Scotto collection as a case study of Gombert's contrapuntal style. Additionally, the dissertation examines Gombert's motet style and its involvement in the general stylistic development of the time. The author compares Gombert's style to that of his contemporaries and successors to highlight Gombert's compositional skill. Lewis's analyses help to reveal the intricacies of the pervading imitative style and served my dissertation as a reference for the procedures of Gombert's four-voice motet.

Because my dissertation seeks to contextualize Gombert's multivoice works, it is essential to understand the ceremonies, activities and traditions associated with the emperor's court chapel

⁵ Joseph Schmidt-Görg, *Nicolas Gombert, Kapellmeister Karls V: Leben und Werk* (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1938).

⁶ Hans Eppstein, *Nicolas Gombert als Motettenkomponist* (Würzburg: Buchdruckerei R. Mayr, 1935).

⁷ Alan J. Lewis, "'Un certo che di grandezza': Nicolas Gombert's First Book of Four-Part Motets (1539)" (PhD diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1995).

where these works may have been performed. One significant tradition revealed during my research so far is the continuity in practices between major figures of the Habsburg family. This continuity is especially important for understanding the transitions from Phillip the Fair (1478-1506) to Phillip II (1527-1589). The tradition allows me to consider the activities of the preceding and succeeding rulers as potential practices in the reign of Charles V.

A significant collection of essays regarding the role of music in the court of Charles V is *The Empire Resounds: Music in the Days of Charles V*, which includes three essays that explore the place and function of music in the life and court of Charles V. The first, "Foundation for an Empire: The Musical Inheritance of Charles V" by Honey Meconi explores the musical legacy left to the emperor by his Burgundian ancestors. She outlines the expansion of the Burgundian chapel by Phillip the Bold and Phillip the Fair, describes regulations that were periodically reinstated and discusses the creation of institutions such as the Order of the Golden (1342-1404) Fleece that featured musical performances at their gatherings. Finally, Meconi describes Phillip the Fair's practice of "illuminated bribery," that is the sending of extravagant manuscripts to figures whom he wished to impress. Charles V participated in this practice and Meconi briefly describes the manuscripts sent to Frederick the Wise (1463-1525), Henry VIII (1491-1547) and Pope Leo X (1475-1521), among others. Her article serves as insight into the practice of maintaining the Burgundian ducal musical tradition that survived to the reign of Charles V's son Phillip II.

 $^{^8}$ Francis Maes, ed., *The Empire Resounds: Music in the Days of Charles V* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999).

⁹ Ibid., 19-34.

The subsequent essay, Bruno Bouckaert's "The *Capilla Flamenca*: The Composition and Duties of the Music Ensemble at the Court of Charles V, 1515-1558," also demonstrates the legacy of the Burgundian chapel practices and notes that though Charles V's official residence was in Spain the court chapel musicians were exclusively Flemish and accompanied the emperor on his travels.¹⁰ Bouckaert describes the makeup of the *capilla*, including singers and instrumentalists, its primary liturgical activities, and its significant composers.

The final section of the collection of essays is a chronological outline by Ignace Bossuyt of Charles's political career through music. Bossuyt begins with the description of the musical activities of Margaret of Austria (1480-1530), Charles V's aunt and guardian after the death of his father, and meticulously follows the events in the emperor's life. A particularly illuminating section examines Charles V and the *Staatsmotette*, in which Bossuyt describes some compositions associated with important occasions in the emperor's life. In all, this collection of essays is invaluable as a reference to Charles V's court and its practices.

Though Cornelius Canis is not a composer whose works are directly addressed in my study, his position as the direct successor to Thomas Crecquillon (ca. 1505-1557), Charles V's last chapel master, makes him an important figure in the activities of the *capilla flamenca*. Homer Rudolph's "The Life and Works of Cornelius Canis" remains the authoritative study of the composer. Though much of his dissertation is beyond the scope of my study, it is valuable in

¹⁰ Ibid., 36-45.

¹¹ Ibid., 84-160.

¹² Homer Rudolf, "The Life and Works of Cornelius Canis" (PhD diss., University of Illinois-Urbana, 1976).

identifying some of Charles V's travels during his reign, as his mobility as a legacy of the Burgundian dukes has frustrated scholars.

In a recent study published in *Early Music History*, Bernadette Nelson examines a newly-discovered constitutional document of Phillip II's royal chapel and illustrates the continuity in procedure between Habsburg rulers.¹³ The document, "The Order which is held in the Offices in the Chapel of His Majesty," was originally drafted for the chapel around 1550, but was updated for the succession of Phillip II. Nelson explains that the order was written by an active member of the chapel and offers insight into practices and traditions that are not readily found in formal edicts. The document reveals the practices Philip II inherited from his grandfather Phillip the Fair and other customs associated with important occasions during Charles V's reign.¹⁴ Nelson's appendices include an outline of the duties and responsibilities of the officers in the chapel, a list of official statutes and constitutional documents in the various courts associated with the Burgundian Habsburgs in Spain and figures associated with the chapels from 1556-1562. Her study supports the continuity practiced by Burgundian Habsburg rulers in Spain and offers us insight into the court of Charles the V via the activities of his son.

As can be deduced from its title, Emilio Ros-Fabregas's study, "Music and Ceremony during Charles V's 1519 visit to Barcelona," examines the music and rituals associated with this visit, particularly the emperor's formal entry into the city, the funeral for his grandfather Maximilian of Austria (1459-1519), and the meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece.¹⁵ In addition to a

¹³ Bernadette Nelson, "Ritual and Ceremony in the Spanish Royal Chapel c. 1559-c.1561," *Early Music History* 19 (2000): 105-200.

¹⁴ Ibid., 107.

detailed description of the various rituals, Ros-Fabregas includes a register of the Flemish chapel and members of the Order. Though Ros-Fabregas suggests that the direct musical influences on Barcelona by Charles V's visit cannot be determined, his study does offer valuable insight into the role of music in ceremonies associated with the emperor.

Thiemo Wind offers an extensive study of the role of music in Habsburg triumphal entries in the Low Countries.¹⁶ He addresses the function of music during these entries, including the *tableau vivant* and mass. Wind discusses two multivoice motets that provide a precedent for multivoice works accompanying ceremony, though not by Gombert. One of these multivoice motets is Cornelius Verdonck's *Prome novas Hymenare*, which was performed for the entrance of Albert (1559-1621) and Isabella (1566 -1633) in 1599.¹⁷ This performance offers a context for the presentation of multivoice works.

Higinio Anglés's 1944 study, *La mùsica en la Corte de Carlos V*, provides insightful information on the courts of Charles V, Phillip II, and Charles V's daughters Maria and Juana. ¹⁸ The bulk of the critical volume is devoted to musical life at the court of Philip II but provides

¹⁵ Emilio Ros-Fabregas, "Music and Ceremony during Charles V's 1519 Visit to Barcelona," *Early Music* 23/3 (August 1995): 374-76, 381-91.

¹⁶ Thiemo Wind, Musical Participtation in Sixteenth-Century Triumphal Entries in the Low Countries," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 37 (1987): 111-169.

¹⁷ Ibid., 124-125.

¹⁸ Higinio Anglés, La mùsica en la Corte de Carlos V, Con la transcripción del "Libro de Cifra Nueva para tecla, harpa y vihuela" de Luys Venegas de Henestrosa (Alcalá de Henares, 1557) por Higinio Anglés, vol. 1 (1944; reprint, Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1965.)

important information on the activities of Charles V, most importantly the revelation of Valladolid as the *de facto* center for Charles's activities.

Though his work focuses primarily on the European polychoral tradition, Anthony Carver offers insight into the possible relationship between the conventional pairing of voices in the imitative style of Josquin and his contemporaries to the pairings and groupings in the multivoice works of Gombert. In his article, "Polychoral Music: A Venetian Phenomenon?," Carver describes the conventional procedure of imitative pairs within the music of the Josquin generation and its possible connection to the multivoice works of post-Josquin composers through its relationship to polychoral music.¹⁹ My dissertation uses Carver's study to further delineate the differences between Gombert's multivoice style and the polychoral technique.

Albert Dunning's *Die Staatsmotette: 1480-1550* is a comprehensive examination of the political motet in multiple locations across Western Europe.²⁰ Most important to my research is his discussion of the political motets relevant to Charles V. Dunning includes works by Gombert, but only two of the twelve works discussed are multivoiced. However, the book presents a valuable historical and stylistic context for the multivoice pieces.

The following two sources form the backbone of current thought on the function of the motet. Oliver Strunk's brief but groundbreaking study, "Some Motet-types of the Sixteenth Century," provides a "systematic and comprehensive but necessarily superficial look" at the sixteenth century motet "with a view to defining the general character and extent of the

¹⁹ Anthony F. Carver, "Polychoral Music: A Venetian Phenomenon," *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association* 108 (1981-1982): 1-24.

²⁰Alfred Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette: 1480–1555* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1970).

relationship between liturgical situation and musical style."²¹ His study outlines the typical "motet form" of the mass in the works of composers such as Josquin and Palestrina.

In his 1981 article in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* Anthony Cummings reassessed the motet, its function and corroborates the suggestion that the liturgical uses of the motet were "freer than had hitherto been supposed."²² Cummings identifies and analyzes references to motet performances found in the diaries of the Sistine Chapel and concludes that the essential character of the motet was determined equally by liturgical and extra-liturgical considerations. The motet should be considered a paraliturgical type.

Though there is no literature that directly addresses the sacred multivoice works in Charles V's chapels or in the syntactic imitative style, the studies above provide a stylistic and contextual framework for a detailed examination of the multivoice works. My dissertation adds to scholarship on the music of post-Josquin composers and fills an unfortunate gap in our knowledge and understanding of Renaissance music.

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²¹ Oliver Strunk, "Some Motet-Types of the Sixteenth Century," in *Essays on Music in the Western World* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974), 108-113.

²² Anthony M. Cummings, "Toward an Interpretation of the Sixteenth Century Motet," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 no.1 (1981): 43-59.

2.0 MOTETS FOR SIX VOICES

Gombert's six-voice settings have a unique position within the composer's output. They serve as a transition between his procedures used in works for four and five voices and his multivoice practices. That is, though we could assert that some aspects of Gombert's multivoice compositional style may not be especially different from his writing for four and five voices, some techniques used in the smaller settings are altered or combined with less common techniques that appear more frequently in his multivoice settings. This practice can be readily observed in his motets.

This chapter surveys Gombert's six-voice motets, with particular emphasis on characteristics that depart from his settings for four and five voices. I categorize the six-voice works into text types, and argue that these varied characteristics create a foundation on which Gombert builds his multivoice techniques. First, I will discuss Gombert's multivoice motets related to the responsory and consider issues of text and form. Then, I will discuss how Gombert manages poetic and extended texts. Poetic texts have inherent characteristics that can complement or impede musical composition. I address these issues in two examples of Gombert's six-voice motets with classical texts. Lastly, I discuss how Gombert organizes long texts and creates coherence, particularly through vocal groupings.

Table 1: List of Gombert's six-voice motets listed by related texts²³

Text Type/Chant Genre	Motet
	In te Domine speravi
	Omnis pulchritude Domini
Responsory	Peccata mea sicut sagittae
	Quem dicunt homines
	Si bona suscepimus
	Descendi in hortum meum
	Ego sum qui sum
	O crux splendidor
Antiphon	O Rex gloriae
	Peccata mea
	Quem dicunt homines
	Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes
	Sancta Maria, succurre miseris = [O Jesu
	Christe, succurre]
	Media vita in morte sumos
Poetic Texts	Musae Iovis
	Qui colis Ausoniam
Biblical Texts	In illo tempore dicebat
	In illo tempore loquente
Prayers	Ave salus mundi
	O Domine Iesu Christe
Sequence	Benedicta es caelorum regina
Verse	Duo rogavi te
Psalms	Beatus vir qui non abiit
Gradual	Constitues eos
	Oculi omnium in te spirant

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²³ With two exceptions, modern transcriptions of these motets can be found in Nicolas Gombert, *Opera omnia*, vol. 9-10, ed. Joseph Schmidt-Görg, (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1974). George Nugent and Eric Jas include *Constitues eos* in Gombert's work list in the *New Grove* subject article. They note that the piece is attributed to Gombert in a modern edition, *Dania Sonans: kilder til musikens historie I Danmark*, vol. V (1986), 91. The six-voice motet, *Tota pulchra es*, is not yet in modern transcription and survives only in the manuscript RegB B223-33.

2.1 THE RESPONSORY FORM IN THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MOTET AND GOMBERT'S RESPONSORY-TEXT MOTETS FOR SIX VOICES

In polyphonic motets based on responsory texts, the structure of the chant is usually directly realized in the polyphonic work. In general, the responsory form is reflected in the polyphonic motet as two types. The first type is found in two-*pars* motets usually described as ABCB. Here, the responsory serves as sections A and B, while the verse and *repetendum* (CB) are set as the *secunda pars*. The second type, the through-composed responsory, features no return of musical material and was also used with non-responsory texts. These non-responsory texts, described as "manufactured motet texts," were "fashioned into responsory form for musical considerations."²⁴ Both types of responsory motets appear in Gombert's works. According to Nugent and Jas, the composer's responsory motets "nearly always observe the ABCB pattern of the liturgical model in text and music. Many other motets are also divided into two broad sections, each marked by a well-defined close. A reprise form may also occur independently of a responsory text, for example, by closing both parts with the same alleluia setting."²⁵ Thus a

²⁴ Paul Frederick Cutter, et al. "Responsory." In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23247 (accessed December 18, 2008).

²⁵ George Nugent and Eric Jas. "Gombert, Nicolas." In *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11420 (accessed December 31, 2008). Joseph Schmidt-Görg and Hans Eppstein also suggest that the responsory form plays a significant role in Gombert's motet repertory. Particularly, Eppstein describes Gombert's varying approach to the refrain form (*Refrainbildung*) as "liturgically simulated." See Joseph Schmidt-Görg, *Nicolas Gombert*, 196 and Hans Eppstein, *Nicholas Gombert als Motettenkomponist* (Würzburg: Buchdruckerei R. Mayr, 1935), 18. Stephen Rice, on the other hand, discusses the responsory form in Gombert's five-voice motets in stricter

distinction must be made between Gombert's responsory motets and responsory-text motets. Responsory motets are in strict responsory form, where the composer strictly adheres to the liturgical model. Responsory-text motets have a manufactured form, where there has been some change (either textual or musical) in the reprise or B section. The latter type appears most frequently in Gombert's multivoice motets. Gombert's multivoice responsory-text motets illustrate a varied approach to the responsory form, ranging from strict adherence to the return of either text or music.

Table 2: Gombert's multivoice responsory and responsory-text motets

Responsory Motets	Responsory-Text Motets			
For Six Voices				
O Rex gloriae	Ego sum qui sum			
	In te, Domine			
	Si bona suscepimus			
	Omnis pulchritudo Domini			
	Peccata mea sicut sagittae			
	Quem dicunt hominess			
For Eight Voices				
	Tulerunt Dominum			

Six of Gombert's twenty-two six-voice motets are related to the responsory. There is one responsory-text motet for more than six voices, *Tulerunt Dominum*, which will be discussed in the following chapter. Each of the six responsory-text motets features a refrain, which I define as repeated text or musical material, reminiscent of the responsory form. Almost every motet demonstrates a different approach. Though a six-voice responsory motet may feature text that is repeated exactly, the music that accompanies the repeated text may not be the same. Identifying

terms. See Chapter Four of Stephen J. Rice, "The Five-Part Motets of Nicolas Gombert: Stylistic Elements, Theoretical Issues, And Historiography," (Ph.D. diss, Oxford University, 2004).

similarities in a motet's text, particularly parallel clauses or phrases, is vital to determining which motets may feature an ABCB form. The following section discusses the diverse approaches to refrain form in Gombert's six-voice motets.

2.1.1 Six-Voice Motets with Alleluia Refrains

The motets *O Rex gloriae* and *Ego sum qui sum* feature refrain form and have composite texts, or texts from multiple chant genres.²⁶ Both motets set antiphon texts in the *prima pars* and responsory texts in the *secunda pars*. The following section discusses how Gombert creates cohesion in these texts and manufactures the refrain form.

The motet *O Rex gloriae* appears in two sixteenth-century prints, both produced by the Venetian publisher Antonio Gardano. The first appearance was in the 1539 *Motetti del frutto*, and the second was in the reprint published ten years later, the *Excelentiss. Autorum Diverse Modulationes*.²⁷

Table 3: Recurring responsory texts in Gombert's multivoice motets

Prima pars	Secunda pars
O Rex gloriae	Omnis pulchritudo Domini
Ego sum qui sum	Tulerunt Dominum
Omnis pulchritudo Domini	A summo caelo

²⁶ Nicolas Gombert, *Opera omnia*, vol 9, 34 and 24.

RISM 1539³ Excellentiss. autorum diverse modulationes que sub titulo Fructus vagantur per orbem, ab Antonio Gardane nuper recognite. Liber primus cum quinque vocibus, (Venice: Gardano, 1539.) and RISM 1549⁵, Primus liber cum sex vocibus. Mottetti del frutto a sei voci, (Venice: Gardano, 1549)

The first part of the text is a Magnificat antiphon for the second Vespers of Ascension Day. The *secunda pars Omnis pulchritudo Domini* is a responsory for the same feast. Though they belong to different chant genres, there is an inherent similarity between the two texts. Additionally, Gombert reuses these texts in other six-voice motets in responsory form.

Table 4: Comparison of chant and motet texts in Gombert's O Rex gloriae²⁸

Chant Texts				
Antiphon Text		Responsory Text		
ascendisti, ne derelinqu	omine virtutum, qui super omnes caelos nas nos arophonos, sed n nos, Spirtum veritatis,	Domini exaltata est supra sidera: *Species eius in nubibuls caeli, et nomen eius in aeternum permanent,	egression ejus, et occursus ejus usque	
	Motor	alleluia.		
Motet Text				
Prima pars		Secunda pars		
A	В	С	В	
O Rex gloriae, Domine virtutum, qui	alleluia.	Omnis pulchritudo Domini exaltata est	alleluia.	
triumphator hodie		supra sidera: species		
super omnes caelos		eius in nubibuls caeli,		
ascendisti, ne		et nomen eius in		
derelinquas nos		aeternum permanet,		
arophonos, sed mitte				
promisum Patris in				
nos, Spirtum veritatis,				

Despite their different genres, both chants feature a melismatic alleluia, a characteristic that Gombert preserves in the motet. However, the composer could not merely employ both texts

²⁸ Catholic Church, *Liber responsorialis pro festis I. classis et communi sanctorum*, (Solesmes: E. Typographeo Sancti Petri, 1895), 97-98 and Benedictines of Solesmes, ed., *The Liber usualis* (Tournai, Belgium: Desclée & Co., 1934), 853. Chant text is taken from Dom René-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* [*CAO*]. 6 vols. Rome: Herder, 1963-79. *CAO* 4079, *CAO* 7320, *CAO* 7320b. The asterisk marks the start of the *repetendum*.

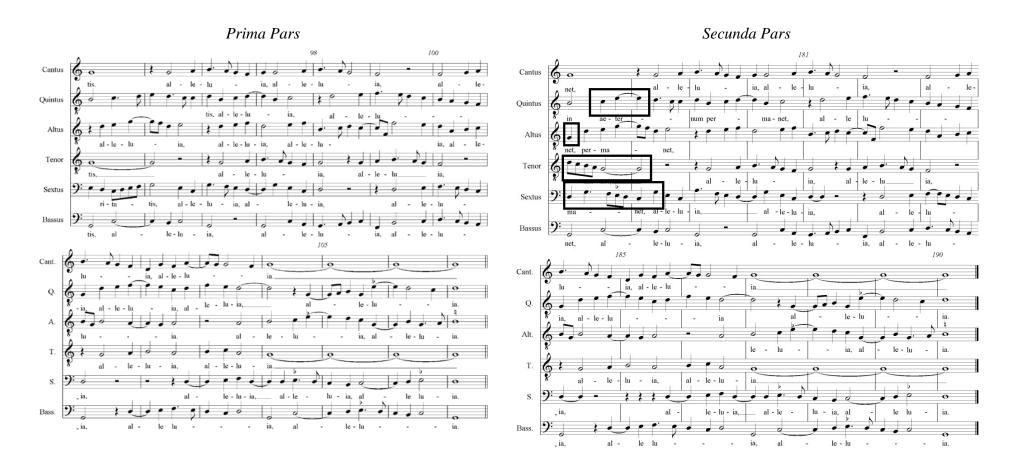
without some alteration. In order to create a motet which includes *partes* of equal length, the composer had to alter the responsory text. Gombert uses only half of the responsory—the responsory and *repetendum*—in order to make it more closely equivalent with the antiphon text. The composer completely excludes the responsory's verse text and final *repetendum* (See Table 4). Among Gombert's six-voice motets, *O Rex gloriae* is the closest to the "liturgical-simulated form," as the alleluia sections in both parts feature identical musical material. Any differences between the refrains in the two partes are negligible and can be explained by the musical material that precedes them (See Figure 2) and the accommodation of the text of the *secunda pars* ("veritatis, alleluia" vs. "permanet, alleluia"). Thus the motet could be considered a standard example of the responsory form.

Gombert utilizes few multivoice procedures in this work. Perhaps the most recognizable procedure is the isolation of the texture into high-low groupings (See Figure 1). This division is used only in the *secunda pars*. Gombert suggests this grouping in the *exordium* of the second *pars*, but it is particularly notable on the text "species eius." Here, the composer begins the imitation on "species" in two mixed groups, but sets the conclusion of the text within high-low groups. The following text, "in nubibus caeli," continues this grouping at its outset, before dissolving into a more blended texture (m. 147).



Figure 1: Isolation into high/low groupings (m. 147) in O Rex gloriae

Figure 2: Comparison of the alleluia refrain section in the prima and secunda partes of "O Rex Gloria"



2.1.1.1 Ego sum qui sum

Like *O Rex gloriae*, the earliest print sources for the six-voice motet *Ego sum qui sum* are Gardano's 1539 *Motetti del frutto* and its 1549 reprint. *Ego sum qui sum* survives in only one other sixteenth-century print source, Berg and Neuber's 1558 *Novum et insigne opus musicum*, *sex, quinque, et quatuor vocum...Cantionem sex vocum.*²⁹

The text of the *prima pars* is an antiphon for the first Nocturn of Easter and the *secunda pars*, *Tulerunt Dominum meum*, is a responsory for the third Nocturn of the same occasion. Like *O Rex gloriae*, *Ego sum qui sum* uses both antiphon and altered responsory texts, but the latter is more complex. Gombert uses two distinct antiphon texts for the *prima pars*, and alters the responsory text and excludes the verse used in the second part.

Table 5 shows a comparison of the multiple chant texts and how these texts appear in the motet. Like the previously-mentioned *O Rex gloriae*, Gombert excludes the text of the responsory's verse from the motet setting. However, the procedures in *Ego sum qui sum* differ. In addition to altering the structure of the responsory text used in the *secunda pars*, Gombert uses two antiphons in the *prima pars*. The two antiphon texts together are of a comparable length to the text used in the *secunda pars*. Though the first antiphon used does have an ending alleluia, the second antiphon, *Ego dormivi*, does not. Gombert, therefore, has to actively construct the refrain form. Additionally, to create a similar textual construction, Gombert also

²⁹ RISM 1558⁴, Novum et insigne opus musicum, sex, quiunque, et quatuor vocum, cuius in Germania hactenus nihil simile usquam est editum, (Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber, 1558).

inserts an alleluia into the responsory text. Neither internal alleluia functions as a refrain. Instead, they act as transitions within Gombert's compositional language.

Table 5: Comparison of the chant texts and the text of Ego sum qui sum 30

Chant Text		
Antiph	on Text	Responsory Text
Ego sum qui sum, et	Ego dormivi et	R. Tulerunt dominum V. Cum ergo fleret
consilium meum non	somnium coepi et	meum et nescio ubi inclinavit se et
est cum impiis, sed in	resurrexi quoniam	posuerunt eum ait ei prospexit in
lege Domini voluntas	dominus suscepit me	angelus noli flere monumentum et vidit
mea est, alleluia.	alleluia alleluia.	Maria surrexit sicut duos angelos in albis
		dixit praecedet vos in sedentes qui dicunt ei
		Galilaeam ibi eum
		videbitis alleluia
		alleluia.
	Mote	t Texts
Prima	a pars	Secunda pars
Ego sum qui sum, et	Ego dormivi, et	Tulerunt Dominum meum, et nescio ubi
consilium meum non	somnium cepi: et	posuerunt eum, alleluia. Ait illi Angelus: Noli
est cum impiis, sed in	resurrexi, quoniam	flere, Maria: Surrexit sicut dixit: Pracedet vos
lege Domini voluntas	Dominus suscepit me,	in Galilaeam: ibi eum videbitis, alleluia,
mea est, alleluia.	Alleluia, alleluia.	alleluia.

A structural and functional comparison in the section of transitional alleluias demonstrates that there are some differences between the two sections. In the *prima pars*, the transitional alleluia serves as the conclusion to the first antiphon, as well as a transitional connector to the second antiphon *Ego dormivi*. Gombert's imitative style necessitates that we consider each transitional section on a case by case basis because the compositional variables in pervasive imitation create a large number of contrapuntal issues. In this case, the transitional alleluia in the *prima pars* serves two roles (See Figure 3). The transition is the conclusion of the first antiphon

 $^{^{30}}$ Text is taken from CAO 2599, CAO 2572, CAO 7797, CAO 7797b. The bold text is to mark text added by the composer.

and also serves as the transition into the second antiphon. As we have seen, the composer alters the structure of the responsory to more closely align it to the *prima pars*. Does the transitional alleluia in the *secunda pars* retain this function? Before we can answer that question, however, we must investigate the transitional alleluia in the *prima pars* and see how the setting there is more a connector than a conclusion.

Due to Gombert's overlapping imitative style, it is impossible to discuss the mechanics of one section of any of his works without first understanding the transition into and out of the section under discussion. In the transitional alleluia of the prima pars of Ego sum qui sum, the transitions between sections are conventional. The alleluia is begun before all parts conclude the text of the previous section, a standard procedure in Gombert's work. Instead, the difference lies in the degree to which one text is incorporated within the section that follows. In the *prima pars* (Figure 3), the transitional alleluia section is introduced before the ending of previous section, "voluntas mea est." "Ego dormivi," the opening phrase of the next antiphon, is buried within the transition (m.40). To accomplish this, Gombert states the opening of "Ego dormivi" in m. 38 and repeats the text "voluntas mea est" in a homophonic duo in the sextus voice and bassus (m. 34-37). This repetition prolongs the alleluia section so that it overlaps the entrance of the text "Ego dormivi," thus creating a smooth transition. Though the homophonic duo in the sextus and bassus begins with the repetition of "voluntas mea est, alleluia," the alleluia's end has a staggered completion in these two voices. This allows the composer to provide the staggered imitative entrances typical in the presentation of new text, in this case, Ego dormivi (mm. 38-40).

Figure 3: Ego sum qui sum: transitional alleluia, prima pars



The movement between the transitional alleluia and the following new antiphon text is emphasized by a conventional cadence on the final C (m. 38-39). This cadence, which marks the section change, is present in two voices, cantus and quintus, and has bass support (see Figure 3). However, because there is no change in declamation, another frequent marker of a section change, the moment is weakened and supports the idea of this transition being merely a connector between the two sections.

When investigating the transitional alleluia and its formal role in the *secunda pars*, we must first recognize that this alleluia is an inserted text. One of the primary goals for the existence of this section is to correspond with the *prima pars*, particularly with the transition between antiphons in the constructed text. Therefore, it would be helpful to compare the music and text to its corresponding section in the *prima pars*. Specifically, does the transitional alleluia in the *secunda pars* function within the motet in the same manner as it does in the *prima pars*? This is exactly what takes place, as the transitional alleluia in the *secunda pars* indeed functions as a transition section which connects one part of the text to the other (See Figure 4). Just as the alleluia between the antiphons in the *prima pars* functions as a transition between the two antiphons, the inserted alleluia in the *secunda pars* functions as a transition between two parts of the responsory text. However, the presentations of these alleluias are quite different. Whereas the alleluia in the *prima pars* is connected to the phrase "voluntas mea est," the alleluia in the *secunda pars*, the newly inserted text, is its own point of imitation.

Unlike the median alleluias in each *pars*, the concluding double alleluias do not need close discussion. In both cases the polyphonic form follows the procedures of the chant, solely in the text. The concluding alleluias can be categorized as the B refrain section. The double alleluia serves as the concluding section of both chant and motet setting and no changes were needed in setting the text. The double alleluia may even have guided the composer in his choice of the second antiphon in the *prima pars*. However, the two sections in both *partes* are not similar in melodic content and only share text and declamation.

110 Cantus al ia, al Altus um. al - le ia, Quintus Tenor al le lu um, Sextus um, Bassus al - le - lu po - se - e - runt Cant. Alt. il - li Α le it T. il li, it il le - lu S. il A - it Bass.

Figure 4: Transitional alleluia, secunda pars of Ego sum qui sum

Moreover, Gombert makes use of vocal groupings in the transition into the concluding refrain of the *secunda pars* that are not found in the correlating previous transitional section. In the *prima pars*, the concluding alleluia is a part of a pervasive imitative section. However, in the *secunda pars* the imitation accompanying the entrances of the concluding alleluia is less dense. The high-low groupings on the setting of the text "ibi eum videbitis" are startling in comparison to the

il - li

imitative procedures preceding them. This procedure prepares for the concluding alleluia by reducing the texture.

Cantus

am:

I - be e-um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - lae - - am: I - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - lae - - am: I - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

al - le - lu

Quintus

Tenor

Sextus

i - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

i - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

li - bi e - um vi - de - bi - tis,

Figure 5: Groupings preceding the concluding alleluia in Ego sum qui sum, secunda pars

A comparison of *Ego sum qui sum* and *O Rex gloriae* illustrates two diverse approaches to the responsory form. While *O Rex gloriae* adheres to a more conventional presentation of the responsory form, *Ego sum qui sum* shows active reconstruction and altering of texts to create symmetry between *partes*.

Prima Pars Cantus

Figure 6: Comparison of the concluding alleluias in Ego sum qui sum

Secunda Pars Cantus Altus Quintus Tenor

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2.1.2 Through-Composed Six-Voice Responsory Motets

The following section examines Gombert's surviving through-composed motets on responsory texts. Specifically, we are concerned with how the composer treats the textual refrain structure within the contradictory musically through-composed form. There are three surviving through-composed six-voice responsory motets, *Si bona suscepimus*, *Quem dicunt homines* and *Omnis pulchritudo Domini*.

2.1.2.1 Si bona suscepimus

Si bona suscepimus also survives in the Gardano prints from 1539 and 1549.³¹ Its text is taken from Job 2 and serves as the responsory for the first and second Sundays in September.³²

Table 6: Text of Si bona suscepimus

Motet Text	Chant Text
Si bona suscepimus de manu Domini, mala	R. Si bona suscepimus de manu Domini, mala
autem quare non sustineamus? Dominus dedit,	autem quare non sustineamus: *Dominus
Dominus abstulit: sicut Domino placuit, ita	dedit, Dominus abstulit: sicut Domino placuit,
factum est: sit nomen Domini benedictum.	ita factum est: sit nomen Domini benedictum.
Nudus egressus sum de utero matris meae, et	
nudus revertar illuc: sit nomen domini	V. Nudus egressus sum de utero matris meae,
benedictum.	et nudus revertar illuc.

Rather than creating a new textual refrain at "Dominus dedit" as it appears in the chant, Gombert creates a new a textual refrain in *Si bona suscepimus* at "sit nomen domini

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³¹ Gombert, *Opera omnia*, 9: 71.

³² Liber responsorialis, 422.

benedictum." A likely reason for this depature may have been due to length. Other than the original *repetendum* at "Dominus dedit," "sit nomen" is the second most logical place to begin a *repetendum* due to its concluding and benedictory text. Because the motet is through-composed, there is no repeat of music, only of text. Gombert varies the melodic pattern on the text in the two sections where it repeats and creates emphasis on different parts of the text. In the first section, the composer treats the texts as two separate points of imitation. First, he sets the text "sit nomen Domini" in all voices. The vocal grouping at this point is notable as the composer creates high/low groups at the beginning of the section, but does not continue beyond the opening measures. Though the second point of imitation, on "benedictum," can be clearly understood to be a separate section, the composer creates cohesion by overlapping the beginning of "benedictum" with the end of "sit nomen domini" after an evaded cadence on D (m. 93). The altus voice continues its melody and completes the phrase; however, it is not a new point of imitation.

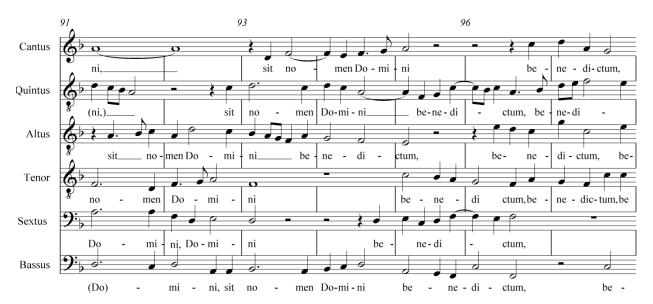


Figure 7: Transition from "sit nomen Domini" to "benedictum" in Si bona suscepimus

The altus voice, then, starting at measure 91, should be considered a hinge of sorts. This voice serves as the connection between the two sections and facilitates the transition of the section.

In contrast, the return of the text "sit nomen Domini benedictum" at the end of the motet is not divided into separate subsections, but is one cohesive imitative concluding section and creates a drive to the finish.

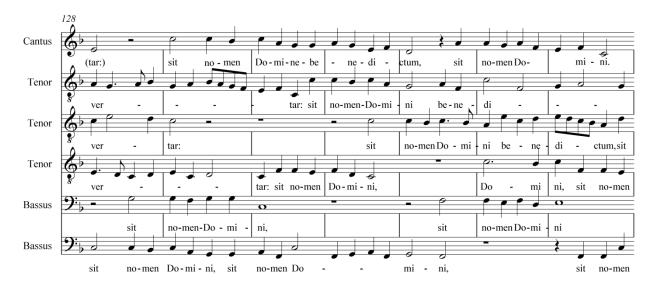


Figure 8: "Sit nomen Domini" at the newly-constructed repetendum in Si bona suscepimus

As in *Si bona suscepimus*, Gombert yet again alters his procedure in the refrain form. Because there is no return of melodic content, we should consider Gombert's procedure here to be a textual or rhetorical refrain. This rhetorical refrain explains why the composer employs the text "sit nomen Domini benedictum" as the text of the refrain. The text here is more appropriate than the *repetendum* of the chant because it has the rhetorical function of a benediction. Though the motet does not behave precisely like the responsory chant, it follows Eppstein's idea of the simulated liturgical form.

2.1.2.2 Quem dicunt homines

This motet is the only one of the six-voice responsory-text motets that does not appear in Gardano's 1539 print or 1549 reprint. Rather, the motet was first published in the 1550s in the north. The first edition was first published in Antwerp by De Laet and Waelrant, which was later followed by Berg and Neuber. The motet was first published in the *Sacrarum cantionum* ... *quinque et sex vocum... liber tertius* published in Antwerp in 1555.³³

This setting is completely through-composed with neither a return of melodic content nor significant text. The entire text is a reorganization of liturgical and biblical phrases, but all are responsory texts. The first part refers to the tenth responsory for the feast of St. Peter and Paul and is related to the Gospel text found in Matthew 16: 16-18. The second part is also related to responsories of St. Peter and Paul and biblical references for the second part may be found in Luke 22: 34 and 2 John 21: 15-16. Because the form of the motet does not present any repeat of significant text or musical content, I will only discuss the text reorganization and its implications.

These texts are reorganized in the motet in a procedure that is distinct in the six-voice responsory-text settings. In the *prima pars*, Gombert inserts the verse in the middle of the respond so that the text correlating with the *repetendum* occurs after the verse (see Table 7). The *secunda pars* also features a reorganization of the text. In this case, Gombert does not set any of the verses. The reorganization of the two *partes* revolves around the dialogical structure of the

³³ RISM 1555⁷, Sacrarum cantionum (vulgo hodie moteta vocant) quinque et sex vocum, ad veram harmoniam concentumque ab optimis quibusque musicis in philomusorum gratiam compositarum. Liber tertius. (Antwerp: De Laet and Waelrant, 1555) and RISM 1558⁴, Novum et insigne opus musicum . . .cantionum sex vocum. (Nuremburg: Berg and Neuber, 1558).

text. Each *pars* opens with Jesus asking Peter a question, Peter's response, and Jesus's command, which begins with the text "Et ait Iesus." This text is the only text that appears in both *partes*.

Table 7: Comparison of relevant chant texts to the Text of Quem Dicunt homines.

Chan	t texts	
R. Quem dicunt homines esse filium hominis?	R. Si diligis me	R. Ego pro te rogavi
dixit Jesus discipulis suis. Respondens Petrus	Simon Petre pasce	Petre ut non deficiat
dixit: tu es Christus filius Dei vivi. *Et ego	oves meas domine tu	fides tua et *tu
dico tibi quia tu es Petrus et super hanc petram	nosti quia amo te *et	aliquando conversus
aedificabo ecclesiam meam	animam meam pono	confirma fratres tuos.
	pro te.	
V. Beatus es Simon Bar-Jona, quia caro et		V. Caro et sanguis
sanguis non revelavit tibi, sed Pater meus, qui	V. Si oportuerit me	non revalavit tibi, set
est in caelis. ³⁴	mori tecum, non te	Pater meus, qui est in
	negabo. ³⁵	caelis. ³⁶
Motet Text		
Prima Pars	Secun	da pars
Quem dicunt homines esse filium hominis?	Petre, diligis me? Qui	respondens ait: Tu scis,
Respondens Petrus dixit ei: tu es Christus,	Domine, quia amo te	et animam meam pono
filius Dei vivi. Et ait Iesus: Beatus es Simon	pro te. Et ait Iesus:	Pasce oves meas. Ego
Bariona: quia caro et sanguis non revelavit tibi	enim pro te rogavi ut i	non deficiat fides tua: et
sed Pater meus, qui est in caelis. Et ego dico	tu aliquando converse	s confirma fratres tuos,
tibi, qui tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram	alleluia.	
aedificabo ecclesiam meam.		

³⁴ *Liber responsorialis*, 366.

³⁵ Ibid., 360.

³⁶ Ibid., 365-366. This verse overlaps with the verse of Responsory 10.

2.1.2.3 Omnis pulchritudo Domini

This motet survives in three prints, the two previously-mentioned editions by Gardano in 1539 and 1549 and a later print from the publishing house of Berg and Neuber.³⁷

Omnis pulchritudo Domini is a significant example of responsory-text setting within the six-voice motets. It is the only two-pars motet whose text corresponds with its liturgical form. It is a responsory text that includes its verse; and most importantly, it is the only responsory motet whose repetendum mirrors the chant repetendum exactly. Therefore, when compared to other responsory settings by Gombert, especially Quem dicunt homines, the composer adheres closely to the chant text. In regards to the melodic content of the repetendum, the repeat is not an exact refrain with identical melodic content. However, Gombert here retains the character, specifically declamation, of the text from the prima pars.

The only change Gombert makes in the *repetendum* is to extend the section, though he repeats the text "in aeternum permanet" three times in all voices. The *repetendum* serves two functions. First, the extension creates equal length between *partes* and, consequentially, balance.

vocum. Continens historias & doctrinam, quae in Ecclesia proponi solet: de Ascensione Christi.

De Missione Spiritus Sancti (Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber, 1555).

³⁷ RISM 1555¹⁰, Secundus tomus Evangeliorum, quatuor, quinque, sex, et plurium

Table 8: Comparison of chant text to Gombert's motet text in Omnis pulchritudo Domini

Chant Text ³⁸	
R. Omnis pulchritudo Domini exaltata est supra sidera: *Species eius in nubibus caeli, et nomen eius in aeternum permanet, alleluia.	V. A summo caelo egression ejus, et occursus ejus usque ad summum ejus.
Motet Text	
Prima pars	Secunda pars
Omnis pulchritudo Domini exaltata est supra sidera: species eius in nubibus caeli, et nomen eius in aeternum permanet, alleluia.	A summo caelo egressio eius, et occursus eius usque ad summum eius. Species eius in nubibus caeli, et nomen eius in aeternum permanet, alleluia.

Second, it allows the composer to create a climactic ending to the motet. In contrast with his procedure in other motets, the composer here does not treat the concluding "alleluia" as its own section at the conclusion of each *pars*. The text appears, but is not developed. Though he extends the concluding section on the text "in aeternum permanet" at the *repetendum* in the *secunda pars*, Gombert retains the procedure from the first part and does not develop the alleluia at the end of the motet.

In spite of the melodic content of the *repetendum*, the six-voice *Omnis pulchritudo Domini* adheres closely to the textual ABCB responsory form with a rhetorical refrain. The *repetendum* in the motet mirrors the chant procedure precisely but only in text.

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³⁸ Liber responsorialis, 97.

2.2 SETTINGS WITH CLASSICAL TEXTS

2.2.1 Secular Poetic Texts in Gombert's Motets

Though Gombert's motet texts are primarily sacred with texts that may be linked to the liturgy, there are a few exceptions. Gombert set small number of secular poetic texts as motets for four or five voices. Two additional motets on poetic texts include the political motets *Dicite in magni* and *Felix Austriae domus*. *Dicite in magni* is a four-voice celebratory motet on the birth of Charles V's son and heir, Phillip II, in 1527. Gombert composed two six-voice motet settings using poetic texts, *Qui colis Ausoniam* and the much-examined epitaph on Josquin des Pres, *Musae Iovis*, which I describe below.

2.2.2 Qui colis Ausoniam: Historical Background and Musical Setting

The poem *Qui colis Ausoniam* was written by the eldest brother of prominent poet Johannes Secundus, Nicolas Nicolai Everaerts (1552 - 1595). The Everaerts were a prominent family from Mechelen with ties to figures such as Erasmus. Nicolas Everaerts wrote under the name "Grudius" and was, like his father Jan, a close associate of Emperor Charles V.³⁹ Grudius was a statesman and courtier of the emperor and had gained imperial favor with his poetry. For example, Grudius's *Carmen sepulchrale*, in honor of Charles V's aunt Margaret of Austria, led

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³⁹ The pen name "Grudius" is a reference from the poet's city of birth, Leuven. The Grudii were a Celtic sub-tribe of the Nervii who lived in the Roman province of Gallia Belgica near the present-day Leuven near the Scheldt River.

to the poet being named secretary to the emperor.⁴⁰ In addition to this position, Grudius was a *Greffier* of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Secretary to the Privy Council, Receptor-General of Brabant, and Counselor to Charles V and Prince Phillip, the emperor's son.⁴¹

Thus, Grudius was deeply embedded in imperial court life both as a statesman and as a poet. In addition, he also had a role in the musical life of those associated with the emperor. Grudius's poetry was also set by other composers associated with the court. For example, Thomas Crecquillon's five-voice motet *Carole, magnus erat* is a *Staatsmotette* on a text by Grudius. In addition to an acquaintance with Gombert and possibly Crecquillon, the poet had a relationship with the printer and composer Tielman Susato. Susato's *Le trezieme livre des chansons* of 1550 is dedicated to Grudius. Because of his association with Susato, Kristine Forney reveals much about the poet's life. When Grudius was arrested for embezzling 104,000 Flemish *pond* from the imperial treasury, Susato was named as a witness in a notarized statement. The poet was tried by the Knights of the Golden Fleece on the order of Charles's sister Mary of Austria in 1556.⁴² The course of Grudius's life after his trial by the Order of the Golden Fleece and his detainment is unclear. Forney suggests that Grudius may have sought refuge after his release in northern

⁴⁰ C.G. Van Leijenhorst, "Nicolaus Grudius," in Peter G. Bietenholz, Thomas Brian Deutscher, and Desiderius Erasmus *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. Peter G. Bietenholz (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 2: 139.

⁴¹ Kristine K. Forney, "New Documents on the Life of Tielman Susato, Sixteenth-Century Music Printer and Musician," *Revue belge de musicologie* 36 (1982-1984): 28.

⁴² Ibid., 28-29, and *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, 140.

Holland.⁴³ However, most scholars agree that the poet ended up in Italy, particularly Venice, where he died.

Grudius's poem *Qui colis Ausoniam* was written to celebrate an agreement between the emperor and the Medici Pope Clement VII in 1533. The pope and the emperor had a strained relationship; much scholarship has been devoted to the triangle among Clement VII, Charles and the French King Francis I. The emperor and the French king had been at war since 1521 and the pope's loyalty vacillated between the emperor and the French king. However, the pope's loyalty to Charles may be described, at best, as coerced. The emperor imprisoned the pope during the Sack of Rome in 1527, but by 1530 had secured the pope's favor after restoring the Medici to Florence. This support led to the pope crowning Charles Holy Roman Emperor at Bologna on the sovereign's thirtieth birthday, February 24, 1530.

Historians do not often mention the treaty which instigated the composition of the poem and motet setting of *Qui colis Ausoniam*. The alliance is usually buried in favor of major milestones of the emperor's reign, such as his coronation in 1530, and issues with larger historical implications, such as the Protestant Reformation. However, the alliance occurred during another significant concern in Charles's reign, the defense of Italy against the Turks. According to Schmidt-Görg, the motet was written in honor of an alliance for the defense of Bologna on February 27, 1533.⁴⁴ Historian Kenneth Setton provides more detail. He writes, "A concordat negotiated between Clement VII and Charles V at Bologna on 24 February, 1533, provided that

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⁴³ Forney, "New Documents on the Life of Tielman Susato," 29.

⁴⁴ Schmidt-Görg, Nicolas Gombert, 200.

the pope should maintain three galleys and the emperor eleven and 'that they should be ready for every necessity...not only on behalf of Italy but for all Christendom.'"⁴⁵

In *Die Staatsmotette*, Albert Dunning reveals even more about the conditions surrounding the 1533 treaty. He notes that Pope Clement VII received the emperor in December 1532 and there were, despite difficult negotiations, two treaties signed during this time. The first was on February 27, 1553 and was a pact of exclusivity; the two parties would not enter into agreements with any other rulers. No doubt this was a relief for the emperor, as the pope's loyalty was uncertain. The first treaty also agreed to convening a council opposing the Turkish attacks and reinforcing the imperial control of Milan and Naples achieved by the *Paix de dames* (Ladies' Peace) at Cambrai in 1529. The second treaty was signed three days later on February 27. Pope Clement, the emperor, the emperor's brother Ferdinand I and dukes of Milan, Mantua, Ferrara and other states cemented an agreement for the protection of Italy against the Turks. The text of Grudius's poem, which is discussed below, suggests that it was written in commemoration of the second treaty. Additionally, Dunning notes that the poem has a descriptive note which includes the date 1533. He

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⁴⁵ Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984), 3: 367.

⁴⁶ Albert Dunning, Die Staatsmotette: 1480-1555 (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1970), 147.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 148.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 147.

The motet may have been composed soon after the poem as Gombert may have accompanied the emperor on his trip to Bologna. It is also possible that Charles commissioned both the poem and the motet setting in honor of the occasion.⁴⁹

2.2.2.1 Gombert's Motet Qui colis Ausoniam

We may be almost certain that the poem was written on a date close to the signing of the treaty in 1533. J. P. Guépin suggests that Grudius received the commission at the last moment and the poem was written in the two days between the signing of the treaty and the departure of the mobile imperial court from Bologna. Guépin cites poor Latin, the differences between the poem and the text of the motet and the lengthy amount of time between the publications of the two works as evidence of the hasty circumstances surrounding the commissions. Indeed, the motet's text adheres closely to the poem and it would be easy to assume that the differences between the motet text and the eventual published poem are because Gombert set a "rough-draft"

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There is at least one other artistic legacy which has been linked to Charles and the treaties at Bologna. Tiziano Vecelli, known as Titian (ca. 1488-1576), painted a portrait of the emperor during the ruler's time in Italy in 1532 or 1533. The portrait of the emperor with a dog, which has its own unclear origins with a comparable painting by Jacob Seisenegger, has been paired with the emperor's time in Italy during which the Bologna treaties were signed, but a concrete causal connection has yet to be made. Dates given for Titian's version of the portrait are inconsistent. Bruce Cole dates the painting in 1533 in the introduction to Carlo Rodolfi, *The Life of Titian*, transl. Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter E. Bondanella (State College: Pennsylvania State University, 1996), 6. However, it is suggested that the painting was completed in the "final weeks of 1532" in Jonathan Brown and John Huxtable Elliot, eds., *The Sale of the Century: Artistic Relations Between Spain and Great Britain, 1604-1655*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 188.

⁵⁰ J.P. Guépin, *De Drie Dichentende Broers: Grudius, Marius en Secundus*, 2 vols (Groningen, The Netherlands: STIX, 2000), 762.

version of the poem. Whereas Gombert's motet was printed by Scotto in 1549, Grudius's poem does not appear in print until 1612.⁵¹ Though Guépin's situation is plausible, I believe there are other considerations that should be taken into account and possibly, Guépin does not give Grudius enough credit. Rather than Guépin's suggestion that the motet's text is an earlier version of Grudius's poem, I believe that the text of Gombert's motet *Qui colis Ausoniam* may be based on a more complete version of *Qui colis Hesperiae*.⁵² Though the commission and composition of the poem may have been made in haste, Grudius was well-versed in the rules of meter and style in classical poetry and his Latin was probably not "bad." Rather, I believe that Gombert may have altered the poem's text and meter in translating it to the syntactic imitative musical style. Gombert's training familiarized him with Latin texts and the ability to accurately set the text to music. And as we shall see, the musical setting, particularly Gombert's imitative style, required significant alterations in the transition from poem to motet. First, however, it would be beneficial to give a brief survey of Gombert's most prominent alterations.

The first of these is the opening text. Gombert changed the adjective *melioris* to another with similar meanings, *felicis*. Yet, the most significant alteration in the first line is the change from *Hesperiae* to *Ausoniam*. Both Hesperia and Ausonia are ancient Greek names for Italy or places

⁵¹Gombert's *Qui colis Ausoniam* was printed by Scotto in *Il primo libro de motetti a sei voce, da diversi eccellentissimi msici composti...*, RISM 1549³ while Grudius's *Qui colis Hesperiae* was printed in *Poemata et effigies trium fratrum Belgarum Nicolai Grudii nic.eq.&c. Hadriani Marii nic.eq.&c. Ioannis Secundi nic. Poëmata titulos auersa pagina indicabit. ad Io. Secundi reginæ pecuniæ regiam accessit Luschi Antonii Vicentini Domus pudicitiæ. Et Dominici Lampsonii Brug. Typus vitæ humanæ* (Leiden: Veneunt Lugduni Batauorum and Ludouicum Elzervirium, 1612.)

⁵² I use the term "more complete" here to offer that Guépin may be correct in suggesting that the state of Grudius's poem at the time of the Bologna treaties may have been rougher than the printed version in the 1612 collection *Poemata & Effigies*.

in Italy. The motivations behind the change are difficult to determine. Hesperiae is an appropriate choice due to its role as both a reference to Italy and to the Iberian Peninsula. However, there may be yet another reason for Grudius's choice of "Hesperiae."

Table 9: Comparison of Grudius's poem and the text found in Gombert's motet⁵³

Original Poem by Grudius	Gombert's Text
Qui colis Hesperiae glebam melioris arator,	Prima Pars
Qua Bacchi et Cereris munera larga fluunt,	Qui colis Ausoniam glebae felicis arator
Qui toties fatis gemuisti pressus acerbis,	Qua Bacchi et Cereris munera sponte fluunt
Orbe alio assidué dum novus hostis adest;	Qui toties fatis genuisti pressus iniquis
Nunc victor, neque post sorti obciende malignae,	Orbe alio assidue dum novus hostis adest
Finde solum; tutos pelle per arva greges:	Pone aras accende focos pia thura cremato
Pone aras: accende focos: pia thura Cremato:	Gaudia vox lytui cornua sonent.
Gaudia tuba , cornua sistra sonent.	Secunda Pars
Perpetuae Clemens foedus cum Caesare pacis	Perpetuum Clemens foedus cum Caesare pacis
Sanxit; ut afflictae ferret opem patriae:	Sanciit, ut fessae ferret opem patriae
Bifontisque de Gradivum inclusit in aede:	Befrontisque deam Iani conclusit in aede
Pax bona pacato regnet ut in Latio Quam Caroli, Sanctique patris Concordia corda, Tam bene nunc gemino tutus es imperio.	Tranquillo aeternum regnet ut haec Latio
	Quam Carolia sanctique Patris concordia corda
Tani bene nunc gemino tutus es imperio.	Quam bene nunc gemino tutus es imperio

In a discussion of Charles's "mythic genealogy" in visual art, Marie Tanner suggests that the emperor's mythic ancestry may be traced to Hector and that he was the object of a cult of veneration which propagated an evolving mythic image of the emperor. ⁵⁴ In Book III of Virgil's *Aeneid*, Aeneas has a vision and is instructed to travel to Hesperia where his descendents would

⁵³ Grudius's text is from *Poemata & Effigies*... as quoted in Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette*, 147-148. Gombert's text is taken from Schmidt-Görg's *Opera omnia*, 6: 11 and 146-155. The bold formatting indicates text that was altered in the motet text.

⁵⁴ Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Habsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 116.

be plentiful. Grudius's choice to use Hesperia is a direct reference to this part of the *Aeneid*. Grudius not only uses the term Hesperia, but references its fruitfulness.

Table 10: Comparison of Virgil's Text to Grudius's Poem⁵⁵

Virgil's Text	Grudius's Text
A land there is. Hesperia nam'd of old	Qui colis Hesperiae glebam melioris arator,
The soil is fruitful and the men are bold.	You Hesperian who nobly tills fruitful soil

Grudius's word choice was a reference to the emperor's Spanish rule and perhaps one of the terms of the first of the two treaties which stipulated that the emperor retain his holdings in Italy. Yet Gombert's substitution of "Ausonia" may also be a reference to the mythic image of the emperor. The term appears in the *Aeneid*, both times in Book VIII. Book VIII recounts Aeneas's sojourn in Italy and war with Turnus, leader of the Rutuli. Taking into account the reference to Ausonia here, Gombert has turned the conditions of the treaties at Bologna into an allegory. Emperor Charles is Aeneas, protecting Italy from its enemies. In addition to the allegorical implications of "Ausonia," Gombert's substitution may have been determined by musical reasons. Though there is one significant change, the omission of the poem's third couplet, a procedure that is also found in the setting of another text by Grudius's by Crecquillon; many of the changes Gombert makes to the text for the setting of the motet seem small.⁵⁶

In addition to a comparison of the text set by Gombert and that of Grudius, a helpful point of departure for the analysis of *Qui colis Ausoniam* is the form of the altered poem. Most of the

⁵⁵ Virgil, *Aeneid*, trans. John Dryden, ed. Frederick Keener, (London: Penguin Books 1997). Translation of Grudius's text is my own.

⁵⁶ Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette*, 147.

text that was altered in Gombert's setting has comparable syllabic content to Grudius's poem. When elisions are used, there appear to be only superficial differences between Gombert's text and Grudius's. However, those changes which appear to be word choice issues are significant. For example, Guépin comments on the text change in line twelve between the two texts.

Table 11: Line Twelve in Grudius's poem and the corresponding line of Gombert's motet text

Grudius's Text	Gombert's Text
Pax bona pacato regnet ut in Latio	Tranquillo aeternum regnet ut haec Latio

Guépin writes that in "verse 10 the end of the hexameter is not sung, which makes the Latin incomprehensible." Yet as we shall see, the classical meter is expendable in the translation to the imitative style. This particular section will be discussed further below (See Table 9).

A primary difficulty in using an analysis of the poetic text in intepreting the motet's melodic material is establishing whether the form of the poetry had an *a priori* role in determining the melodic content of the motet. No doubt Gombert was aware of the scansion and formal concerns of poetry of this type and we may assume that his changes to Grudius's text were mostly for musical reasons. However, what exactly those musical reasons were cannot be accurately determined. There are other reasons for change, for example the omission of the third couplet of Grudius's poem. This was done for larger formal considerations. If we assume that Gombert wanted to follow convention and compose a setting of two equal parts, it would be necessary to exclude one couplet. If the couplet were not removed, the *prima pars* would be noticeably

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⁵⁷ "in vs 10 word het eind van de hexameter niet gezongen, wat het Latijn onbegrijpelijk maakt." *De Drie Dichentende Broers*, 2: 763. My translation.

longer than the *secunda pars*. When syntax, narration and balance are taken into account, the logical place to divide the poem is at the fifth couplet and to remove the third couplet entirely.

Returning to my belief that the text of the motet *Qui colis Ausoniam* is an altered version of *Qui colis Hesperiae*, I propose that the form of Grudius's poem be viewed alongside its setting in the motet. There are parallels between the form of the poem and the musical form of the setting as shown below. Yet because the conditions of each alteration are unknown (e.g. did Gombert change Hesperia to Ausonia for the allegorical connection or for musical reasons), it is impossible to know whether any parallels are intentional or incidental.

However, if we use the form of the poem to anticipate the structure of the melodic content, a few possible issues arise. The form of Gombert's text, as in the original poem by Grudius, is elegiac couplets. This form is comprised of one dactylic hexameter and one pentameter and was likely chosen because of the occasion. Though the connotation of the English "elegy" suggests mourning or a lament, elegiac couplets were also used with convivial, historical and military poetry. This form and poetry in general is a double-edged sword for composers of the post-Josquin generation. Unlike sacred music where each idea tends to be encased in one line of text, the ancient Greek poetic form allows the poet to compose one idea over the course of two lines. Thus, the couplet structure offers the composer greater freedom in text-setting. However, it can also limit the composer. With elegiac couplets, the composer may encounter poetic devices largely absent from most sacred texts, particularly enjambments. For composers in the syntactic imitative style these devices are problematic. If we assume that each line of poetry could be set

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⁵⁸ Robin Sowerby, *The Augustan Art of Poetry: Augustan Translations of the Classics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 68.

as one imitative point, how does a composer handle poetic devices which may present one idea in two lines? We will return to this issue below.

Table 12: Poetic analysis of Gombert's Qui colis Ausoniam⁵⁹

Poetic Analysis	
Prima Pars	Secunda Pars
Qui colis Ausoniam glebae felicis arator	Perpetuum Clemens foedus cum Caesare pacis
Qua Bacchi et Cereris munera sponte fluunt	Sanciit ut fessae ferret opem patriae
Qui toties fatis genuisti pressus iniquis	Befrontisque deam Iani conclusit in aede
Orbe alio assidue dum novus hostis adest	Tranquillo aeternum regnet ut haec Latio
Pone aras accende focos pia thura cremato	
Gaudia vox lytui cornua sonent.	Quam bene nunc gemino tutus es imperio.

Similarly, the poetic caesurae in poems in the neo-classical style refer not only to breaks in the text, but also metric breaks. ⁶⁰ Though in many cases, the syntactical and metrical caesurae

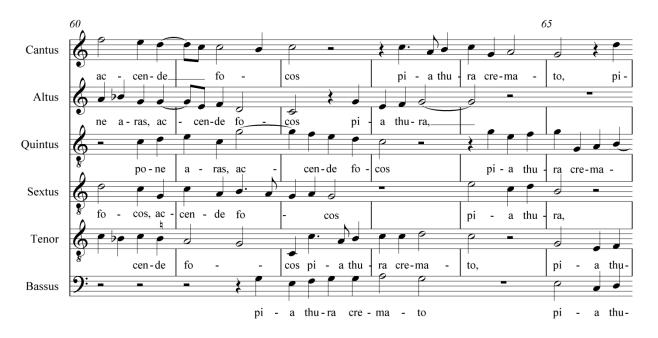
⁵⁹I would like to thank Dr. Andrew M. Miller of the Department of Classics at the University of Pittsburgh for his help in analysis and scansion of the text.

correspond, it is possible that the caesura of a line may work against the syntactic structure of the line. Potentially, the caesura may possibly have little to do with the syntactic structure of a line. Therefore, unlike Gombert's procedures in the *Magnificats*, the metrical caesura of the text is not a reliable indicator of formal structure. I would propose that issues of intelligibility and syntactical structure would trump the metrical caesura in determining points of imitation and cadences.

In the course of setting *Qui colis Ausoniam*, Gombert both ignores and acknowledges the caesurae. In the *prima pars*, the metrical and syntactical caesurae often correspond and Gombert sets a new point of imitation at the caesura. One exception is the fifth line, "Pone aras accende focos pia thura cremato," whose syntax suggests two caesurae (See Table 12). However, Gombert places a new point of imitation at only one of the caesurae. The cantus, altus, and tenor voices participate in the cadence on C in m. 62 while the bassus begins a new point of imitation at m. 61 on the text "pia thura cremato." The cadence and new point of imitation occurs at the second syntactical caesura (See Figure 9).

⁶⁰ In a footnote, John Edwin Sandys notes that "neither ancient nor modern writers on meter are perfectly consistent. It is applied often to division of the verse *by the sense*. But some distinctive term is necessary for a division *between words (within a foot) which is required normally by rule of the meter*; and for this there is no other term available and convenient." *A Companion to Latin Studies*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 834.

Figure 9: Second caesura accompanying the text "Pone aras accende focos pia thura cremato" in Qui colis Ausoniam



In the *secunda pars*, the composer presents a pattern in which he starts a new point of imitation at the caesura in the first line of the couplet. In the second couplet, the composer either ignores the caesura and begins a new point of imitation at another part of the line or does not start a new point of imitation at all. The procedures in the *secunda pars* demonstrate greater intervention by the composer in the motet and the first couplet displays at least three adaptations of the poetic form. First, the composer ignores the caesurae in both lines of the couplet. The text of the poem scans thus:

Figure 10: Scansion of the Text "Perpetuum Clemens foedus cum Caesaris pacis/Sanciit ut fessae ferret opem patriae"

Gombert ignores the metric caesura in favor of starting the new point of imitation at a more logical point in the text (Figure 10). In the first line, the composer does not begin the next point of imitation at the caesura, but after "foedus." Additionally, the imitative melody here includes the text from the second line and thus avoids the enjambment. Musically he creates a new division:

Perpetuum Clemens foedus | cum Caesare pacis Sanciit

The erasure of the enjambment results in the partitioning of the poetic text of complete syntactic units.

In addition to highlighting the homonymic properties of "Clemens," Gombert's setting of the first couplet forces a new division of the second line. The new division of the first couplet is thus:

Perpetuum Clemens foedus \parallel cum Caesare pacis Sanciit \parallel ut fessae feret opem patriae.

It is unlikely that poetic devices like enjambments could survive in settings in the pervasive imitation style. Enjambments rely on the visual or spoken characteristics that would not survive in a style whose melodic structure is attached to syntactic units.⁶¹

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⁶¹ Refer also to Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette*, 148.



Figure 11: Qui colis Ausoniam, measures 100-120, Secunda Pars

Bass.

fron - tis-que De - am Ia - ni

Another example of Gombert's concern for syntax occurs in the second couplet of the *secunda pars*, "Tranquillo aeternum regnet ut haec Latio." However, Gombert uses a distinct procedure here unlike anywhere else in the setting. He ignores the metric caesura of the second line of the couplet, between the words "aeternum regnet," and does not create a new point of imitation at the caesura. Rather, he sets the text after the caesura as a transition (See Figure 12). This sectioning serves a rhetorical function. By not creating a new point of imitation here, it aligns the two sections of the text so that they form one idea.

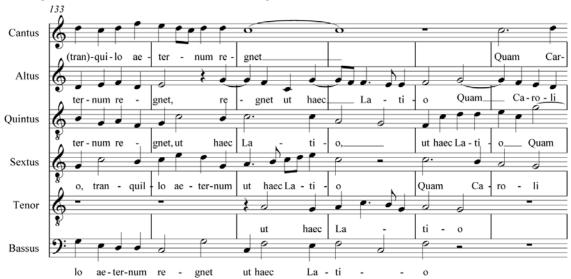


Figure 12: Transition at Measure 133 of Qui colis Ausoniam

Finally, the first line of the last couplet, like the last couplet of the first part, features a double caesura:

Quam Caroli | sanctique Patris | concordia corda

And again, Gombert ignores the first caesura, but the second caesura is fully realized. Though Gombert does not start a new point of imitation at the second caesura, the homophonic declamation of "concordia" should be considered an acknowledgement of the caesura (See Figure 13).

As we have seen, in the case of *Qui colis Ausoniam*, though the setting is based on a preexisting poem, Gombert adapted the text and form of the poem in setting the motet. Preexisting poetic devices, especially those intrinsic to ancient forms, were incompatible with Gombert's style. In cases where formal divisions, such as metrical caesurae, were aligned with syntactical units, the divisions are articulated in the setting of the piece as a new imitative point. However, in cases where metrical caesurae do not correspond with syntactic units, the composer deferred to the syntactic sense of the text.

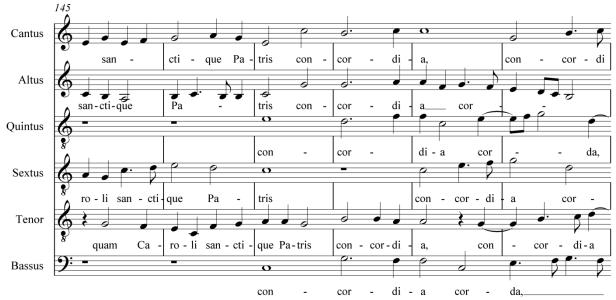


Figure 13: Homophonic declamation of "concordia" in Qui colis Ausoniam

When the musical issues are considered, specifically when poetic devices such as enjambments are ignored if poems are set as motets in the syntactic imitative style, Guépin's suggestion that the printed version of *Qui colis Hesperiae* is an improvement on the "bad Latin" in *Qui colis Ausoniam* seems less likely. Guépin goes so far as to present Grudius's "improvements" on his original text according to the printed version. Though some alterations, for example the omission of the fourth couplet, may be explained musically and can be attributed to Gombert, it is possible that other alterations, such as the change from "felicis" to "melioris" (according to Guépin) may be explained by a "first version." The problems Guépin finds in *Qui colis Ausoniam* are likely a mixture of the hasty circumstances and the "translation" to Gombert's imitative style.

2.2.3 Musae Iovis

Gombert's often-discussed *déploration* on the death of Josquin is one of four laments on the passing of the famed composer produced in the sixteenth century. One lament, a setting on the text, "Absolve, quaesumus, domine" by an unknown composer, was discovered by Martin Picker in 1970.⁶⁴ Benedictus Appenzeller (between 1480 and 1488-after 1588) and

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⁶²Guépin, De Drie Dichentende Broers,763.

⁶³ Whereas Guépin alludes to an original version in his discussion of the hasty circumstances surrounding the genesis of the poem, he outright suggests an "earlier" version in his list of "improvements." He suggests that the text "Pax bona pacato," which is altered from "Tranquillo aeternum" in the motet text is the better choice based on the poetic meter and that it could have existed in the "first version." Ibid.

JheronimusVinders (fl. 1525-1526) composed the remaining laments on a text by Jean Geehart "Avidius" that was printed with Gombert's motet in Tielman Susato's *Septiesme livre* in 1545. ⁶⁵ Avidius has remained obscure in spite of his role in Renaissance music history. Most scholars agree that he was from Nijmegen, and possibly a musician or student of Josquin. The attribution of the elegy was made by Sweertius in his *Athenae Belgicae* of 1628. Barbara Haggh relates the history of Avidius's epitaph, which shares a history through the writings of Petrus Opmeer, Sweertius and Rombaut with the famous woodcut of the composer that was kept in the church of St. Goedele in Brussels. ⁶⁶

2.2.3.1 Gombert's Motet Setting of Musae Iovis

Much has been written on the relationship of Gombert's *Musae Iovis* to Josquin's work, particularly in regards to the *cantus firmus* melody used in this setting. Gombert's motet is the only surviving six-voice motet of his to feature a *cantus firmus*. Although using the Sarum melody "Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis," which Josquin employed in his own chanson *Nymphes*, *nappés*, Willem Elders notes that Gombert transposed the melody from the Lydian

⁶⁴ See Martin Picker, 'Josquiniana in some Manuscripts at Piacenza," in *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference*, eds. Edward Lowinsky and Bonnie Blackburn, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 247–60.

⁶⁵ La septiesme livre contenant vingt & quatre chansons (Anvers: 1545) RISM 1545¹⁵.

⁶⁶ Barbara Haagh, "Josquin's Portrait: New Evidence," in *From Ciconia to Sweelinck: donum natalicum Willem Elders*, eds. Albert Clement and Eric Jas (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), 91-110.

mode to Phrygian. Elders suggests that Gombert's transposition symbolizes the protest of the death of Josquin.⁶⁷

Additionally, Elders observes another reference to Josquin in Gombert's setting. The reference is a melodic illustration on the text's "summons to bewail the 'fallen' composer." A descending melodic pattern on the text "Josquinus ille occidit" is present in all voices but the tenor, which carries the *cantus firmus*. The descending melody serves a dual purpose as not only illustrating the text, but as a reference to one of the fallen composer's stylistic features. Elders compares this melody in Gombert's *déploration* to a similar moment in Josquin's *Huc me sydereo*. However, this connection is tenuous at best. This type of relationship between music and text is conventional for the style of the time and there are no doubt countless melodic descents of this sort. To identify Gombert's descending melodic line as illustrating the fallen composer's death seems valid. Yet comparing it to a specific moment in Josquin's work supported only by melodic evidence goes too far.

In the same manner as the *cantus firmus* influenced the melodic material of the setting, the presence of the *cantus firmus* would largely determine, or at least influence, the formal characteristics of a motet. However, Gombert's *Musae Iovis* offers an interesting case. The large-scale strophic form can be divided into four sections and each six-line section can be

⁶⁷ Willem Elders, "Josquin's 'Absolve, quaesumus, domine': A Tribute to Obrecht?," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, D. 37ste (1987): 20. Much has been written on Josquin's *cantus firmus* "Circumdederunt me," which began with Gustave Reese's suggestion that the *cantus firmus* was a "favorite" of Josquin. John Milsom challenges this idea in his article, "*Circumdederunt*: A Famous Cantus Firmus of Josquin's?," *Soundings* 9 (1982): 2-10.

⁶⁸ Willem Elders, *Symbolic Scores: Studies in the Music of the Renaissance*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 130.

divided further into 4+2 (See Figure 13). Each line of the four-line subsections is in regular iambic dimeter, which has none of the classical legacy of the elegiac couplets. Instead, the poem has a more contemporary character of its time. The two remaining lines have an uneven meter, with five feet each.

Table 13: Text of Avidius's "Musae Iovis"

Musae Iovis ter maximi,	Apollo sed necem tibi
Proles canora, plangite	Minatur, heu mors pessima,
Comas Cypressus comprimat,	Instructus arcu & spiculis,
IOSQVINVS ille, ille occidit,	Musasque ut addant commovet,
Templorum decus	Et laurum comis,
Et vestrum decus	Et aurum comis.
Seuera mors & improba,	IOSQVINVS (inquit) optimo
Quae templa dulcibus sonis	Et maximo gratus Ioui.
Priuas, & aulas Principum,	Triumphat inter caelites,
Malum tibi quod imprecer	Et dulce carmen concinit,
Tollenti bonos	Templorum decus,
Parcenti malis?	Musarum decus.

In setting the melodies, Gombert dealt with many of the same concerns that arose in the previously-discussed political motet. The composer encountered enjambments and other poetic devices which detach visual form from meaning. For example, not only does Gombert connect texts that are enjambed in the poetic text, such as "maximi,/Proles," but he neglects to clearly articulate a new point of imitation in all three voices in the first two lines. The third line continues to ignore the enjambment. Rather than presenting a complete imitative subject in the five imitative voices, he presents the arpeggiating melody in the top three voices on the text "plangite, Comas cypressus comprimat." Moreover, the text "comprimat" ("encase," or likely "entomb" is rearticulated by the same descending melody described by Elders. This aligns the

Figure 14: Measures 13-33 of Gombert's Musae Iovis



text "comprimat" melodically with the text "Iosquinus ille, ille occidit." This imitative point also accompanies the first direct mention of Josquin's name and the shift from metaphorical description to literal proclamation (See Figure 14, m. 29).

An example of Gombert's handling of an enjambment occurs at the two lines, "Quae templa dulcibus sonis / Privas, et aulas Principum." Gombert sets the two lines coherently such that the verb "privat" is attached to the phrase. Gombert then set the new point of imitation at "et aulas principum." Thus, like *Qui colis Ausoniam*, Gombert's setting of the text overrides the devices employed in the poem (See Figure 14).

2.2.3.2 Form and the Cantus Firmus in Musae Iovis

The form of the poem was no doubt an active determinant for the form and melodic structure of the motet. However, most scholars have only discussed the specifics of the *cantus firmus* relative to the surrounding melodic setting. For example, scholars note Gombert's compositional procedure where he repeats the *cantus firmus* four times, and each iteration features smaller note values as the piece unfolds. This reduction happens only on the first three iterations, but note values are increased at the fourth iteration with the concurrent change in mensuration (m. 99). There are four repetitions of the *cantus firmus* melody and four sections of the 4+2 scheme in the form of the poem. However, only at the fourth iteration is the *cantus firmus* contained within a single poetic section. Rather, like (or possibly related to) the transitions between sections in Gombert's style, the *cantus firmus* bleeds into the next section of the poem. For example, the

⁶⁹ The verb that appears in the Schmidt-Görg edition is "privat," despite the use of "privas" in the poem.

first iteration of the *cantus firmus* begins at the second line of the first section and ends in the second line of the third section. As Table 14 illustrates, at times the cantus firmus melody is stated in the middle of a poetic line, but rarely in the middle of a poetic phrase.

Table 14: Musae Iovis Text with Cantus Firmus in Bold

Musae Iovis ter maximi,	Apollo sed necem tibi
Proles canora, plangite	Minatur, heu mors pessima,
Comas Cypressus comprimat,	Instructus arcu & spiculis,
IOSQVINVS ille, ille occidit,	Musasque ut addant commovet,
Templorum decus	Et laurum comis,
Et vestrum decus	Et aurum comis.
Seuera mors & improba,	IOSQVINVS (inquit) optimo
Quae templa dulcibus sonis	Et maximo gratus Ioui.
Priuas, & aulas Principum,	Triumphat inter caelites,
Malum tibi quod imprecer	Et dulce carmen concinit,
Tollenti bonos	Templorum decus,
Parcenti malis?	Musarum decus.

Cantus Pri et au-las princi pum Ma-lum ti Altus so - nis Pri ci au - las pum Ma Tenor lum ti vat, et au - las prin-ci - pum Sextus 0 0 Cir cum Quintus (Privat), pum Ma-lum ti Bassus (Privat), au-las prin - ci - pum au-las prin - ci-pum et

Figure 15: Negated Enjambment at "Privat, et aulas principum" in Musae Iovis

The first three iterations have no pattern in regards to the form of the poem. Instead, it is likely that Gombert's compositional plan to reduce the *cantus firmus*'s note values takes precedence over the form of the poem until the final iteration.

The change in mensuration of the final section of the piece is related to the change in sentiment or mood in that section. The first three sections have a negative mood; the narrator is addressing death and shifts from mournful to angry and vengeful in the course of the first three sections. However, the final section is joyful. It seems the narrator comes to terms with Josquin's death and presents the composer as continuing to contribute musically, but for a celestial audience.

An additional purpose of the *cantus firmus* in this motet is that it serves to split the texture into the composer's favored high-low grouping. This grouping begins from the outset of the motet and continues, uncharacteristically, throughout the piece. Whereas Gombert often splits the texture into high and low divisions, rarely is this grouping so regular. The quintus and bassus voices are often in homophonic and imitative duos. Figure 15 illustrates both a homophonic and imitative duo (mm. 21-24 and mm. 30-33). This consistency in splitting the texture into high-low groupings extends into the triple-mensuration section.

2.3 MOTETS WITH EXTENDED SACRED TEXTS

2.3.1 O Domine Iesu Christe

The following section discusses how Gombert adapts his multivoice processes for motet settings with longer texts. There are two different types of texts examined, a prayer and a litany, and both display varied compositional approaches. As we will see, Gombert creates order and cohesion through vocal groupings and formal divisions.

O Domine Iesu Christe survives in the two 1539 and 1549 Gardano prints and Berg and Neuber's 1556 Evangeliorum.⁷⁰ The motet's text is the Seven Prayers of St. Gregory on the Passion of Christ, a popular collection of prayers that were often included in Books of Hours and also set as motets in the sixteenth century. Earlier settings by Josquin and Maistre Jhan (ca. 1485-1538) survive, as does a contemporaneous setting by Adrian Willaert.⁷¹ The text was also set later by Tomas Luis Victoria, Giovanni di Palestrina and Hermann Finck. In the responsory and responsory-text motets formal procedures are determined by both music and form of the responsory, but in the case of O Domine Iesu Christe and other motets with extended lengths, the text takes the dominant role in determining formal procedures and other related characteristics.

For example, the four-voice motet by Maistre Jhan sets the text in seven individual *partes*. ⁷² Each *pars* moves through the text with little elaboration or development. In Willaert's setting,

 $^{^{70}}$ RISM 1556 9 . Sextus tomus Evangeliorum, et piarum sententiarum... (Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber, 1556). RISM 1556 9 .

⁷¹ RISM 1503¹. (*Motetti B*) *Motetti de passione*... (Venice: Petrucci, 1503).

the composer chose to set only four of the seven prayers in four *partes*. Only the first three and final prayers are set and the three intermediary prayers are completely excluded. Gombert set all seven prayers in two *partes*. My analysis investigates Gombert's procedures employed in setting such a lengthy text with an emphasis on how the composer creates cohesion and balance.

2.3.2 Gombert's Setting of *O Domine Iesu Christe*

Despite the similar opening phrases of each prayer, the motet is through-composed. However, the characteristics inherent in this text, particularly its length, affect the setting to a great degree. The prayer is associated with the medieval legend of the Mass of St. Gregory and its iconographical history. The prayers are said to have been written by St. Gregory after Christ had appeared to him during the Consecration at mass. O.B. Hardison Jr. gives an account of the legend,

During a Mass at St. Peter's, a Roman matron scoffed at the idea that the Host is transformed into the body of Christ at the moment of Consecration. Appalled by her skepticism, St. Gregory placed the consecrated Host on the altar and prayed devoutly. Suddenly the Host was transformed. According to the later story (which locates the events in Santa Croce), the risen Christ appeared, displaying the stigmata and surrounded by the instruments of the Passion. The skeptic was immediately converted and received Communion. The Mass then concluded in normal fashion.⁷³

The reverential text emphasizes the redemptive aspects of the Passion. With the exception of prayers three and seven, each prayer text follows a comparable form.

⁷² A modern edition may be found in *Selections from Bologna*, *Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale*, Ms Q20, ed. R. Sherr, Sixteenth Century Motet, viii (1990). Hermann Finck also set the prayers in seven *partes* in the setting included in RISM 1545² *Sextus tomus Evangeliorum*, *et piarum sententiarum*... (Augsburg: Ulhard, 1545).

⁷³ O.B. Hardison, Jr. *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages: Essays in the Origin and Early History of Modern Drama*, (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965, 35.

The prayers are divided into two distinct sections. The first section is an introductory, reverential description of Christ at various moments of His Passion. The conclusion of these prayers is an active petition for a mercy or grace related to the previous statement. I term these sections "introduction" and "active prayer." Additionally, the first phrases of prayers one, two and prayers four through six are the same. Each opens with the reverential phrase, "O Domine Iesu Christe, adoro te" in the introductory section. The active prayer text begins with "te deprecator."

Table 15: Text of Gombert's O Domine Iesu Christe

Prima Pars

O Domine Iesu Christe, adoro te in cruce pendentem et coronam spineam in capite portantem: te deprecor ut tua crux liberet me ab angel percutiente. (2) O Domine Iesu Christe, adoro te vulneratum felle et aceto potatum: te deprecor ut tua vulnera sint remedium animae meae. (3) O Domine Iesu Christe, adoro te propter illam amaritudinem quam pro me miserrimo sustinuisti in cruce, maxime quando nobilisma anima tua egressa est de corpora tuo: Miserere animae meae in egresse suo.

Secunda Pars

(4) O Domine Iesu Christe, adoro te in sepulchro positum, myrrha et aromatibus conditum: deprecor te ut tua mors sit vita mea. (5) O Domine Iesu Christe, adoro te descendentem ad inferos liberantem: deprecor te ne permittas me illuc introire. (6) O Domine Iesu Christe, adoro te resurgentem a mortuis et ad caelos ascendentem sedentemque ad dexteram Patris: deprecor te miserere mei. (7) O Domine Iesu Christe pastor bone iustos conserva pecatores iustifica et omnibus fidelibus defunctis miserere et propitious esto mihi miserrimo peccatori.

The third and seventh prayers stray from this form. Both prayers begin with "O Domine Iesu Christe," and are reverential in nature; prayer three even follows the introduction/active prayer scheme. The active prayer in prayer three is, however, more passive in its approach. Rather than begging directly through the active verb "deprecator" as found in the other two-part prayers, this prayer asks for mercy through the more passive verb "miserere."

Though the final prayer uses language and a sentiment specifically similar to prayer three, it is not in two-part form. Instead, the arrangement and function of the text differs.

Table 16: The Introductory Secton and Active Prayer of Prayer Four in O Domine Iesu Christe

Introductory section	Active prayer
O Domine Iesu Christe, rogo per illam	miserere animae meae in egressu suo de
amaritudinem Passionis tuae, quam in hora	corpore meo, et perduc eam in vitam aeternam.
mortis sustinuisti, maxime tunc, quando anima	
sanctissima de benedicto corpore est egressa:	
O Lord Jesus Christ, I ask by the bitterness of	have mercy upon my soul when it leaves my
Your Passion, which You didst undergo in the	body, and lead it to eternal life.
hour of Thy death, so much so when Thy most	
holy soul left Your blessed body:	

Prayer seven, like all of the prayers included in *O Domine Iesu Christe*, is reverential in character. Yet, unlike the preceding prayers, it temporarily removes the focus from the individual petitioner. The petitioner not only asks for mercy for himself, but also for the "faithful." It is an appropriate conclusion to the prayers aptly summarizing the text. Gombert's setting demonstrates his ability to exploit and build upon the text's inherent structural characteristics.

Table 17: The Text of Prayer Seven in O Domine Iesu Christe

Text	English Translation
O Domine Iesu Christe pastor bone iustos	O Lord Jesus Christ, good Shepherd, keeper of
conserva pecatores iustifica et omnibus	the just, justifier of all the faithful dead, have
fidelibus defunctis miserere et propitius esto	mercy on me and look favorably upon me, a
mihi miserrimo peccatori.	poor sinner.

Gombert divides the text of this into two *partes* after prayer three. Though some prayers are longer than others, the *partes* are very nearly equal. This inherent balance facilitates the text's

musical setting. Additionally, the text is prose and Gombert creates structure through well-placed cadences. Particularly in the *prima pars*, there are clear cadences to mark the transition between the introductions and the active prayer where applicable. Gombert also uses strong cadences to mark the transitions between prayers.

Figure 16: Transition from Prayer 2 to Prayer 3, marked by an A cadence with bass support (m. 62) in O Domine Ieus Christe



The *Secunda pars*, however, exhibits a different plan and demonstrates Gombert's need to intercede to provide balance between the two texts. Though both *partes* are nearly equal, there is a basic imbalance. There are seven prayers in the set, meaning that Gombert must move through the four prayers of the *secunda pars* in the same amount of time as the three prayers of the *prima pars* to create equal balance between *partes*. Prayer three is the longest prayer, while prayer five is the shortest. This imbalance limits the musical development of the work as a whole. Gombert compensates for this limitation through melodic development and vocal groupings.

Most of this "compensation" occurs in the *secunda pars*. Melodically, Gombert uses longer note values in prayers four and five. In prayer four, for instance, Gombert uses longer note values on the text "deprecor te ut tua mors." This reduction, and the addition of B-flat, not only highlight the text, but also compensate for the shorter text.

Cantus de te ut tu (con) - di - tum: pre COL mors Altus di tu a mors tum: de - pre cor te цt Quintus (aromatibus) de tum: pre cor te ut a mors Tenor de Sextus (aroma)-ti - bus di tum: de pre cor te ut tu Bassus de te ut tu pre cor

Figure 17: Shift in note values in O Domine Iesu Christe

Yet, the following prayer amplifies this idea. Prayer five, the shortest prayer, exhibits not only longer note values but also uses vocal groupings that had not been employed earlier in the work. Gombert divides the choir evenly into distinct groups of high and low voices on the text "adoro te." The homophonic declamation is striking and unusual for Gombert (Figure 18), but is a reflection of the text. This moment introduces the groupings that are employed in the remainder of the work. These groupings are employed in the final verse.

Figure 18: Groupings in Prayer Five in O Domine Iesu Christe



The high-low texture here shifts from an overlapping 4+2 to a homophonic 3+3 texture before moving to an imitative texture. This sort of shifting of vocal groupings and textures is typical of many such passages in Gombert's multivoice works. These groupings both develop and extend the *secunda pars* to compensate for the shortness of the internal prayers.

The final prayer also exhibits Gombert's awareness of the general imbalance between the *partes* created by the odd number of prayers. Whereas the cadences in the *prima pars* work to

articulate each prayer and section from the other, in the *secunda pars* this is not the case. Rather, Gombert does not use a cadence at the transition from the sixth to the seventh prayers (Figure 19). This lack essentially structures prayers six and seven as one prayer.



Figure 19: Transition into Prayer 7 in O Domine Iesu Christe

All the other prayers use a cadence to mark the end of the prayer and only at prayer six does the composer stray from this scheme. The lack of a cadence in the middle of the seventh prayer, that is, from the introduction portion of the prayer to the active prayer, is understandable. As

discussed above, this text has a conclusive character and is in one section. Thus, Gombert has a balanced motet with three prayers in each *pars*.

2.3.3 Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes

Though the iconographical association of the "Salvator mundi" is with Christ, the *Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes* motet is for All Saints Day and the Solemnity of the Saints.⁷⁴ More specifically, the text is put together from antiphons for second vespers on both occasions. According to Anne Walters Robertson, the antiphon *Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes* is related to processional chant repertory. The earliest sources of the antiphon are French and "came from the fond of the processional chants into the ritual of the feast of All Saints." Additionally, she suggests that the text is appropriate for processions, and that the form of the chant is "based on the repetition of sections." Gombert's motet *Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes* is a two-*pars* motet and survives in a 1535 print from the Attaignant publishing house.⁷⁷ That print also contains motets by Jean L'Heritier, Pierre de Manchicourt, and Lupus, among others.

 74 I have chosen to add the "omnes" to the more common incipit to distinguish it from the Christological chant of the same name.

⁷⁵Anne Walters, "The Reconstruction of the Abbey Church at St-Denis (1231-81), *Early Music History* (1985): 213.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 215.

⁷⁷ RISM 1535⁵. *Liber decimustertius XVIII. musicales habet modulos quatuor et quinque vocibus...* (Paris: Pierre Attaingnant, 1535).

Table 18: Text of Gombert's Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes⁷⁸

Prima Pars		
Gombert's Latin Version	English Translation	
Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes, Sancta Dei	Savior of the world, save us all: Holy	
Genitrix, Virgo semper Maria, ora pro nobis:	Mother of God, Mary ever Virgin, pray for	
precibus quoque sanctorum Angelorum et	us: We also humbly ask [for mercy] from the	
Archangelorum, Prophetarum, Apostolorum,	prayers of the blessed Angels and	
Martyrum et Confessorum atque sanctarum	Archangels, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs and	
Virginum suppliciter petimus, ut a malis	Confessors together with Holy Virgins, in	
omnibus eruamur bonisque omnibus nunc et	order that we may be delivered from all evil	
semper perfrui meramur.	things and that we may deserve to enjoy fully	
	all good things now and forever.	
Secunda	pars	
Eia ergo advocemus gloriosam Virginem	Oh come then, let us call Mary, glorious	
caelorum Reginam Mariam, Spirituum ordines	Virgin Queen of Heaven, and orders of	
atque beatorum ad nostrae solemnitatis gaudium,	blessed spirits to the joy of our solemnity, so	
ut, quorum gloriam frequenti laude attollimus	thaty we may strive for their holy ways be	
eorum mores sanctos imitari decertemus.	initiated, whose glory whth much praise we	
Laetamini in Domino et exsultate iusti et	raise up. Be joyful in our Lord, and rejoice ye	
gloriamini omnes recti corde, alleluia.	just: and glory all ye right of heart.	

Gombert alters the text in this two-part motet to emphasize its litaneutical aspects. He also uses vocal groupings to emphasize the same text features and to emphasize the chief saint, the Virgin Mary. I will discuss the groupings and their litaneutical functions in more detail below. For the sake of balance, the text of the *secunda pars* is as long as that in the *prima pars*. The more identifiable text, "Laetimini in Domino," is based on Psalm 32, verse 11 and related to the feast of All Saints and the Common of Martyrs. The final verse "Laetimini" is a part of the Seven Penitential Psalms. The first part of the *secunda pars*, however, has no identifiable source. Still, when conflated with the text of the *prima pars*, the focus of the text, and

⁷⁸ Many thanks to Professor Francesca Savoia with assistance in this translation.

consequently the motet, becomes Marian in nature. I will discuss below how Gombert emphasizes the shift in focus of the text in his setting.

This particular version of the text appears rarely in the works of sixteenth-century composers when compared to the Christological text. Whereas the Christological text asks for Christ's intercession and focuses on redemption through His Passion, the litaneutical text asks for salvation from a host of figures. A setting of the Marian text by Palestrina survives, as well as a setting by a little-known composer from Messina, Bartholemeo Lombardo (d. 1578). In addition, at least one other composer of the post-Josquin generation has set the litaneutical text. Clemens is probably the composer of a four-voice *Salavator mundi, salva nos omnes*. The primary differences between Clemens's setting and Gombert's are, besides the numbers of voices employed in the settings, in the structural divisions. Both Gombert's and Clemens's settings are in two parts, but Clemens's setting is notably shorter than Gombert's. Rather than setting a *secunda pars* on an additional text as Gombert did, Clemens divides the text of the *Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes* into two *partes*. The question as to why Gombert set such a long text may be answered in the piece's function. One cannot help considering that this motet was sung during a litany processional, possibly one of the stations of the procession.

⁷⁹ The Christological text is as follows: Salvator mundi, salva nos; qui per crucem et sanguinem redemisti nos, auxiliare nobis, te deprecamur, Deus noster. *CAO* 4690

NISM 1553¹⁰, Susato's *Liber tertius ecclesiasticarum cantionum quatuor vocum vulgo moteta vocant*...(Antwerp: Susato, 1553) and in the manuscript Ansbach 16. The piece also appears in RISM 1554¹⁴, Scotto's *Motetti del Laberinto, a quatro voci libro secondo* (Venice: Scotto, 1554). A modern transcription appears in K.P. Bernet Kempers *Clemens non Papa: Opera omnia*, (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1951-76), 12: 113.

This composition is not only notable as one of the few surviving settings of the text from Gombert's generation, but also for its distinct approach to vocal grouping and text setting. From the outset of the motet, Gombert alters his methods in the exposition in a way that forces us to reconsider the elements which formulate a Gombertian motet exposition. Yet the diversity found in the pool of chants used for motets makes it almost impossible to construct a uniform theory of form in his works. Though many six-voice motets do follow the formula of exordium / first significant cadence, the motet *Salvator mundi*, *salva nos omnes* forces us to reevaluate and adapt the idea of the exposition (See Figure 20).

The primary means by which this motet differs from other six-voice motets is in its vocal groupings. Not only does Gombert create groupings through widely-spaced entrances, but through text. The piece opens with an imitative trio, a conventional and intuitive grouping for a six-voice setting. In the particular case of this motet, Gombert groups the trio as a high group—cantus, quintus and altus. The high trio has an extended introduction that spans ten "measures" before the entrance of the first voice in the second group. The introduction of the low trio is gradual. The quintus and altus voices after the first trio cadence at measure eight and provide a punctuation or conclusion. The low group is not introduced in the overlapping manner found in other motets and in the *Magnificats*, that is, with one or two voices beginning the next point of imitation before the completion and cadence of the previous text. Instead, Gombert slowly reveals the low group under the cover of the high group, which continues after the cadence in measure eight with free counterpoint. More specifically, Gombert uses a member of the high group (quintus) in a quasi-pairing with a member of the low group (sextus) which begins the new point of imitation. I use the term "quasi-pairing" here because, though the quintus and sextus

Figure 20: Exordium of Gombert's Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes – Prima pars



(tenor) parts do share the same text, "Sancta Dei Genetrix," their melodic content is dissimilar, even though they move in note-against-note counterpoint.

This high- and low-grouped introduction in Gombert's six-voice settings is not exclusive to the Salvator mundi. For example, the six-voice Descendi in hortum meum opens with a definitive high/low grouping. However, the Salvator mundi is exceptional for the length of the opening high-group exordium and the entrance of the low group on the next textual clause. This procedure is irregular in the exordia of Gombert's motets. The irregular procedure is not in the grouping, but the actual spacing of the grouping. For example, Gombert groups the six-voice settings into two high/low groups in many motets. Among these is the six-voice motet Descendi in hortum meum, where the grouping serves a rhetorical function, Si bona suscepimus, and Sancta Maria succurre. So, rather than an exposition that introduces all voices in the exordium, Gombert continues the second imitative point with the next textual clause before the end of the exposition. The high group fades out without a strong cadence and the remaining lower voices continue the counterpoint. The resulting distance between the entries of the two groups is conspicuously larger than in other motets.

The *secunda pars* presents a similar opening, but the motivations for the altered approach to groupings here are more perceptible. Whereas in the *prima pars*, the high group faded out to emphasize the lower group, in the *secunda pars*, the lower group is introduced in a more conventional manner. Particularly, the lower group enters in the overlapping manner as found in most of Gombert's text transitions. The lower group is still emphasized, but just a few measures later than had happened in the *prima pars*. Also, the lower group is introduced on the second clause of the text as in the *prima pars*.

Yet, Gombert takes his groupings one step further. Though the high voices are eventually reduced in favor of the lower group, in this case, the higher two voices are notably absent for four measures (m. 124-129, Figure 20). What's more, the cantus part is absent for an additional three measures. This down-sizing of the texture is no doubt a device to make the homophonic interjection of "Mariam" all the more striking. Not only is it a complete change in declamation, but it is present in all six voices. In addition, all voices rest two beats before the homophonic "Mariam." The sonic effect at this section is no doubt the goal of the groupings in the *secunda pars*.

130 0 Cantus 0 Ma ri am, Quintus Ma ri am, 0 Altus ri Ma am, Ma ri-am, Spi-ri tu-um or -Tenor (Regi)nam, Re Ma ri am, Sextus Ma Spi Bassus Re-gi Ma ri am, Spi-ri-tu-um di nam. nam. or -

Figure 21: Homophonic "Mariam" in Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes

This rare homophonic moment raises many questions for this work. Were the groupings in the first part constructed in order to foreshadow the procedures that highlight "Mariam" in the second part? It certainly is plausible that the procedure of beginning the next text clause in the second group may be a manner of getting through the lengthy text clearly. Yet if this is the case,

why does Gombert wait so long to introduce the low group? And why does he not use his procedure of overlapping entrances and exits to introduce the next clause. Though he would only save two or three "measures," the fact that he added text compounds this mystery (See Figure 21).

2.3.4 Groupings and Text in Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes

The non-conventional approach to vocal grouping persists in *Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes*, most palpably in its thinning of the texture and its silences. The first section that features a notable modification in grouping is the listing of various categories from whom the supplicant asks prayers. However, here Gombert continues using a counter-intuitive procedure. As the recipients for supplication are listed, the texture thins (see Figure 22). A likely explanation of this procedure would be thinning the texture at certain moments to emphasize the specific holy figures. It is clear that this particular portion of the text was significant for the occasion. For example, Palestrina's setting is altered considerably from the standard antiphon text. In addition to shortening the text, it goes through a multitude of saintly categories. Palestrina adds the nine choirs of angels, priests, lawyers, prophets, professors, lords and anchorites to the apostles, martyrs and confessors that are asked to intercede for the petitioner.⁸¹ Gombert's setting also

⁸¹ The complete text of Palestrina's one-*pars Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes* is as follows: "Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes; sancta Dei Genetrix Virgo semper Maria, intercede pro nobis: Angeli, Archangeli, Throni et Dominationes, Principatus et Potestates, Virtutes coelorum: Cherubim atque Seraphim, Patriarchae et Prophetarum, Sancti legis Doctores, Apostoli, omnes Christi Martyres, Sancti Confessorum, Virgines Domini, Anachoritae, Sanctique omnes intercede pro nobis." Modern transcriptions can be found in Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Le opère complete*, ed. R. Casimiri, 3 (Rome: 1939–87), 86.

provides additional categories of saints to the text. Angels, archangels and prophets are added to apostles, martyrs and confessors in the litaneutical text.

A possible answer as to why the composer chose to thin the texture would be that he wanted to draw attention to certain members of this list. Additionally, Gombert emphasizes the latter half of the list instead of the additions. If we look for an explanation for the favoring of some categories in the number of times they are repeated in the setting, some cases may be easily explained. For example, Gombert's added "angelorum" appears as many times as "martyrum" or "confessorum." However, the ubiquity of "angelorum" may easily be justified by its proximity to the point of imitation. However, the second and third categories are not as neatly explained. "Archangelorum," "Prophetarum" and the original "Apostolorum" appear the fewest number of times. Five of the six appearances of the terms "Prophetarum" and "Apostolorum" occur in the economical pairing of a homophonic trio in sixteen beats that are connected by a lone chant-like declamation of "Archangelorum." It is possible the "cheating" of certain categories in favor of others could be tied to the specific circumstances of the procession. The most exposed section of the list occurs on the text "Martyrum et Confessorum," which is composed as a set of successive imitative duos (See Figure 22, m.41). Perhaps Gombert chooses to emphasize this text through the grouping of voices because of its connection through the conjunction "et." Gombert does not treat the two categories individually, but rather as one melodic line. Except in the cantus, the repetitions of the text "Martyrum et Confessorum" vary

only negligibly.

Table 19: Partial Comparison of the $Salvator\ mundi$, $salva\ nos\ omnes\ Antiphon\ text\ and\ Gombert's\ Corresponding\ Motet\ Text^{82}$

Text	Gombert's Motet Text	L'Héritier	Palestrina's Text
ora pro nobis;	ora pro nobis:	ora pro nobis.	intercede pro nobis:
precibus quoque	precibus quoque	Precibus quoque	Angeli, Archangeli, Throni
sanctorum	sanctorum Angelorum	sanctorum	et Dominationes,
apostolorum,	et Archangelorum,	angelorum	Principatus et Pontestates,
martyrum et	Prophetarum,	archangelorum,	Virtues coelorum:
confessorum atque	Apostolorum,	patriarcharum,	Cherubim atque Seraphim,
sanctarum virginum	Martyrum et	prophetarum,	Patriarchae et
suppliciter petimus	Confessorum atque	apostolorum,	Prophetarum, Sancti legis
	sanctarum Virginum	martyrum et	Doctores , Apostoli, omnes
	suppliciter petimus	confessorum atque	Christi Martyres, Sancti
		sanctarum	Confessorum, Virgines
		virginum supliciter	Domini, Anchoritae,
		petimus	Sanctique omnes intercede
			pro nobis.

Significantly, the grouping at "Martyrum et Confessorum" functions as a new point of imitation. However, the composer creates continuity between martyrs and confessors by avoiding a cadence, which would truly mark "Martyrum et Confessorum" as a new point of imitation. The final category of the list is also warranted its own point of imitation.

Another technique related to the previously-discussed approach to the altered text is the use of the groupings to single out particular portions of the text. This technique is conventional in sixteenth-century polyphony and composers often emphasize text through contrapuntal repetition. Noteworthy about the counterpoint on the text "ut a malis omnibus eruamur bonisuqe omnibus" is the manner in which Gombert created divisions in the text (Figure 22).

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⁸² CAO, 4689.

Cantus ci - bus quo Alto bis ci - bus qu que san Tenor bis pre - bus quo que Tenor cto san rum An rum Tenor bis quo-que Bassus bis ci - bus quo - que cto rum An - ge - lo Cant. Pro -Α cto - rum An phe-ta rum, Q. rum, rum An ge-lo rum, Pro phe ta A. Arch Mar ge rum, T. ty rum et Con- fes S. ge rum An lo-rum et Pro-phe-ta rum ge Bass. po-sto-lo - rum, Α -Mar ty-rum et__ Cant. Mar sto - lo ty - rum Con- fes rum. rum Q. ty-rum et. Con-fes-so rum, A. et Con-fes ty - rum so rum, T. Vir rum at que san - cta-rum S. Mar Con-fes-so rum tv-rum et Bass. Con-fes-so - rum, Con-fes-so - rum que san - cta

Figure 22: Setting of the Text "precibus quoque sanctorum Angelorum..." in Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes

Cantus ut eti)mus ma Quintus ma - liş Altus lis (ter) pe ut mus mni Tenor mni bus ut Sextus o-mni-bus, mņi Bassus mni - bus, Cant. mni bus mur, mur ru - a Q. mur A. a-mur T. mur ru que o S. mur Bass.

Figure 23: Slash-through Imitation at "ut a malis omnibus eruamur" in Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes

In addition to creating a partial slash-through imitation on the clause "ut a malis omnibus," Gombert detaches and emphasizes the word "eruamur" ("we are delivered"). Rather than merely repeating "eruamur" as an extension of the counterpoint within the framework of the text clause, the composer repeats the word by setting it as an independent point of imitation. This isolation and repetition of "eruamur" emphasizes this text and its supplicatory nature.

bo

mur

2.3.5 High-Low Groupings in the Secunda pars in Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes

Throughout the remainder of the motet, the composer continues the high/low groupings introduced at the outset of the piece. For example, this grouping is readily apparent at measure 64 (Figure 23), where the composer presents slash through imitation. Moreover, the high/low grouping is especially emphasized in the *Secunda pars*. Gombert alters the methods in which he introduces the high/low grouping. An example of this alteration occurs at the beginnings of each *pars*. This type of alteration is also found in the middle of the *pars*, for example at measures 139-155 (Figure 24). The grouping is approached through two overlapping sections. The text "atque beatorum" is presented in an imitative duo in the sextus and bassus which has begun during an extension of a cadential passage in the cantus in measures 139-140 and a continuance of melodically unrelated counterpoint on the new clause in the altus. By creating staggered endings in the cantus and altus, the composer obscures the introduction of the imitative duo in the lower voices (See Figure 24). Gradually, voices are added from the bottom up and as more voices are added, the lower three voices stagger their endings in favor of the higher voices.

This technique is in opposition to the other technique used in this motet, where the composer creates firm groupings through cadences and vertical sonorities reminiscent of the polychoral style. For example, after a strong perfect cadence on F at measure 169, the composer features a low-voice grouping which is firmly concluded with a Bb cadence (Figure 25, m. 174). The grouping then overlaps with a non-imitative series in entries starting with the cantus and working down voice by voice to the bassus.



Figure 24: Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes: m. 139-155

Figure 25: Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes – m. 168-179



The following section is a high-voice grouping which "echoes" the low voiced grouping. This moment is again repeated at measures 201-208 in Figure 26. High/low groupings are common in Gombert's motets. However, this specific procedure, with such extended and clearly-defined groupings, is particular to the *Salvator mundi*. The high-low groupings here in Figure 26 are more clearly defined than some we have surveyed.

Figure 26: Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes – m. 200-215 Cantus sti, et glo-ri a - mi-ni Quintus sul - ta iu sti, o-mnes re te glo-ri - a ex et nį cti cor Altus glo-ri - a - mi Tenor sti, (sul) - ta - te. sti, et ex-sul Sextus Bassus sti, et ex-sul glo-ri-(iu) et Cant. Q. et ri a mi A. glo - ri T. glo - ri glo-ri mi-ni mnes re - cti - cor mi o - mnes, et o - mnes, o mnes re - cti-cor glo - ri - a - mi - ni re - cti de,

2.4 SUMMARY CONCLUSION

This chapter discusses the compositional processes that Gombert used in his six-voice motets.

In his motets related to the responsory chant genre, the composer shows various gradations between a strict adherence to responsory form, such as in *O Rex gloriae*, and looser interpretations of the form, the responsory-text motet, where only text and/or the musical character of the refrain returns. Many of the changes seem motivated by musical considerations.

In the two motets whose texts are related to classical poetry, there are widely differing procedures. In the case of *Qui colis Ausoniam*, Gombert is more faithful to the poetic form of the text. The form alone serves a humanistic function, which is carried over into the setting of the motet. Though the composer takes some license, such as with wording and omitting couplets to create musical balance, the poem remains relatively intact. However, some poetic devices, such as enjambments, do not survive in Gombert's setting because of the demands of syntactic imitation.

Because the poetic basis for the *déploration Musae Iovis* is more contemporary and not bound by classical poetic forms, the composer is able to take more creative license with compositional procedure. For instance, the *cantus firmus* is the primary determinant of the form of the motet and Gombert reconciles the referential melody with the poetic structure of the piece. This reconciliation is best demonstrated in the way the *cantus firmus* is positioned against the poetic structure of the piece. Though the number of iterations of the *cantus firmus* correlate with the number of sections in the motet, in only the final section is an iteration of the *cantus firmus* melody contained within the section. In all others, the iterations overlap sectional divisions. This is likely related to the shift in mood of the motet in the final section. The first three sections lament Josquin's passing while the mood of the final section may be described as joyful resignation. Thus, it is evident that Gombert is conscious of the poetic structure of the piece and how it may be represented in a musical setting. Additionally, as no doubt a consequence of his humanistic training, the composer was also cognizant of the meaning and metaphorical representations of his text. These meanings are evident in the setting of *Musae Iovis*.

The conclusion of this chapter examines how Gombert created coherence in long texts. The composer employs groupings, with typical overlapping transitions. His preference for a high-low split texture is evident in *Salvator mundi*, *salva nos omnes* and *O Domine Iesu Christe*.

3.0 MOTETS FOR EIGHT OR MORE VOICES

In all, six motets for eight or more voices may be attributed definitively to Gombert. Half of these compositions are *contrafacta* or parodies, whose attribution history I discuss below. Gombert's largest surviving motets are twelve- and ten-voice settings of the great Marian antiphon for Easter, *Regina caeli*.

Table 20: Gombert's Motet Settings for More than Six Voices

Eight-Voice Motets (Chanson Contrafacta)		Ten-voice Motet	Twelve-voice Motet
Tulerunt Dominum	O Jesu Christe	Regina caeli	Regina caeli
Lugebat David Absalon			
Sustinuimus pacem			

Gombert's six-voice motet settings behave generally in the same manner as his settings for four or five voices, but often feature exceptional compositional procedures that set them apart from the smaller settings.. His motets for more than six voices more regularly demonstrate an altered compositional approach. The following discussion of these larger settings examines style and technical construction. I investigate the techniques Gombert uses to construct these larger settings.

3.1 GOMBERT'S EIGHT-VOICE MOTETS AND CONTRAFACTA

All of Gombert's surviving eight-voice motets are *contrafacta* of his own chansons and are exceptional approaches to his multivoice procedure. While the eight-voice *O Jesu Christe* is a *contrafactum* of the canonic chanson *Qui ne l'amyeroit*, the remaining eight-voice multivoice motets are *contrafacta* on the chanson *Je prens congie*. These works, the motets *Ecce quam bonum*, *Tulerunt Dominum*, *Sustinuimus Pacem*, and *Lugebat David Absalon* and three settings without text, survive in numerous prints and manuscripts from the sixteenth century. The motets *Tulerunt Dominum*, *Sustinuimus Pacem*, and *Lugebat David Absalon* are inextricably linked to a highly complicated attribution history. I will explore this history and its implications for Gombert's style next.

3.1.1 The Je prens congie Complex: Attribution History and the Question of Polychorality

Norbert Böker-Heil provides the most detailed account of some of the works in this complex of pieces in his discussion of the manuscript VerA218 (Verona, Accademia filarmonica MS. B218), 83 but in a more recent study, Martin Picker gives additional details. 84

⁸³ See Norbert Böker-Heil, "Zu einem frühvenezianischen Motetten-Repertoire," in *Helmuth Osthoff zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Ulrich Aaburg and Peter Cahn (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1969), 59-88.

⁸⁴ Martin Picker, "A Spurious Motet of Josquin, a Chanson by Gombert, and Some Related Works: A Case Study in Contrafactum and Parody," in *Quellenstudium und Musicalische Analyse: Festschruft Martin Just zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds Peter Niedermüller, Christina Urchueguía, and Oliver Wiener, (Wurzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2001), 32-44.

The earliest source for sacred music related to *Je prens congie* is found in the manuscript VerA218, which Böker-Heil dates from 1536⁸⁵ (See Table 21). *Sustinuimus pacem*, a contrafact of *Je prens congie*, follows another sacred *contrafactum* in the same manucript, *Tu sola es virgo*, based on an anonymous sixteenth-century chanson melody, "J'ay mis mon cueur." *See Sustinuimus pacem* is attributed to "Gunbert" in the manuscript. The responsory text *Tulerunt Dominum*, also a *contrafactum* of *Je prens congie*, one of the most frequently occurring texts in the multivoice motets (the other is *Regina caeli*), can be found in print and manuscript sources both singly and with second parts. An intabulation of a piece entitled *Tulerunt Dominum*, attributed to Gombert, was published in 1552 in Salamanca. Finally, a setting of *Tulerunt Dominum* in one *pars* was printed by Berg and Neuber with an attribution to Josquin in 1554.

Later, in 1564, Berg and Neuber printed another *contrafactum* of the chanson, this time with the text *Lugebat David Absalon* and with a *secunda pars*, *Porro rex operuit*, and attributed it again to Josquin. ⁸⁹ The *secunda pars* of *Lugebat David Absalon*, *Porro rex operuit*, is musically identical to the *Tu sola es virgo* which appears in the Verona manuscript.

⁸⁵ Böker-Heil "Zu einem frühvenezianischen Motetten-Repertoire," 70-71.

⁸⁶ It has been suggested that this chanson is by Gombert. See Work List, George Nugent and Eric Jas, "Gombert, Nicolas," *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 4 April 2011), http://www.grovemusic.com.

⁸⁷ Diego Pisador, *Libro de musica de vihuela, agora nuevamente compuesto por Diego Pisador, vezino de la ciudad de Salamanca*, 2 vols, Salamanca, 1552. RISM 1552³⁵

⁸⁸ Montanus and Neuber, eds. Evangelia dominicorum et festorum dierum musicis numeris pulcherrimè comprehensa & ornata. Tomi primi continentis historias & doctrinam, quae solent in Ecclesia proponi. De Nativitate. De Epiphanijs. De Resurrectione Jesu Christi. (Munich: Montanus and Neuber, 1554). RISM 1554¹⁰

Table 21: List of Print and Manuscript Sources for the Je prens congie Complex

Single-Pars Works			
Title	Print Source and Attribution	Mss Source	
В	Based on the Musical Content of Je prens congie (Gombert)		
Je prens congie		LonDLR A49-54: Gombert (c. 1565-80)	
Tulerunt Dominum	Pisador RISM 1552 ³⁵	BudOS 31: Josquin (1570-1650)	
	(Vihuela Transcription):	DresSL Glashütte 5: anon (1583-84)	
	Gombert	DresSL Grimma 7: anon (1590-1621)	
		DresSL Grimma 55: anon (1560-80)	
	Berg and Neuber RISM	DresSL Löbau 50: Josquin (1550-60)	
	1554 ¹⁰ : Josquin	LeipU 49-50: Josquin (1558)	
		MunBS 1536: Josquin (1583)	
		WrocS 1: Josquin (1550-1600)	
		WrocS 5: Josquin (1575-1600, c.)	
Ecce quam bonum		KasL 38: anon (1535-66)	
Sustinuimus pacem		VerA 218: Gombert ("Gunbert") (1536)	
Credo	Berg & Neuber, RISM 1564 ¹ : Gombert		
Versions without		CopKB 1873: anon (1556)	
text		StockKB 229: anon (1560-70)	
		StockKM 45: anon (1560-70)	
Based on the l	Musical content of J'ay mis	mon cueur (anonymous, possibly Gombert)	
Title	Print Source and Attribution	Mss Source	
Tu sola es virgo	1100110 0001011	VerA 218: anon (1536)	
Alleluia: Noli flere		DresSL Glashütte 5: anon (1583-84)	
Timermen Trent green	Two-P	ars Works	
Title	Print Source and Attribution	Mss Source	
Lugebat David	Berg and Neuber, RISM	MunBS 1536: Josquin (1583)	
Absalon	1564: Josquin	RegB 786-837: Josquin (1569-78)	
2p. Porro Rex		- ' ' '	
Tulerunt Dominum		ZwiR 32/33, (1567-1600)	
2p. Alleluia: Noli		ZwiR 36/48: anon (1550-1600)	
flere		ZwiR 94/1: anon (1590)	

⁸⁹ Montanus and Neuber, eds., *Thesaurus musicus cantinens selectissimas octo, septem, sex, quinque et quatuor vocum harmonias, tam à ueteribus quàm recentioribus symphonistis compositas, & ad omnis generis instrumetna musica accomodatas. Tomi primi continentis cantiones octo vocum* (Munich: Montanus and Neuber, 1564). RISM, 1564¹.

There is yet one more sacred piece related to the complex of works in question that was also published in the 1564 Montanus and Neuber edition. A single *Credo* mass fragment shares some identical musical material with the chanson.⁹⁰

From here, the history of this piece becomes centered on the shift of attribution from Josquin to Gombert that began in 1921. Picker writes that Otto Kade had not recognized *Lugebat David Absalon* as having identical content to *Tulerunt Dominum*. Oddly, Kade doubted that *Lugebat* was by Josquin, but considered *Tulerunt* as authentic. Hugo Leichtentritt and Erich Hertzmann both attributed *Tulerunt Dominum* to Josquin. Picker also notes that neither *Lugebat* nor *Tulerunt* was included by Smijers in his Josquin edition, begun in 1921, but Blume's 1933 edition in *Das Chorwerk* attributed *Tulerunt Dominum* to Josquin. The authorship issues remained stable for over thirty years until Böker-Heil's 1969 study. There, Böker-Heil identified the chanson *Je prens congie* as the work from which all these sacred *contrafacta* originated. Pavid Absalon, *Tulerunt Dominum*, *Sustinuiumus pacem* and the *Credo* mass fragment—the *Je prens congie* complex.

⁹⁰ A modern transcription of the *Credo* may be found in Schmidt-Görg, Nicolas Gombert *Opera omnia*, 3: 103-125. There is a question regarding the authenticity of this work. I discuss this piece and issues of its attribution below.

⁹¹ Picker, "A Spurious Motet by Josquin," 33-34. Refer to Josquin des Pres, *Werken*, ed. by Albert Smijers (Leipzig: C.F.W. Siegel, 1921) and Friedrich Blume, ed., *Drei Evangelien-Motetten* in *Das Chorwerk*, v. 23 (Wolfenbüttel: Möseler Verlag, 1933).

⁹² Böker-Heil, "Zu einem frühvenezianischen Motetten-Repertoire," 70. Picker notes that the *Credo* is an example of "large-scale parody" that had been overlooked by Schmidt-Görg and downplayed by Böker-Heil. Picker, "A Spurious Motet of Josquin," 34.

Scholars who have discussed the attribution history of the works in the *Je prens congie* complex have also remarked on the music's similarity to Italian polychoral technique. Picker writes that these pieces are "virtually the only eight-voice works attributed to Gombert that embody the principle of polychorality. Possible [sic] reflecting the influence of Adrian Willaert's psalm for double choir published in 1550 (RISM 1550¹) they are among Gombert's most forward-looking works." Picker supports his idea by referring back to the descriptions of Leichtentritt and Hertzmann, who consider *Lugebat* as a foreshadower of polychoral writing. Picker writes,

Hugo Leichentritt in his *Geschichte der Motette* (1908) accepted the authenticity of *Lugebat* without referring to *Tulerunt*, and cited its anticipation of polychorality as an important innovation by Josquin. Still later, Erich Hertzmann, believing the work to be by Josquin, refined this claim and described it as a 'first step' toward, but not yet true polychoral writing. ⁹⁴

It is easy to dismiss the comments by Hertzmann and Leichentritt as influenced both by the myth of Josquin and the teleologically-inclined orientation of early music research in the early- to midtwentieth century. Yet these likely-biased comments are not without some value. Despite the

⁹³ Martin Picker, "A Spurious Motet of Josquin," 38. Technically, Picker is remarking particularly on the *Credo* and *Je prens congie*. However, considering the remaining works of the complex are *contrafacta* on *Je prens congie*, it is reasonable to apply this statement to all the works in the complex.

⁹⁴ Hugo Leichtentritt, *Geschichte der Motette*, Leipzig: 1908, 67-69 and Erich Hertzman, "Zur Frage der Mehrchörigkeit in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenshaft* 12 (1929/1930): 138, quoted in Ibid., 34.

⁹⁵ The teleological or evolutionary bias of earlier scholars coupled with the misattribution to Josquin likely influenced the writers to consider the style as "on the way" to the Northern Italian style.

misattribution to Josquin, it is evident that these scholars are identifying musical characteristics reminiscent of the polychoral style.

Fittingly, these scholars do not entirely commit to calling these pieces polychoral and I believe that they are noncommittal for two reasons. First, the descriptor "polychoral" has been connotatively associated with *cori spezzati* and the northern Italian tradition. Secondly, while Gombert does divide the ensemble into two distinct groups in the *Je prens congie* complex, these groups are not strictly divided for the entirety of the work. Nugent and Jas support this theory and note that Gombert's multivoice works "are not antiphonal in the manner of the north Italian *coro spezzato* style; Gombert did not divide forces consistently but constantly changed the combinations of voice groups. Because of the technical demands of multi-voice writing, these works contain more direct repetition...than his other music." Their views support my own observations on Gombert's multivoice style.

Rather than considering the *Je prens congie* complex as anticipating polychorality, being forward-looking and consequently describing the complex's characteristics with a bias toward the Italian tradition, we should examine these pieces on their own terms. That is, we should evaluate them through the lens of Gombert's imitative style. Once we understand the works of the complex as distinct representations of his style, we may then situate them within the larger context of multivoice writing in the sixteenth century.

For example, in Picker's article he remarks on the passage on the text "Deum verum de Deo vero" in Gombert's single surviving *Credo* mass movement. Picker describes this moment as a

⁹⁶ George Nugent and Eric Jas. "Gombert, Nicolas," in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11420 (accessed February 15, 2009).

"striking antiphonal exchange," and uses it as evidence of the relationship between Gombert's *Credo* mass movement and the chanson and its *contrafacta*. This moment is indeed striking. If we consider it as indicative of, or as a consequence of, the principles of polychorality, which these works are said to embody, the moment has greater significance. After examining Gombert's multivoice sacred works, however, I believe any perceived polychorality in the complex based on this moment is valid, but only incidentally so. Picker's "striking moment" is less an antiphonal passage (with its stylistic connotations to the Italian practice) and more a variation of an imitative cadential procedure that is found in Gombert's other surviving works.

I term this procedure the "turning-figure procedure" and the procedure is at its core an embellished cadence. As such, its primary characteristics are associated with cadential procedures. First, the turning-figure procedure utilizes cadential formulas. Within the complex, the device is reminiscent of the *cambiata* and employs chained suspensions. However, the device does not function like a *cambiata* (as a dissonant ornament) but is the dominant melodic pattern of the passage. Second, the procedure has a rhetorical purpose and occurs at significant points in the text, which, in some cases, are related to its cadential function. Finally, this figure may have greater significance within the context of the chanson, which will also be discussed below. What follows is a brief description of the device as it appears in the complex to provide greater insight into the relationship of these multivoice works to the polychoral tradition.

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⁹⁷ Picker, "A Spurious Motet of Josquin," 39. The passage corresponds with "et bien gemir" in *Je prens congie*; "ut moriar" in *Lugebat David Absalon*; and "surrexit sicut dixit praecedet vos in Galilaeam ibi eum videbitis" in *Tulerunt Dominum*.

⁹⁸ See Böker-Heil, "Zu einem frühvenezianischen Motetten-Repertoire," 70. I am grateful to Professor Joshua Rifkin for his help in formulating this term.

In *Je prens congie*, the procedure is employed on the text "et bien gemir" ("and groaning") and marks the halfway point of the text (See Figure 27). Gombert uses the turning figure in the bottom six voices while placing the suspensions in the top voices. Here the double-choir approach is condensed and focused. The melodies of the bottom voices are the turning figures which create melodic continuity between the two "antiphonal" choirs. The procedure highlights the text by musically illustrating the mournful qualities of the text, particularly the repetition on the text "et bien *gemir*.

In the *contrafactum Tulerunt Dominum* the procedure is employed again at a significant moment in the text (See Figure 28). As discussed in Chapter Three in reference to the responsory settings, the procedure accompanies the text, "pracedet vos in Galileam," ("goes before you to Galilee") which correlates with the *repetendum*. However, the rhetorical effect here is more complex than simple text painting. The "antiphonal" lower voices present the text "alleluia" while the cantus voices present more complete syntactic units. This is the only occasion in the complex that includes a third section of the text, "alleluia." In other cases within the complex each voice presents the same text.

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⁹⁹ The eight-voice *Tulerunt Dominum* has a unique position in the complex. Because it is a *contrafactum*, the text of this work does not alter the musical content of the preexisting material. Thus, the work is a responsory-text motet and is, like its chanson model, in ternary form.

Figure 27: "Antiphonal" Procedure in Je prens congie 100



In the other *contrafactum*, *Lugebat David Absalon*, the procedure is rhetorically significant. The text accompanying the procedure is "ut moriar" of the more complete syntactic unit "quis mihi det ut moriar" (See Figure 29). The procedure here illustrates David's grief, but the chained suspensions in the cantus voices may be interpreted to be David's weeping (or perhaps groaning?) for the death of Absalon.

The final piece of the complex is the eight-voice parody, *Credo*. The procedure in the single-movement *Credo* accompanies the text "Deum verum de Deo vero," and is the moment that Picker describes as the "antiphonal exchange." Though the music had to be adapted for the new and longer text, it is not a coincidence that the turning figure appears here. It correlates to procedures used in other multivoice *Credo* movements on the text "Deum verum de Deo vero,"

¹⁰⁰ Retranscribed from Schmidt-Görg's transcription in the *Opera omnia*, 11: 230-240.

discussed in Chapter Four, and supports the theory of a rhetorical function of the figure. Here it poignantly reinforces the godhood of Christ (see Figure 30).



Figure 28: "Antiphonal" Procedure in Gombert's Tulerunt Dominum. 101

¹⁰¹ This transcription, particularly the mensuration, has been altered from Blume's version in *Das Chorwerk*, v. 23, 24. Thus, measure numbers will not correspond directly. My transcription begins at Blume's bar number 43.

Figure 29: "Antiphonal" Procedure in Lugebat David Absalon 102



Figure 30: "Antiphonal Exchange" in Gombert's Eight-voice Credo



¹⁰² Retranscribed from John Milsom's transcription in Anon. (?Gombert) *Lugebat David Absalon*, (London: Mapa Mundi, 1979).

As evidenced in the *Je prens congie* complex, the procedure accompanies important moments in the text, which consequently amplifies and emphasizes them. Gombert uses procedures in other works that are very similar to the turning figure device in the same rhetorical manner. The following sections show other procedures in Gombert's works that are related to the *Je prens congie* procedure.

3.1.2 A Return to the Question of Polychorality

The discussion of the turning figure in the *Je prens congie* complex raises an important issue for this study. As we have seen, Gombert's multivoice procedures are distinct from other multivoice techniques, namely the Italian polychoral technique. Additionally, I have suggested Gombert's multivoice compositions are distinct because his vocal groupings are constantly in flux. The *Je prens congie* procedure is one instance where Gombert seems to be polychoral. The following section discusses the *Je prens congie* procedure and polychorality as it relates directly to Gombert.

While I would agree that Picker's description of the turning-figure procedure in the complex of pieces modeled after *Je prens congie* is correct, I believe it is only superficially so. Describing this moment as "antiphonal" is accurate, but only incidentally so. Rather, this moment seems to be a variant of a compositional procedure that Gombert employs across genres. It is a procedure that occurs at significant structural and rhetorical moments and is used throughout Gombert's works. No doubt there are general characteristics that are employed in this procedure, such as *cambiata*-reminiscent turning figures and suspended cadential figures. However, the exact appearance of the procedure is tailored to each setting.

Though we have determined that Gombert's works are not entirely polychoral, they do have passages that may be described as polychoral. I will discuss the possible origins of these moments. Picker suggests that Gombert may have been influenced by Willaert's works as published in Gardano's *Di Adriano et di Jachet. I salmi appertinenti alli vesperi per tutte le feste dell'anno...*, Schmidt-Görg too makes comparisons with and suggests the possible influence of Willaert's work on Gombert. Yet scholars such as d'Alessi demonstrate that the polychoral style had been in existence before the Gardano print. There is no direct evidence to suggest that Gombert was directly influenced by Willaert's psalms. Thus, I would argue that perhaps Gombert's polychoral moments may derive from Franco-Flemish compositional practices instead.

In his studies on the polychoral tradition, Anthony Carver explores the origins of polychoral writing in the procedures of Franco-Flemish composers of the early sixteenth century. ¹⁰⁵ Carver promotes two procedures as key to the development of polychoral writing: the employment of double-choir canon and the projection of voice pairing onto multivoice settings. The canonic

¹⁰³ Picker, "A Spurious Motet of Josquin," 39 and Schmidt-Görg, *Nicolas Gombert*, 193-194; *Di Adriano et di Jachet. I salmi appertinenti alli vesperi per tutte le feste dell'anno....*, (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1550). RISM 1550¹.

¹⁰⁴ See Giovanni d'Alessi "Precursors of Adriano Willaert in the Pretice of *Coro Spezzato*" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 5, no. 3, (autumn 1952): 187-210. Mary S. Lewis reconsiders the significance of the Gardano print in a recent article, "*Di Willaert et di Iachet. I salmi:* A Reconsideration of a Double-choir Collection from 1550," in "*La la la...Maistre Henri*," *Mélanges de musicologie offerts à Henri Vanhulst*, eds. Christine Ballman and Valérie Dufour (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2009), 99-108.

¹⁰⁵ Anthony F. Carver, "Polychoral Music: A Venetian Phenomenon?" *Procedings of the Royal Music Association* 108 (1981-1982): 1-24, and Anthony Carver, *Cori Spezzati: The Development of Sacred Polychoral Music to the Time of Schütz*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

procedure will be discussed below in reference to the motet contrafact *O Iesu Christe*. However, it is the second procedure that may shed light on Gombert's "polychoralism."

Carver notes that paired imitation may be the most important factor in the development of the polychoral style and reduces paired imitation to two types. The first type is paired imitation where all voices have the same theme; in the second type each voice of the pair has a distinct theme. Carver expands on the first type, which leads to double-choir writing, and uses Josquin's four-voice motet *In principio erat* verbum to discuss the technique. He notes that the procedure used in the opening passage contains "in its essentials a fundamental form-building process of polychoral music: the succession of antiphony, progressive integration of the forces, and tutti. Unlike strict canon, imitative procedures of this kind allow plasticity of phrase length, variety in pitch of entries and cadences, and diversity of contrapuntal detail." ¹⁰⁶ Carver implies that once this technique is projected upon a setting for eight or more voices, a polychoral texture would occur. Yet the crucial element in this theory is that the groupings must remain permanent. And in the works of the Je prens congie complex (and Gombert's style in general), the groupings generally do not remain consistent. According to Carver, Lugebat David Absalon is a multivoice application of the procedures found in works of the Josquin generation, such as in *In principio*. ¹⁰⁷ Yet none of Carver's descriptions quite fit the works of the complex. Gombert varies between non-paired imitative sections and groupings that appear polychoral, but for their inconsistent groupings. Though it is possible, it seems less likely that Gombert was influenced by Willaert's

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¹⁰⁶Carver, Cori Spezzati, 50

 $^{^{107}}$ Carver attributes the motets $Lugebat\ David\ Absalon$ and $Tulerunt\ Dominum$ to Josquin but footnotes that the contrafacta may be by Gombert.

Italian polychoral psalms. In addition to the stylistic explanation, Willaert's volume from 1550 is rather late to be considered influential on Gombert.

Returning then to the comments of Hertzmann and Leichtentritt, it would be unfair to dismiss their comments purely as participation in the myth of Josquin. Based on Carver's suggestion of the origins of polychoralism, suggested also by Hertzmann, Gombert's *Je prens congie*, *Lugebat David*, *Tulerunt Dominum*, *Sustinuimus pacem* and the single eight-voice *Credo* may be a northern moment in the development of polychoralism, one with significant differences from the early Italian examples of the style. It would be interesting to speculate on how Hertzmann may have described the *Lugebat David* if the piece had always been attributed to Gombert.

3.2 GOMBERT'S EIGHT-VOICE O IESU CHRISTE

Like the sacred pieces in the *Je prens congie* complex, Gombert's eight-voice *O Jesu Christe* is a sacred *contrafactum* on an earlier chanson. Its model, the chanson *Qui ne l'aymeroit*, appears in Schmidt-Görg's *Opera Omnia*, but the scholar does not include a transcription of the *contrafactum* in his edition. The chanson survives in a German print from 1540, *Selectissimae...cantiones...fugae*, printed in Augsburg. The *contrafactum O Jesu Christe*

¹⁰⁸ See Gombert, *Opera omnia*, 11: 241-245. Though Schmidt-Görg does not transcribe *O Jesu Christe* for his edition, he does note the *contrafactum* in his monograph. See Appendix 1 for my own transcription.

¹⁰⁹ Melchior Kriesstein, ed. Selectissimae necnon familiarissimae cautiones, ultra centum vario idiomate vocum, tam multiplicium quam etiam paucar....von acht Stymmen an bis auf zwo...singen und auf Instrument zubrauchen. RISM 1540⁷.

appears 28 years later in another German print entirely composed of canons, *Cantiones triginta* selectissimae. 110

3.2.1.1 O Iesu Christe and Polychorality

The motet *O Iesu Christe* is a double canon, and a rare case in Gombert's output. The realization of the canonic procedure creates the conditions lacking in Gombert's other multivoice works. Any groupings created by the *dux* will be realized in the *comes* and these groupings will remain consistent throughout the setting. Carver briefly discusses *O Iesu Christe* and its polychorality in his article, but provides greater detail in his monograph.

Carver examines the chanson and its sacred *contrafactum* while investigating the possible origins of the polychoral style. He references Theodore Kroyer and Erich Hertzmann's theories regarding polychoral music and canonic procedure and Zarlino's description of the type of canon in "which each notated voice gives rise to one further voice," as presented in *Le istitutioni* harmoniche. From these studies Carver deduces that "if the canonic voices were all to commence after the same time interval and if also simultaneous rests were to occur between phrases in all the notated voices, it is easy to see that a double-choir texture results." This

Ulrich Nouber ad Cantiones triginta selectissimae, quinque

¹¹⁰ Ulrich Neuber, ed. Cantiones triginta selectissimae: quinque, sex, septem: octo: duodecim et plurium vocum, sub quatuor tantum, artificiose musicis numeris &a2. praestantissimis huius artis artificibus ornatae ac compositae; hinc inde autem collectae & in lucem editae, per Clementem Stephani: buchauiensem (Nürnberg: Ulrich Neuber, 1568) RISM 1568⁷.

¹¹¹Carver, "Polychoral Music," 4, and Carver, Cori Spezzati, 42.

¹¹² Carver, *Cori Spezzati*, 42.

polychorality through canon is the technique employed in Gombert's *Qui ne l'aymeroit* and its sacred *contrafactum O Iesu Christe*. Carver gives further detail on the canonic procedure in Gombert's chanson and its "unsatisfactory contrafactum." He cites the works as the earliest surviving examples of an eight-in-four double-choir canon in which the *comes* realizes the *dux* at a lower fifth. ¹¹³

In regards to polychorality, however, though Gombert's chanson and its sacred *contrafactum* appear polychoral, they are not. It would be disingenuous, indeed inaccurate, to call these pieces polychoral. The distinction may be found in compositional intent. As previously mentioned above, the condition precluding Gombert's multivoice works as being polychoral is their lack of consistent groupings. In O lesu Christe all groupings are consistent. However, the very compositional procedure the composer utilizes makes polychorality and its consistent groupings unavoidable. Thus, it would be inaccurate to describe these canonic pieces as polychoral by design; the result is less an intentional compositional design than an inevitable result of the compositional procedure. The distinction here is important. I do not mean to imply that Gombert did not intend to use the canon; the existence of the canonic pieces belies the implication. Rather, polychoral works have a flexibility not found in the canonic works. By using canon, the composer is limited by the technique and the musical material composed for the In polychoral works, there is greater compositional control of the response in the second choir, which provides greater artistic freedom and allows the composer to shape the direction of the music. Perhaps it would be best to consider consider Qui l'aimeroit and O Iesu *Christe* as polychoral by canon.

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¹¹³ Ibid., 43.

3.2.1.2 Gombert's Approach to Canon in *O Iesu Christe*

O *Iesu Christe* is Gombert's only surviving work comprised entirely of canons. He composed more than twenty surviving multivoice settings, but only three, one *Magnificat* verse, the currently discussed motet and its original setting, feature canons. ¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the canonic works are Gombert's only multivoice works, sacred or secular, entirely in triple meter. In fact, the chanson *Qui ne l'aymeroit* is possibly Gombert's only surviving chanson in triple meter. ¹¹⁵ In spite of these anomalies, the works share a particular characteristic with previously-mentioned compositions.

Specifically, *O Iesu Christe* also employs the turning-figure procedure, discussed above. However, the canonic technique alters the procedure and its function. Though the procedure in this piece still retains its cadential function, the use of canon limits the potential rhetorical use of the procedure (See Figure 33).

Gombert also works against the incidental polychorality of the piece. He begins the work in two-"measure" phrases which, due to the rules of the canon, result in a polychoral effect. Also, in this setting Gombert occasionally provides a cadence at the end of each phrase. The result is another marker of the polychoral style: each distinct group is harmonically self-sufficient. Though the canonic procedure is uncommon in Gombert's style, the composer still provides some of his more conventional techniques. Particularly, the setting demonstrates the overlapping

¹¹⁴ The "Sicut erat" of the *Magnificat tertii et octavi toni* features two canons in the first bassus and third tenor voices which are realized in the cantus and altus voices.

¹¹⁵ I say "possibly" here because I have only examined the pieces transcribed in Schmidt-Görg's *Opera omnia*, vol. xi. I leave open the possibility for undiscovered works and those that may have been attributed to Gombert after the completion of this study.

endings and entrances essential to the composer's style (See Figure 31). In the first motive of the work, Gombert creates overlap. Rather than each phrase being two measures long, to be echoed two measures later in the *comes*, Gombert creates irregular three measure-long phrases.

This type of overlap is common in the polychoral style, but because this particular piece is comprised of canons, the ending of the phrases in the *dux* and the beginning of the phrases in the *comes* will consistently overlap. This regular overlap makes these pieces consistent with Gombert's style. Moreover, Gombert often extends the phrase in the *dux* to provide even greater connection between phrases. These extensions are conventional for Gombert and support Finck's characterization of the composer's style in *Practica Musica*. Gombert omits "pausas" within the constraints of a highly restrictive compositional procedure by extending phrases with no exceptional rhetorical value.

Additionally, Gombert decreases silence between the phrases in the *dux*. Specifically, rather than creating overlap between the *dux* and *comes* with longer melodies, in some cases he implies the overlap with melodies with smaller stretches of silence. At the beginning of the work there are three-measure phrases with a measure of silence. Yet as the work progresses, there are three-measure phrases with less than a measure of silence. To amplify the connection between sections, Gombert moves from a homophonic declamation to imitative entrances. Significantly, the melodic subject of the imitative section is the turning figure and variants.

Figure 31: The Overlapping Endings and Entrances in the First Five Measures of O Iesu Christe



Figure 32: Example of Overlapping Sections with an Extension in the dux of O Iesu Christe



Res. I Res. II li Ma-ri Res. III Fi li Ma-ri Ma-ri Res. IV

Figure 33: The Turning figure Set Imitatively in O Iesu Christe

li Ma-ri

In Figure 33 I outline only the imitative setting of the dux and its realization. These imitative entrances are another means by which the composer creates continuity between sections and groups. Alternating between homophonic and imitative textures weakens the rigid melodic framework inherent in the canonic procedure.

Fi - li

Ma-ri

Possible Function 3.2.2

bis:

As mentioned above, Anthony Carver deems the sacred contrafact O Iesu Christe "unsatisfactory," yet does not expand on his evaluation. Yet he praises the musical content, noting that Gombert produces "a satisfying sequence of cadential pitches." ¹¹⁶ He also notes that structural coherence is enhanced by "the repetition of music indicated, and from free close imitation of a descending scale figure blurs the choral division and produces an effective climax." ¹¹⁷ If Carver deems the musical content as acceptable, what leads him to regard the entire contrafact as unsatisfactory? He writes, "It [*Qui l'aymeroit*] appeared again as *O Jesu Christe*, a rather **unsatisfactory** contrafactum in the Nuremberg *Cantiones triginta* (1568⁽⁷⁾). **Musically it is very fine...**the composer utilizes the canonic interval (here the lower fifth) to produce a **satisfying** sequence of cadential pitches...." ¹¹⁸ The unspoken implication in this passage is that the unsatisfactory portion of the motet is in its text. Below I discuss the text and its relationship to the melodic content to shed light on Carver's remarks.

The text of the motet is a freely-composed Easter prayer, but the original text fitting the melodic content of the work is a French poem.

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¹¹⁶ The instructions on each partbook in the *Cantiones triginta selectissimae* read: "Altera uox in Subdiapenthe post duo Tempore."

¹¹⁷ Carver, *Cori Spezzati*, 43.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. My emphasis in bold.

Table 22: Text of Gombert's Eight-Voice Chanson and sacred contrafacta O Iesu Christe

Qui ne l'aymeroit ¹¹⁹		
Text	Translation	
Qui ne l'aymeroit,	One who did not love the beauty with her	
La belle au corps gent,	sweet body would be a coarse villain,	
Bien villain seroit,	And all would say to them,	
Et chascun diroit,	Fie! For shame!	
F'y de telle gent,		
O Iesu Christe		
O Iesu Christe, miserere nobis: Fili Maria,	O Jesus Christ, have mercy on us: Son of	
miserere nobis. Qui solus in crucis patibulo:	Mary, have mercy on us. Who alone endured	
nos redemisti.	the gallows of the cross: redeem us.	

Table 23: Comparison between the texts of Qui ne l'aymeroit and O Iesu Christe

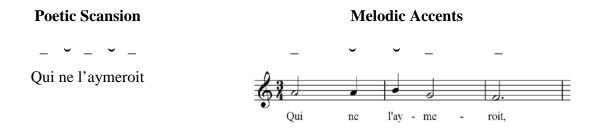
Gombert's Chanson Text	Gombert's Motet Text
Qui ne l'aymeroit,	O Iesu Christe,
La belle au corps gent,	miserere nobis:
Bien villain seroit,	Fili Maria,
Et chascun diroit,	miserere nobis
F'y de telle gent,	[Miserere nobis] Qui solus in crucis patibulo:
	nos redemisti. 120

If we assume that the meter of the text of the chanson influences the melodic content of the first line, it is easy to understand the composer's intent. In Table 24 the scansion of the first line of the poem and the melodic accents in the chanson setting are compared.

¹¹⁹ This poem was translated with the indispensible help of Dr. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski of the Department of French and Italian Languages and Literature at the University of Pittsburgh.

¹²⁰ The text in brackets denotes the literal corresponding text in the motet at measure 33.

Table 24: Comparison between Poetic Scansion and Melodic Accents of the first line of Qui ne l'aymeroit.



Though the first line of the poem is in trochaic feet, in the setting Gombert alters the accents, probably to accommodate a setting in triple meter. He switches from trochees to iambs in the second foot of the line. This change reflects a hemiola in the melodic setting and reinforces a dance feel. This switch in feel is more compatible with the French text than with Latin and the less-accented syllable "ne" facilitates the change from three to two. The opening of Gombert's sacred text does not align so easily with the melodic accents.

Table 25: Comparison between "Poetic" Scansion and Melodic Accents in *O Iesu Christe*Melodic Accents

"Poetic" Scansion



Though he does not state it explicitly, Carver is likely finding the unsatisfactory quality of the contrafact in the suitability of Gombert's new text. Though the opening phrase indeed does eliminate the dance-like feel of the chanson, there is evidence Gombert did not haphazardly compose this text and was conscious of its greater formal implications.

For example, the melodic climax Carver describes corresponds with a new idea in the sacred text. As shown in the table above, Gombert creates parallels in the text.

O Iesu Christe, miserere nobis:

Fili Maria, miserere nobis

Qui solus in crucis patibulo: nos redemisti.

The climax occurs on the final part of text, which differs in form. Gombert's choice of text here demonstrates awareness of the formal structure of the chanson.

In *O Iesu Christe*, Gombert creates coherence in a rather static and inflexible compositional procedure. Though he sacrifices the dance-like feel implicit in the melodic content of the chanson, this was necessary in the transformation of a chanson to a new venue and purpose. However, the problems in this *contrafactum* may be answered by attribution. I believe it is possible, indeed likely that this *contrafactum* is not by Gombert. *O Iesu Christe*'s double canon is almost unique in Gombert's output, and this is his only canonic multivoice motet. Moreover, the *contrafactum* appears in a very late print, and was published approximately thirteen years after Gombert's death. The addition of this awkward text to the preexisting melodic material by a third party offers a solution to the problematic style issues.

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¹²¹ Ulrich Neuber, ed. Cantiones triginta selectissimae: quinque, sex, septem: octo: duodecim et plurium vocum, sub quatuor tantum, artificiose musicis numeris &a2. praestantissimis huius artis artificibus ornatae ac compositae; hinc inde autem collectae & in lucem editae, per Clementem Stephani: buchaviensem (Nürnberg: Ulrich Neuber, 1568) RISM 1568⁷.

3.3 GOMBERT'S MOTETS FOR MORE THAN EIGHT VOICES

3.3.1 The Ten-Voice Regina caeli

Gombert's ten-voice *Regina caeli* survives in one manuscript from the 1540s, VerA218. The attribution of the piece in question is only in the bassus primus part, where the composer is named "Gunbert." The work does not appear in any other source and has not been published in modern edition. Despite some of the problematic attributions in VerA218, Böker-Heil does not suggest any such problems with this piece. Indeed, he suggests that the style of the multivoice composition supports the attribution to Gombert. 122

The one-pars setting is unique within Gombert's multivoice sacred works because it is the only setting for more than eight-voices that does not contain any scaffolding compositional devices such as *cantus firmus* or canon. There are no allusions to a cantus firmus, neither are there any unique compositional techniques. Rather, the composer alternates between working with specific groups within the ensemble and a denser, fuller texture that employs most voices. The groupings are almost constantly divided into high, mid and low voices with some overlap. Voices do defect from their assignments, but at an observable lesser rate than can be seen in smaller settings. No doubt this is due to the dense texture of the ten-voice setting. For example, the first cantus is almost always grouped with the middle group (altus II, tenors I and II; see Figure 34) as found at the opening of the piece. However, the first cantus does defect in a momentary regrouping of voices before returning to its original role.

¹²² Böker-Heil, "Zu einem frühvenezianischen Motetten-Repertoire," 66.

As in *Salvatore mundi*, the introduction of this piece is lengthy. The composer introduces the first line of the text for an extended period of time before starting the second line of text in another group. In addition to highlighting the high-low texture as in the *Salvatore mundi*, this technique was a means of economically moving through a lengthy text. However, the *Regina caeli* is quite short, and the technique firmly divides the texture into groups. These groupings help provide contrast throughout the work and give relief from the dense ten-voice texture.



Another function of the groupings is to highlight sectional divisions. Considering Gombert's technique of creating overlap between divisions, the large, ten-voice texture could potentially

¹²³ This transcription was completed with the help of Michele Magnabosco and the staff of the Accademia Filarmonica di Verona and Christopher T. Ruth.

completely obscure such divisions. Thus, reducing the texture to smaller groups makes sectional divisions more perceptible. For example, in Figure 35, Gombert reduces the texture to employ two high/low groupings with a very noticeable absence of the middle group. Such a thin texture is generally avoided in Gombert's compositional style and is conspicuous. The cadence on F marks the end of the section (in m. 43) in cantus I, tenor III and support in bassus II, with an overlapping extension), on the text "Quia quem meruisti, portare, alleluia."

Here, Gombert reduces the texture to two groups, and does not reintroduce the middle group for some time. When the middle group does enter, the voices do not present the beginning of the new text "Resurexit," and the accompanying imitative melody. Instead, the middle group enters on the next clause, "sicut dixit" with contrapuntal material. This melodic disconnect between the middle group and the high/low groupings distances it from the polar groups.

The ten-voice *Regina caeli* has a unique position among Gombert's multivoice motets for more than eight voices. The multivoice texture and the close ranges of the voices make for a somewhat muddled multivoice texture. However, Gombert uses groupings to create formal order.

Figure 35: Reduction of texture to highlight section change A. I va. al - le - lu-ya, Re - su - re - xit si-cut di - xit, al - le - lu-ya, A. II al - le - lu - - ya, T. III lu - ya, al - le-lu - ya, Re-su - re - xit si - cut di - -

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3.3.2 Gombert's Twelve-Voice Regina Caeli

Gombert's twelve-voice *Regina caeli* is the largest and longest multivoice setting by the composer to survive. Gombert flirts with twelve-voice settings in the Agnus Dei II of the *Missa Tempore pascali*, to be discussed below, but the two-part *Regina caeli* is the only setting that is set completely for twelve voices. The work survives in a 1535 French print by Attaingnant. 124

3.3.2.1 The Setting

This piece employs much more chant material than Gombert's other motets. The chant determines the formal divisions and melodic structure of the motet.

Table 26: Text of Gombert's Twelve-Voice Regina caeli

Prima pars	Secunda pars
Regina caeli laetare, alleluia	Resurrexit sicut dixit: alleluia
Quia quem meruisti portare, alleluia	Ora pro nobis Deum, alleluia.

Gombert uses the entirety of the chant text in the motet and sets the first half as the *prima* pars, and the remaining half as the *secunda pars*. Additionally, Gombert acknowledges the performance history of the chant. Rather than setting the entirety of the first line of text, he only sets the text "Regina caeli" in all twelve voices. In addition to emphasizing Mary as the Queen

¹²⁴ Pierre Attaingnant, *Lib. duodecimus: XVII. musicales ab virginem Christiparam salutationes habet....*(Paris: Attaingnant, 1534). RISM 1535⁴.

of Heaven, this text is traditionally sung by a soloist or by one specific group. Like other texts, the *Regina caeli* has recurring text, in this case "alleluia." The four occurrences of "alleluia" are set to closely related, but not identical, melodic material, to be discussed below with the examination of the motet's melodic content.

The melodic content of the piece alludes to the chant, particularly in the *secunda pars*. Though some melodic lines allude to the *cantus firmus* with extended note values there is no literal statement of the chant in long-note values in any voice.

Rather, Gombert takes two approaches to setting a *cantus firmus* in this motet. In the *prima* pars, the *cantus firmus* remains confined to the tenor voice and comes the closest to a literal statement of the chant. However, the statement of the *cantus firmus* in the tenor is broken up across the *prima pars* and alternates between a *cantus firmus* presentation in long notes to participating in the surrounding counterpoint. The *cantus firmus* presentation of alleluia in the tenor starting in measure 26 (Figure 36) indicates that the model for the chant is the less-ornamented version of the chant.

Whereas in the *prima pars* the *cantus firmus* was confined to the tenor and roughly alluded to in the bass, in the *secunda pars* the *cantus firmus* is spread somewhat more evenly throughout the texture. The *cantus firmus* corresponding to the text "Resurrexit, sicut dixit" is set imitatively throughout the tenor and altus voices. The succeeding text, "ora pro nobis Deum," is also set imitatively throughout the texture, but at a greater range. That is, unlike the imitative setting on "Resurrexit, sicut dixit" that was centered in the middle range of the texture, the *cantus firmus* on "ora pro nobis" is set somewhat more freely and includes bass, tenor and altus voices (Figure 37)



Figure 36: Measures 26-31 of the Twelve-Voice Regina Caeli

10 Cantus I gi na cae Cantus II Ŏ cae Cantus III Ó cae $\overline{\delta}$ ે Altus I cae - li cae Altus II Re - gi na cae Tenor I ta -Tenor II cae cae Tenor III Bassus IV Bassus III Re-gi - na lae Bassus II cae lae - ta Bassus I

Figure 37: First five measures of the Twelve-voice Regina caeli

Finally, it is possible to see a melodic similarity between the settings of alleluia between each part of the text in this setting. Neither setting of alleluia corresponds to the melodic content of the chant nor are the melodic settings of "alleluia" identical. Rather, each setting seems to refer to the melodic content of the final alleluia in the chant. In the chant, the melodic content of the first three statements of "alleluia" are descending or ascending stepwise patterns (see Figure 35). However, the final statement of the "alleluia" progresses first by leap, then by repeated pitches and finally descends by step. The melodic contour of alleluia moves by leap rather than by repeated pitches. Though there are various melodies that refer to the stepwise alleluia (See the "Resurrexit...alleluia" in Gombert's tenor II in Figure 36), most declamations feature repeated pitches that refer to the final alleluia of the chant. Thus, though there are four refrains, this is likely a consequence of Gombert adhering more closely to the chant model than in many of his other multivoice motets.

The question as to why Gombert may have adhered more closely to the chant in this motet may be related to its function. Unlike other chants that Gombert set, this chant has a special place in chant repertory and liturgical practices. It is used only during the Easter season. Considering the importance of Easter in the court practices of Charles V, this restriction may be especially important. An example would be Gombert's famous four-voice *Salve Regina*, subtitled "*Diversi diversa orant*." In that work, he features seven Marian antiphons, *Salve Regina*, *Ave Regina caelorum*, *Beata mater et innupta virgo*, *Hortus conclusus es*, *Dei*, *Inviolata*, *integra et casta es Maria*, *Alma Redemptoris* and *Ave Maria*. The number seven has Marian significance, for example Mary's seven joys, seven sorrows, and seven glories. Yet, in this chant with great Marian importance, the *Regina caeli* is missing. This may point to Gombert acknowledging the traditions of the *Regina caeli* and the reason Gombert adheres more closely to

the chant. However, it is also plausible that Gombert uses the chant more heavily in this setting to manage the difficulties in setting a twelve-voice setting.

3.3.3 Imitative Style

This twelve-voice motet marks an alternative approach to imitative composition in Gombert's works. Though the setting of the text following "Regina caeli" unfolds in a style more closely related to Gombert's conventional imitative procedure, the texture of the melodic content for the opening text is markedly different from any found in other Gombert works. Specifically, the cantus voices form a homophonic trio with long-note values. This grouping and particular declamation is unusual in Gombert's works and possibly specific to this setting. At the same time, the remaining voices may be arranged in numerous groupings, an approach that I call unit-writing. In the first ten measures of the twelve-voice *Regina caeli* (Figure 37), the voices may be classified in a number of ways. For example, the altus voices, tenor voices II and III and bassus IV have identical melodies that are imitated. However, the group may also be seen as a 2+3 arrangement. The altus voices form a homophonic duo (m. 5) and the tenors II and III and bassus IV form their own imitative trio (m. 4). Though the five voices are one unit, their groupings and functions change.

gi cae o li_ gi na Cantus III o Altus li. Altus II li_ na cae Tenor O li_ Tenor II Tenor III li Bassus IV Bassus III 0 cae Bassus II Bassus I 2:5C

Figure 38: Units and Groupings in measures 1-10 of Gombert's Twelve-Voice Regina caeli

In the material following the exordium, Gombert returns to a style more reminiscent of his usual imitative style. He uses high/low groupings and also individual imitative entrances to set the remaining text. However, Gombert returns to unit writing throughout the piece, as in the *cantus firmus* unit on the text "Resurrexit dixit," discussed above. This type of unit writing may also explain the restrictive writing Gombert employs in this piece. Comparatively, there is greater use of silence throughout the work than in his smaller settings. Indeed, parts of this work are very unlike his smaller settings, where voices are engaged almost entirely throughout the piece. This too may be a consequence of handling the voices in a larger setting.

Gombert's twelve-voice *Regina caeli* demonstrates an integration of the chant unlike his other motets. Whereas motets for smaller ensembles paraphrase the chant, as in *Musae Iovis* and

other motets for special circumstances, this twelve-voice setting integrates the chant as a *cantus* firmus. The reasons for the *cantus firmus* and other long-note references to the chant in the setting may be related to its large size. A scaffolding voice makes the composer's job that much easier. At the very least, the *cantus firmus* represents one less voice part to write. Yet the adherence to the chant may point to its function in the court chapel. This piece was probably used in special services and considering the importance of the Easter season for the Habsburg dynasty, there would be many special services that were appropriate for a piece of this magnitude.

3.4 SUMMARY CONCLUSION

In this chapter I examine motets for eight or more voices featuring not only reccurring compositional procedures, but also recurring musical material. The *Je prens congie* complex of *contrafacta* is a fascinating case that provides ample opportunity for further research. The manuscript VerA218 holds at least one other *contrafactum* of the chanson, *Sustinuimus pacem*, which has not yet been closely examined. Böker-Heil notes that there is an alleluia attached to this motet, which would make it, like *Tulerunt Dominum*, an eight-voice responsory-text motet. An avenue for further research is to explore the possibility that the complex may be related to *Mille regretz*, alleged to be by Josquin. This chanson's melody was said to be a favorite melody

of Emperor Charles V and is melodically related to *Je prens congie*.¹²⁵ Given Gombert's relationship with the emperor, this possibility may account for the numerous appearances of the same melodic material and its multivoice settings.

In the case of the sacred *contrafactum O Iesu Christe*, Gombert uses a turning-figure to break from the homophonic declamation, creating some flexibility within a restrictive canonic setting. Gombert's multivoice *Regina caeli* settings also demonstrate many of Gombert's multivoice techniques, but on a larger scale. Gombert uses many of the techniques seen in his smaller settings, particularly groupings and their constant change.

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¹²⁵ See Owen Rees, "'Mille Regretz' as Model: Possible Allusions to 'The Emperor's Song' in the Chanson Repertory," *Journal of The Royal Music Association* 120, no. 1 (1995): 44-76.

4.0 MASS ORDINARY SETTINGS FOR SIX OR MORE VOICES

Though the authorship of some works is still questionable, there have been ten complete masses and one mass movement attributed to Gombert. Save two masses based on the mass ordinary, the majority of the surviving compositions are imitation masses based on Gombert's own motets and motets and chansons by other composers. (See Table 27) This chapter investigates Gombert's multivoice mass settings, with particular attention to the preexisting models for imitation masses and how these models affected Gombert's multivoice mases.

Like his motet settings, most of Gombert's masses are set for four and five voices. The numbers of voices employed in movements and subsections usually vary. The most common subdivisions for altering the numbers of voices are the Christe, Benedictus, the Pleni of the Sanctus, and the second Agnus Dei; Gombert generally follows this scheme. For example, in the Credo movements of his four-voice masses, Gombert regularly reduced the number of voices. The *Missae Sancta Maria*, *Beati omnes*, and *Je suis desheritée* are reduced to two voices at the Crucifixus. However, the Credo in the four-voice *Missa Da pacem* follows a unique

¹²⁶I have chosen to use the term "imitation mass" rather than "parody mass" to refer to the compositional technique of large-scale borrowing employed by sixteenth-century composers.

¹²⁷Lewis Lockwood and Andrew Kirkman "Mass, 6. The Cyclic Mass in the Later 15th Century." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/(accessed September 8, 2009).

scheme and is the only movement in triple mensuration in his four- and five-voice masses. Furthermore, the Agnus Dei of the *Missa Da pacem* is the only mass to feature a tripartite setting. The first subdivision is for four voices, the second is a duo, and the Agnus Dei III is for five voices.

Table 27: Gombert's surviving masses 128

Title	Model	
Masses for Four Voices		
Missa Beati omnes	Own motet	
Missa Da pacem	Plainchant	
(?) Missa Dulcis amica	Dubious; possibly by Certon	
Missa Je suis desheritée	Chanson by Lupus or Cadéac	
Missa Sancta Maria succure	Verdelot motet	
Masses for Five Voices		
Missa Media vita	Own motet	
Missa Philomena praevia	Richafort motet	
Missa Sur tous regretz	Richafort chanson	
Masses for Six Voices		
Missa Quam pulchra es	Bauldeweyn motet	
Missa Tempore paschal	Plainchant from Mass I, Lux et origo and Mass	
	IV, Cunctipotens genitor Deus and Brumel's	
	Missa Et ecce terra motus	
Masses for more than Six Voices		
(?) Credo (fragment)	Dubious; Own chanson, Je prens congie	

The practice of altering the numbers of voices within a mass movement was typical for sixteenth-century masses, but is particularly important to this study because of the potential for multivoice movements and subsections which could demonstrate Gombert's procedures in

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The masses attributed to Gombert have changed since the 1963 Schmidt-Görg/Carapetyan edition. Three works included on this list are now of dubious authorship. The *Missa Dulcis amica* is included by Nugent and Jas in the works list which accompanies the *Grove Music Online* subject article on Gombert with the note "*Missarum musicalium quatuor vocum liber III* (Paris, 1556)." If the *Grove* reference is a mistake and should instead reference Attaingnant's print from 1540 (RISM 1540²), the *Missa Dulcis amica* is by Certon. Additionally, there is some doubt as to the authorship of the *Missa Je suis desheritée* and the *Credo* movement. Both works are discussed below.

handling a variety of voice parts within one mass movement. Though there is the potential for multivoice sections and movements, particularly in the final Agnus II, they occur infrequently in his four- and five-voice mass settings. All of Gombert's masses for five voices predictably expand to a multivoice six-voice setting at the Agnus II. 129

Gombert's three surviving multivoice mass settings are of two types, two complete imitation masses and a single Credo movement. The contrapuntal procedures in the multivoice mass movements in conventional settings deviate neither from the procedures used in four- and five-voice movements nor from Gombert's imitative procedures as a whole. However, Gombert's masses for six or more voices employ diverse methods of musical borrowing.

4.1 MISSA QUAM PULCHRA ES

4.1.1 Bauldeweyn's Quam pulchra es as Model

Gombert's six-voice *Missa Quam pulchra es* is an imitation mass modeled on Noel Bauldeweyn's four-voice motet on the same text. Gombert's mass survives in only one Parisian print by Attaignant, *Sextus liber duas missas habet* of 1532. Precisely how Gombert came into contact with the motet is unknown. Bauldeweyn's works had been widely circulated in the

¹³⁰ Pierre Attaingnant, ed. *Sextus liber duas missas habet...*, (Paris: Attaingnant, 1532). RISM 1532⁶.

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 $^{^{129}}$ The Agnus Dei II of the four-voice $\it Missa~Je~suis~desherit\'ee$ also expands to six voices.

sixteenth century; Bohemian, Spanish, German, Italian and Low Country sources from about 1510 to about 1575 survive. 131

Bauldeweyn's motet *Quam pulchra es* survives in three prints: Petrucci's *Motetti de la Corona IV* of 1519, a reprint by Giunta six years later and a German print by Montanus and Neuber. ¹³² Bauldeweyn, too, wrote a six-voice imitation mass on his motet *Quam pulchra es*. According to Edgar Sparks, Schmidt-Görg mistakenly cites Bauldeweyn's mass in a Toledo manuscript as the source of Gombert's setting. ¹³³ Sparks goes on and briefly describes Gombert's mass in reference to Bauldeweyn's. He notes that Gombert uses the opening motive of Bauldeweyn's motet at the start of each movement and outlines Gombert's general imitative technique. Sparks discusses Gombert's adherence to the procedures of the Franco-Flemish imitation mass, and writes, "After rather brief quotations, Gombert turns to free composition. Writing in his usual manner, he employs a dense texture with few rests in the voice parts, includes an abundance of imitative entries, and obscures cadences in favor of a continuous flow

¹³¹ Edgar H. Sparks and Bernadette Nelson, "Bauldeweyn, Noel," in *Grove Music Online*, accessed 10/25/2009.

¹³² Gombert's mass survives in RISM 1532⁶, *Tiers Libre contenant xxi. Chansons musicales a quatre parties...*(Paris: Attaingnant, 1532). Bauldeweyn's motet survives in RISM 1519³, *Motetti de la Corona, libro quarto*, Ottaviano Petrucci, ed. (Fossombrone: Petrucci, 1519); RISM 1526², *Motetti de la Corona, libro quarto*, Jacopo Giunta, ed. (Rome: G.G. Pasoti, 1526); and RISM 1546⁸, *Selectissimae symphoniae...antehaec non aeditae* (Nuremberg: Montanus and Neuber, 1546).

¹³³ Schmidt-Görg mistakenly cites Toledo M. 33 (ToleBC 33) as the source for Gombert's *Missa* "*Quam pulchra es*" in his monograph on the composer, *Nicolas Gombert*, 361, and in the modern edition, *Opera omnia*, 3: foreword. See Edgar Sparks, *The Music of Noel Bauldeweyn*, (New York: American Musicological Society, Galaxy Music Corporation, 1972), 3 and 108 and Robert Stevenson "The Toledo Manuscript Polyphonic Choirbooks and Some Other Lost or Little Known Flemish Sources," *Fontes* 20 (1973): 103.

of sound."¹³⁴ Sparks's description could be modified only superficially and apply to any of Gombert's works. However, the scholar does reveal a few interesting details about Gombert's mass in his comparison of both works.

Unlike Gombert's, Bauldeweyn's mass setting features the opening gestures of the motet's *prima* and *secunda partes* consistently throughout. Sparks writes that Bauldeweyn's setting features smoother cadences than Gombert's and, in regards to parody technique, the earlier composer's setting is "far more interesting" that Gombert's. Sparks also notes that Bauldweyn "carries out the antiphonal procedures of Josquin on a grandiose scale and usually with impressive results." These superlative statements reveal, perhaps, bias in Bauldeweyn's favor and the remainder of the brief discussion focuses on Bauldeweyn's procedures that are stylistically unlike Gombert's. Despite his understood favoritism, Sparks's comment on the general similarities of Gombert's *Missa Quam pulchra es* to his other works is correct. Thus, what we may understand from Sparks's discussion is that Gombert's *Missa Quam pulchra es* is a conventional imitation mass within the context of the composer's style.

For example, Sparks identifies the melody used in the Qui tollis of Gombert's Gloria as similar to the opening gesture of the *secunda pars* of Bauldeweyn's motet.

¹³⁴ Sparks, The Music of Noel Bauldeweyn, 4.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

Figure 39: Comparison of melodic gestures between Gombert's Qui tollis (cantus) and Bauldeweyn's Secunda pars $(tenor)^{137}$



There are also melodic relationships between the motet's *secunda pars* and Gombert's Agnus Dei II and Osanna. Naturally, Sparks does not describe these melodies in Gombert's mass in greater detail as these descriptions are outside the scope of his study. A closer examination reveals that Gombert cites Bauldeweyn's motet through varied melodies.

For example, in his Qui tollis and Agnus Dei II, Gombert varies Bauldeweyn's melody in the *secunda pars* by providing a leap downward before ascending step-wise. Baldeweyn's melody does not include the leap down, but ascends a fifth. Gombert's general preservation of the majority of most of the melodic contour, particularly the stepwise ascent of the fifth, is likely the "brief quotations" that Sparks describes.

Sparks is not specific about the criteria he uses to suggest the relationship between Gombert's and Bauldeweyn's melodies. Sparks writes that both works use the "opening motive of the model to start each of the five movements." I presume that this motive is perhaps the opening leap and rhythmic value of Bauldeweyn's melody. Additionally, I would expand criteria to include the ascending melodic contour.

 $^{^{137}}$ The transcription of Bauldeweyn *Quam pulchra es* was kindly provided by Bernadette Nelson.

¹³⁸ Sparks, The Music of Noel Bauldeweyn, 4.



Figure 40: Opening Gesture of the "Qui tollis" of Gombert's Missa "Quam pulchra es" - Gloria

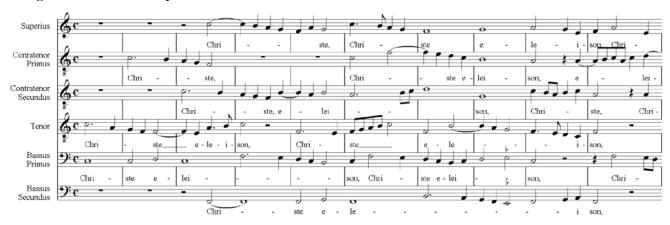
Gombert's imitative style requires compositional dexterity and constant variability of melodic passages, motives and elements. Thus, an analysis of an imitation mass by Gombert, his generation and the generation preceding, must accommodate the high degree of potential melodic variants likely employed in these works. In addition to melody, there are numerous potential elements that may be diversified in the adaptation and translation from a smaller form like a motet, to the more large-scale setting of the mass ordinary. Though dated, a study by Lenaerts provides a nonetheless relevant definition of the parody mass and its potential varied elements. He writes that the imitation mass is based on a preexisting work with "themes...consonances, successive entries, subjects, and countersubjects, of phrases having harmonic dimension, and cadences showing an accentuated tone color." Any analysis of an imitation mass must account for these elements both in their original form and in any altered forms. Considering the possible means to vary the melodies, Gombert's *Missa Quam pulchra es*

Bassus Secundus

 $^{^{139}}$ R.B. Lenaerts, "The 16^{th} -Century Parody Mass in the Netherlands," *The Musical Quarterly* 36/3 (July 1950): 410.

is surprisingly conventional. For example, in the opening gestures of the Christe elesion Gombert merely changes the direction of the melodic line.

Figure 41: Varied Melody in the "Christe"



Though the melodic line is varied simply, the contrapuntal design and texture is complex. Gombert groups the parts in a 4 + 2 scheme. The top voices are imitative and quote the motet while the lower two voices are an imitative duo which varies the melody in a chant-like declamation. In the lower voices, the descent of a fifth is delayed. Though Gombert is less adventurous in the melodic content of the work, the contrapuntal sophistication is aligned with his compositional style.

Thus, though it is valuable because it is one of the few studies that address Gombert's *Missa Quam pulchra es*, Sparks's comparison of the two settings is biased. Though Bauldeweyn's music is said to combine the style of the previous generation with a style reminiscent of Josquin and the following generation while his *Missa Quam pulchra es* is from his late style, comparing the two settings is flawed. Gombert's setting was composed, at earliest, twenty years after Bauldeweyn's setting. Earlier compositional techniques found in Bauldeweyn's composition,

such as extended homophonic duos, would be relatively startling in Gombert's six-voice setting and his other works. Though rooted in the same tradition, the two composers' styles are fundamentally different. The styles are so disparate that Sparks's criticisms essentially merely outline Gombert's compositional style.

4.1.2 Multivoice Approach in Gombert's Missa Quam pulchra es

Like Gombert's approach to melody, the formal characteristics of the *Missa Quam pulchra es* are conventional for the sixteenth-century mass. As mentioned above, Gombert alters the numbers of voices in the subsections of each mass. In addition to changing the numbers of voices at the Benedictus, Pleni sunt caeli and Agnus Dei II, Gombert reduces voices at the Crucifixus, a practice he employs in all his masses. In another conventional procedure, Gombert adds a seventh voice in the final Agnus Dei to provide a satisfactory climactic conclusion to the work. However, Gombert's specific melody in the seventh voice is exceptional and has important implications for a comprehensive analysis of this work.

The Agnus Dei II has three characteristics rarely found in Gombert's multivoice works and movements. It features a seven-voice setting, a *cantus firmus*, and a canonic device. Normally, due to their rarity, the *cantus firmus* and canon could aid in establishing the chronology of Gombert's works, since these devices are found more often in works of the previous generation. Additionally, the work employs other procedures, such as ostinato and sequence, which suggest

the mass may be an early composition. Schmidt-Görg uses the passage in the Gloria on the text "Laudamus te. Benedicimus te," as evidence. 140

Superius do-ra (volunta)tis. da-mus Be - ne-di Contratenor Primus olunta)tis. Lau da-mus te, lau-da-mus Be-ne-di ci-mus te. Α do-Contratenor Secundus Be ne-di Lau - da-mus ci-mus te. do ra-mus te. Tenor Be (volun)ta tis. Lau-da-mus ne ci-mus Bassus Primus Be (volunta) - tis da-mus Bassus Secundus (volunta)tis. da-mus Lau

Figure 42: Example of Sequences mentioned by Schmidt-Görg (m. 21-27)

The use of homophony was also used in Gombert's motets and is reminiscent of the same compositional technique Gombert uses in his six-voice *Salvator Mundi*, *salva nos omnes* on the emphasized text, "Mariae." In the similar passage in the *Missa Quam pulchra es*, Gombert divides the choir into two: the highest voices have imitative passages, while the lower three voices have homophonic declamation. Yet another sequential moment aligns this piece with other multivoice works.

The Credo in this mass uses a procedure similar to the turning-figure procedure found in the chanson *Je prens congie* and its sacred *contrafacta* (Figure 42). The technique is, like the turning-figure procedure, essentially a chain of evaded cadences, in which the cadence is evaded numerous times before finally resolving. Most interesting about this procedure is that the figure

¹⁴⁰ Schmidt-Görg, Nicolas Gombert, 166.

is found on the text "Deum de Deo, Lumen de Lumine," which is the exact text on which the turning figure is found in the eight-voice *Credo* parody. The Christological importance of this text is no doubt the cause for this elaborate compositional emphasis and will be explored again in reference to Gombert's eight-voice *Credo* in the *Missa Tempore paschali*.



Figure 43: Revolving figure as found in Missa "Quam puchra es"

Yet these procedures do not provide conclusive evidence that this mass is early in Gombert's output since there are a few conditions that weaken this theory. First, the use of *cantus firmi* and canon does not exclusively mark these pieces as early. For example, Gombert's *Magnificat*

cycle, to be discussed below, features both *cantus firmi* and canon, but may have been composed during his retirement. Also, the *déploration* on Josquin, discussed above, features a *cantus firmus*, but its exact composition date remains unknown. The implications for these devices do not only include chronology, they also have bearing on the multivoice setting and, potentially, the purpose of the work.

The employment of structural devices like those in the Agnus Dei of *Missa Quam pulchra es* presents interesting implications for Gombert's multivoice style. Canon and *cantus firmi* are used across the composer's output and appear most frequently in Gombert's laudatory motets. For example, the motet *Dicite in magni*, for the birth of the emperor's son Philip II, and the *dèploration* on Josquin discussed above both feature *cantus firmi*. Additionally, his *Magnificat* for the third and eighth tones features both *cantus firmi* and canonic devices.

Canons and *cantus firmi* present an interesting causality dilemma for this study. Are these structural devices a result of Gombert adapting his compositional processes for his multivoice compositions or did the composer intend to use these compositional devices from the outset? Canon and *cantus firmi* assist the composer by providing a preexisting structure. This should be doubly helpful in the case of the Agnus Dei of *Missa Quam pulchra es*, because the *cantus firmus* melody is used canonically with another voice. I would argue that these voices should not be considered as true scaffolding voices, but rather something different. Just as the *cantus firmus* is not a true and literal *cantus firmus*, the canon employed is not a true canon.

The *cantus firmus* melody, to be discussed in more detail below, is not stated literally in extended note values. After each phrase is stated in extended note values in the tenor voice, the phrase is repeated in halved note values. The statement in the smaller values is then passed into the second bass voice to form a canon. Thus, the *cantus firmus* melody is not employed as

merely a scaffolding voice with the remaining voices moving contrapuntally around it. Rather, it is not only a scaffolding voice but also an integrated component of the contrapuntal texture.

In the Foreword to the collected edition, Schmidt-Görg notes that the tenor cantus firmus is "worked out as a 'Canon ad longum," but this description is not entirely accurate. Schmidt-Görg suggests that the canon in the tenor is *ad longum* from the bass. After every presentation of the antiphon melody in the bass, the tenor repeats the antiphon melody. The first statement in the tenor is in longer note values than in the bass, and is a literal imitation. Between the occurrences of the antiphon melody in the bass, the bass voice participates in the counterpoint surrounding it (Figure 44). ¹⁴¹ Though Schmidt-Görg's description is somewhat true, he goes too far in calling the imitation here a "canon ad longum." It is evident Schmidt-Görg understands that Gombert's device in the final Agnus Dei behaves differently than a conventional canon, noting that it is "doch nicht einen einfachen Kanon." There is no doubt the procedure implies a canon; the bassus II voice is on double duty as both a "canonic" voice and as a participant in the ongoing counterpoint. Robert Stevenson's description of the procedure used here may be the most accurate. Stevenson compares Morales's mass style, which employs a greater number of canons, to Gombert's general avoidance of these conventional devices. He writes, "Gombert only by way of exception concluded with a canon in the last Agnus of his Quam pulchra es Mass (even then devising an entirely new type.)"143 In any case, the canonic procedure is unique and

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¹⁴¹ Schmidt-Görg, *Opera omnia*, 3: Foreward and *Nicholas Gombert*, 166.

¹⁴² Ibid., 167.

¹⁴³ Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), 62.

demonstrates Gombert's partiality for changing the members of the groupings and their function in the texture.



Figure 44: Entrance of the cantus firmus, introduced by the quasi-canonic Bassus II

4.1.3 Who was the Sacerdos Magnus?

Not only does the *cantus firmus* provide the extra voice which is Gombert's practice in setting the Kyrie II, but the seven voices are likely numerologically significant. Seven is a Marian number and the Blessed Virgin has long been considered to be the subject of the poem "Quam pulchra es" from the biblical Song of Songs. Though the model and vocal setting suggests that Gombert's mass may have been for a Marian occasion, the *cantus firmus*, a statement of the antiphon *Ecce sacerdos magnus*, suggests otherwise.

The liturgical association of *Ecce sacerdos magnus* is with a feast of a confessor bishop and it has been associated with the ordination of religious figures. To determine the possible purpose, occasion and date for this piece, this antiphon and its historical purpose must be considered. An important factor in determining the conditions for this work's composition is to establish the priest's identity.

Nugent and Jas suggest that the religious figure is Pope Clement VII and indeed, he is one of the most likely candidates for the reference in the *cantus firmus*. However, the unstable relationship between Clement and Charles V casts doubt on this assignment. Yet if Clement is the figure in the final movement of the mass, this may restrict the time frame in which it was composed.

Clement was elected in 1523 after the death of the unpopular Pope Adrian VI, and Clement's relationship with Charles turned sour soon after. Though he had been aligned with Charles early on in his pontificate, by 1525 the pope had also aligned himself with the French king and enemy of Charles, Francis I. When Charles defeated and imprisoned Francis after the Battle of Patavia and the Treaty of Madrid, the pope's favor again rested with the future emperor. Like many times during his tenure as pope, Clement's favor was only temporary. The issues during the Sack of Rome in 1527 embodied the height of the pope's favor. Clement was again aligned with Charles after the resolution of the Sack and with Charles's aid in restoring the Medici family, who had been expelled in the crises of the Sack. The pope crowned Charles Holy Roman Emperor in 1530 and his allegiances seemed to remain with the emperor until his death. If the mass is indeed for Clement VII, this narrows the window for composition from 1529, when

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¹⁴⁴ George Nugent and Eric Jas. "Gombert, Nicolas," *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/ (accessed April 2, 2009).

Charles V agrees to help Clement to restore the Medici in Florence, to 1532, when Attaingnant publishes the mass.

Additionally, unlike his predecessor Adrian VI who was famed for his indifference to music, Clement was known to have a love for music and made considerable changes to the papal choir. Richard Sherr has provided studies on Clement and the papal chapel. In a recent study by Sherr, he investigates Clement's legacy as a musician. He notes that there is evidence that Clement was "the most musically competent of all the popes of the sixteenth century." Thus Clement is a viable candidate. However, the use of the antiphon melody has been associated with the installation of clerics and Clement had been elected pope in 1523. If this piece functioned to celebrate the installation of a priest, Clement is an unlikely candidate. Yet there are other figures in Charles's sphere who are also likely candidates.

Francis Quiñones is remembered as an intermediary between Pope Clement and Charles V during the reconciliation after the Sack of Rome. Not only was Quiñones a high-ranking member of various orders of the time but also Charles's distant relative and confidante. After

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of Adrian VI. The composer Carpentras is said to have left Rome to travel to Avignon and never returned. Sherr lists four more musicians, Eustachius de Monte Regalis, Vincent Missone, Andreas de Silva and Antoine Bruhier, who left Rome after Adrian's election. See "Clement VII and the Golden Age of the Papal Choir," in *The Pontificate of Clement VII: History, Politics, Culture*, eds. Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005).

¹⁴⁶ Three of these studies by Sherr are, "Competence and Incompetence in the Papal Choir in the Age of Palestrina," *Early Music* 22 (1994): 606-629; "A Curious Incident in the Institutional History of the Papal Choir," in *Papal Music and Musicians in Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed., Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 187-210; and "Clement VII and the Golden Age of the Papal Choir," in *The Pontificate of Clement VII: History, Politics, Culture*," eds. Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005), 228-250.

¹⁴⁷ Richard Sherr, "Clement VII and the Golden Age of the Papal Choir," 230.

Quiñones pleaded passionately for Clement's release, Charles sent the cleric to free the pontiff. Pastor writes, "Quiñones, who had reached Valladolid in the last weeks of July, after having been held up by pirates, told Charles to his face that if he did not fulfill his duty to the Pope he could no longer claim to be emperor....Quiñones believed it to be his duty to speak thus strongly...."

This passage in the *History of the Popes* illustrates Quiñones's intimacy with the emperor. After the reconciliation in the Treaty of Barcelona, Quiñones was created Cardinal of St. Croce and called Cardinal Angel soon after. Though there is no direct connection between Quiñones and music, he was a counselor, relative and emissary of the emperor who was instrumental in imperial politics. Additionally, he was made a cardinal during the time frame which is most likely for the composition of Gombert's mass. He is a viable candidate for the "great priest."

The final and most likely candidate other than Pope Clement is Garcia de Loaisa. De Loaisa is remembered most for his association with the Spanish Inquisition and held the post of Inquisitor General. However, de Loaisa had been an integral part of imperial life before the Inquisition. De Loaisa was of the Dominican order and was introduced to Charles V during a visit to Spain. Charles was impressed by de Loaisa and made him imperial confessor and counselor. Charles offered the See of Osama to de Loaisa in 1524 and the cleric was also involved with the reconciliation of the pope and emperor after the Sack of Rome. He accompanied Charles from Spain to the conference with the pope in Italy and was left by the

¹⁴⁸ Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 3rd edition, vol 4, ed. Frederick Ignatius Antrobus (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1906.), 451.

¹⁴⁹Henry Worsley, *The Dawn of the English Reformation* (London : Elliot Stock, 1890), 189.

emperor to oversee his interests in Rome. William Bradford suggests that "some court intrigue" impelled Charles to leave de Loaisa in Italy and transcribes letters which demonstrates de Loaisa's intimacy with the ruler. De Loaisa was later made Cardinal of Sigüenza and Archbishop of Seville in 1530-1531. The ordination ceremonies for either of these positions would be a possible occasion for Gombert's mass.

It is likely that the *sacerdos magnus* in Gombert's *Missa Quam pulchra es* was close enough to the emperor to elicit a newly-composed work for his ordination as bishop. However, given the large entourage and reach of Charles V, the identity of the *sacerdos magnus*, and consequentially, the purpose of the *Missa Quam pulcra es*, will likely remain in question.

4.2 MISSA TEMPORE PASCHALI

Perhaps the most important mass setting for this study is Gombert's *Missa Tempore paschali*. It survives in a manuscript in Brussels at the Conservatoire Royal de Musique and remains among his most commonly mentioned compositions, but is rarely given more than a cursory discussion. This lack of close attention may be attributed to the novelty of the composition for its time, due to its multivoice setting and relationship to an earlier composition. Yet, this work is notable because it draws its melodic and structural material from two sources. The chant

¹⁵⁰ William Bradford, *Correspondence of the Emperor Charles V*, (New York: AMS Press, 1971) 347.

¹⁵¹ Brussels, Conservatoire Royal de Musique, Ms 270871 v. 1

ordinary serves as a melodic source for the work, but most interestingly, there is evidence of large-scale borrowing from a polyphonic mass from the previous generation, Antoine Brumel's *Missa Et ecce terrae motus*. Brumel's mass and its proto-polychoral style have important implications for discussing Gombert's multivoice style.

4.2.1 Brumel's Missa Tempore paschali as Model

Brumel's mass was extraordinary for its time and its twelve-voice setting was unique. Barton Hudson remarks that, "No other work on such a grand scale is known to exist, though it is reported that Georg Rhaw conducted a twelve-part Mass of his own composition at Leipzig in 1519 on the famous public debate between Martin Luther and Johann Maier von Eck." That Gombert's mass is inspired by or modeled after Brumel's work is almost entirely beyond dispute, and exactly how Gombert came into contact with this work is unknown. Brumel was briefly employed as a singer at the court chapel of Margaret of Austria in Savoy. Though there is no evidence of Gombert visiting Savoy, it may be possible that a copy of the mass was passed from Savoy to Charles's court. Yet, like Bauldeweyn's motet *Quam pulchra es,* Brumel's work had circulated widely, no doubt due to its exceptional twelve-voice setting. It had circulated so extensively and for such a length of time that one of the few surviving manuscripts of the work was used by Lasso within the time frame of 1568-1570, which is more than fifty years after Brumel's death.

¹⁵² Antoine Brumel, *Opera omnia*, ed. Barton Hudson (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1972), 3: 9.

Not only is the twelve-voice setting significant, but the older mass embodies characteristics of early polychorality. In his exploration of the origins of the polychoral style in the voice-pairing procedures of Franco-Flemish traditions, Carver mentions that Brumel's *Missa Et ecce terrae motus* is a split texture work that is an "important precursor of polychoral music; it contains striking antiphonal effects which are reiterated in a way that draws attention, temporarily, to a particular choral division...There is considerable flexibility in the antiphonal repetition. Some is [sic] almost exact, recalling canon or imitative voice-pairing, and some is [sic] varied." He also notes that "antiphonal repetition goes beyond mere decoration or new counterpoint, involving a shift in tonal level." However as will be discussed below, the work shifts between split-texture procedures and Hudson's triadic motifs.

The question of polychorality is especially significant for this study since Gombert's mass was modeled after Brumel's. In the previous chapter I argued that Gombert's multivoice works should not be so readily considered polychoral. The *Missa Tempore paschali* then presents an exceptional case because since it is modeled after a work that may be considered polychoral. Should we then consider Gombert's work polychoral too? The following discussion of Gombert's Easter mass examines the implications of Brumel's proto-polychoral work as the model of the *Missa Tempore paschali*.

Earlier discussions of Gombert's mass are concerned almost exclusively with the final movement, and the neglect of some eighty percent of Gombert's mass is unfortunate. The clearest and most blatant references to Brumel's mass occur within the Agnus II, where Gombert combines three characteristics and devices. Aside from the Easter subject common to both

¹⁵³ Carver, *Cori Spezzati*, 1: 51.

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works, the first similarity between the two works is their twelve-voice setting, which Gombert used modestly. Unlike Brumel's mass, which utilizes twelve voices throughout, Gombert's mass uses twelve voices exclusively in the final Agnus Dei II. As previously mentioned, the addition of voices in the final Agnus Dei was conventional in the sixteenth century and heightened the dramatic effect of a mass's ending. However, the expansion was limited to one or two additional voices. The doubling of the number of vocal parts in Gombert's Agnus Dei II is exceptional. His *Missa Tempore paschali* is mostly composed for six voices; the two exceptions are the Agnus Dei II and the eight-voice *Credo*, which will be discussed below.

The second reference to Brumel's mass, and perhaps the most convincing evidence, is the cantus firmus. As mentioned above, Gombert used cantus firmi sparingly, most often in his laudatory motets. The melody used here is the same as used in Brumel's mass, Et ecce terrae motus. The combination of the use of that particular Easter antiphon, the twelve-voice Agnus Dei II, and the popularity of Brumel's work removes almost all doubt that Brumel's piece was the compositional model for Gombert's work.

The third similarity between the two works is a melodic combination again used most prominently within the Agnus Dei II. The combination is a dotted-note motive used in conjunction with a sustained note (See Figure 46). The dotted-note motive is used in both a step-wise ascending and descending pattern and very closely resembles the Kyrie from Brumel's mass. However, this dotted-note motive/sustained note combination is not confined to Gombert's Agnus II. It is found throughout the mass and signifies a more comprehensive borrowing from Brumel's mass than is perceptible at a cursory glance. It would be beneficial to discuss this combination as it appears in Brumel's mass.

Barton Hudson characterizes Brumel's mass as having "very slow harmonic movement...offset by vigorous rhythmic movement, with triadic motifs overlapping one another in quick succession." The slow harmonic motion is dictated by the *cantus firmus* employed throughout the work, and the "triadic motifs" of which Hudson speaks permeate the texture in many of the voices. The motif usually appears as a leap of a third or fifth (occasionally by step) and a dotted ascending/descending stepwise figure (See Figure 45). It appears in multiple rhythmic variations, but the motion, either ascending or descending, of a third remains common. The source of this motive is likely the antiphon on which the mass is based. The antiphon is characterized by the leap of a third and a stepwise ascent.

Figure 45: Opening of the antiphon Et ecce terrae motus.



This motive is important in recreating the character of Brumel's mass. Gombert employs the motive and adds *cantus firmus*-like long notes. This combination of motive plus sustained notes is found throughout the work but employed most conspicuously in the final movement. In addition to the final Agnus Dei, this arrangement occurs in the Credo and the Sanctus, at the first Hosanna.

The second sources for the melodic content of the *Missa Tempore paschali* are from the mass ordinary. Interestingly, the chants referenced in Gombert's mass are not found in the same mass ordinary.

¹⁵⁴ Barton Hudson, "Brumel, Antoine," *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/ (accessed 22 September 2009).

Superius

Contratenor
Primus

Contratenor
Secundus

ho - san - na in ex - cel - sis, ho - san - na

Figure 46: Example of Motive and Cantus firmus-like pedal in Gombert's Credo

As Schmidt-Görg has pointed out, the melodic content of the *Missa Tempore paschali* may be traced to both the first Mass (*Lux et origo*) and the fourth (*Cunctipotens genitor Deus*).

Specifically, the melodic content of Gombert's Kyrie and Gloria is derived from the first mass, while the melodic content of Gombert's Sanctus, Osanna and Benedictus is derived from the fourth mass. Later, in the foreword to the collected work the author adds that the Credo and the Agnus Dei "appear to be a free invention but are thematically related to the Kyrie." Schmidt-Görg defends the seemingly mix-and-matched melodic sources for the work and writes

¹⁵⁵ Schmidt-Görg, Nicolas Gombert, 162.

¹⁵⁶ Gombert, *Opera omnia*, 3: Foreword.

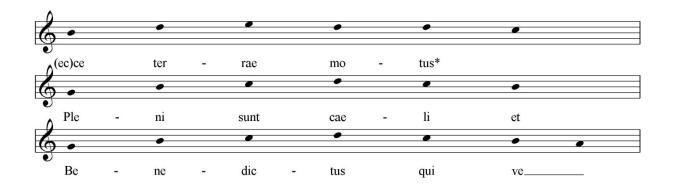
Discantus I Discantus ${\rm I\hspace{-.1em}I}$ Discantus III Contratenor II Contratenor Ⅲ ky Tenor I Tenor II Tenor III Bassus I 9:3 Bassus II 9:3 Bass III 9:3 o. D. II D. III Ct. II Ct. III T. I T. II Т. Ш в. п e - lei В. Ш 🤥 📀

Figure 47: Example dotted rhythms and cantus firmus Brumel's Missa Et ecce terrae motus

that during Gombert's time the masses may not have been grouped as they are at present. ¹⁵⁷ This is quite likely the case, but there may be an additional reason for the diverse melodic sources.

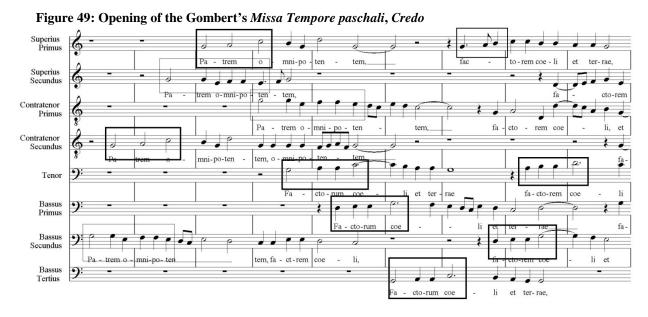
It is possible that Gombert chose these melodies for their similarities to the Easter antiphon. In the case of the Pleni, Benedictus and most prominently later in the Agnus Dei, Gombert replicates Brumel's motive in the opening *exordia* of the sections. There is also a melodic relationship between the Pleni and Benedictus of the *Cunctipotens genitor Deus* mass. The leap of a third and general melodic contour of the Pleni, Benedictus and the antiphon *Et ecce terrae motus* are too similar to be coincidence (see Figure 48). Though it is very likely that the masses were not ordered in such a fashion as is found presently, it is plausible that Gombert chose chants from the Sanctus from the fourth mass because of its melodic similarities to the Easter antiphon.

Figure 48: Comparison of the chant *Et ecce terrae motus* and the Opening Gestures of the *Pleni* and *Benedictus* of the Mass Ordinary, *Cunctipotens genitor Deus*



¹⁵⁷ Schmidt-Görg, *Nicolas Gombert*, 162. "Wenn nicht alle Sätze (auβer dem *Credo* natürlich) über die Messe Nr. 1 geschrieben wurden, so hat dies seinen Grund darin, daβ zur demaligen Zeit die einzelnen Teile des Ordinariums noch nicht zu geschlossenen Messen zusammengestellt waren, wie es heute der Fall ist."

Mirroring the melodic sources of the mass, Gombert uses a mix or hybridization of techniques in *Missa Tempore paschali*: those conventionally used in renaissance masses, such as in motto masses, Brumel's techniques, and his own. Generally, there seem to be two compositional plans at work. The first plan, encompassing the first four movements, uses the antiphon melody and Brumel's motif in a manner similar to Gombert's compositional techniques. The head motive at the *exordia* of movements or internal subdivisions are melodically related to the antiphon or the chant and are reminiscent of the techniques used in motto masses. The use of the antiphon melody in the second method is closer to our common-practice idea of motive (Figure 49). This technique peppers the melodic fragment throughout the work and the motif is an ornament amongst free counterpoint. The second plan involves the Agnus Dei. In the final movement, second part, Gombert almost literally recreates the character of the older composer's work by employing a *cantus firmus*, twelve-voice setting, and the use of the motif in an ornamental manner.



4.2.1.1 The Multivoice Settings

As discussed earlier, the majority of Gombert's *Missa Tempore paschali* is set for six voices, except for two movements. In addition to the twelve-voice Agnus Dei II, Gombert sets the Credo for eight voices. This eight-voice setting serves as a transitional setting in the mass in which Gombert can foreshadow some of the techniques and effects of the twelve-voice final movement, such as the harmonic pedals and other practices found in smaller settings. However, the eight-voice setting does not restrict the composer so much as to completely prohibit conventional practices such as the individual imitative entrances of each voice as found at the outset of a new line of text. Rather, practices are adapted. For example, at the outset of the Crucifixus sub-division of the *Credo*, instead of beginning the opening text "Crucifixus etiam pro nobis" in each voice, Gombert begins some voices on the second clause, "sub Pontias Pilato et sepultus est." This technique is no doubt an adaptation to expediently move through the line of text. Considering that the Credo is one of the lengthier texts of the Mass Ordinary, to set the text in eight voices without these types of adaptations would create an exceptionally long work.

Yet in the case of the two mass movements for more than six voices, the multivoice techniques employed have even greater importance. Unlike his works for smaller ensembles, Gombert seems to avoid the high/low groupings in favor of groupings with diverse vocal ranges. These more diverse groupings in the mass may be a direct consequence of the model. As suggested earlier, the *Missa Tempore paschali* is as close to a smoking gun as possible in proving a link between Gombert's multivoice processes and polychoral practice. Gombert's Credo and Agnus II most prominently display these connections, but as discussed earlier, Gombert does not simply mimic the proto-polychoral style. Rather, the composer adapts it. He suggests the polychoral or dialogue style by using direct repetition, varying degrees of a double

choir effect and moments that more closely resemble what we would consider the polychoral style.

For example, in the first half of the Credo (See Figure 50) on the text "Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum, Deo vero," Gombert never creates two choirs that alternate the same musical material. Rather, the composer implies the polychoral style by using relatively stable groupings, but for one crucial exception. However, members of each group do not stay confined to their groupings. Gombert provides supporting, but ultimately defecting voices. First, the second cantus voice has its own ostinato-like melody, functioning within the frame of both choirs. That is, the second cantus voice participates in the concluding simultaneities in each choir. Secondly, as found in Gombert's *Missa Quam pulchra es* discussed earlier, the bass voice is on double duty, providing structural support for each group.

Gombert divides the movement into two sections at the "Crucifixus" and the passages that more closely resemble the polychoral style are in the second half of the movement. For example, on the text "Et iterum venturus est," and the clause "in remissionem peccatorum" from the "Confiteor" text are two moments where the ensemble is divided into two groups that remain confined to their assignments.

mi -De - um Superius Secundus Primus Contratenor Secundus lu - mi - ne, de De de lu - mi -De um lu - men lu - men de Tenor Primus Secundus (saecu)la De - um de De lu - men de lu - mi - ne. Bassus 6 . S.P. C.P. Ge C.S. tum de De Ge fa B.P.

Figure 50: "Polychoral" declamation on "Deum de deo."

However, these moments are extremely brief and are, in the case of the latter clause, on a single word. Schmidt-Görg comments on these exact multivoice characteristics. He writes that the composition, "certainly reveals influences of the early polychoral style." Additionally, he notes that the sequences and ostinato passages are more frequent in the eight-voice Credo and the twelve-voice finale. Yet he stops short of connecting these "characteristics of the old style" with possible influences of the polychoral style. Perhaps the sequences and *ostinati* may be a result of Gombert reconciling Brumel's style with his own multivoice procedures.

The movement with the greatest potential to display this reconciliation is, of course, the final Agnus Dei II. Indeed, the piece does demonstrate the most palpable of Gombert's efforts to recreate, or at the very least reference, Brumel's work. Particularly, Gombert's compromise is centered within the twelve-voice setting. Brumel's approach to the twelve-voice multivoice composition is very clearly articulated. The older composer shifts between being driven by the cantus firmus and employing a polychoral setting. In cantus firmus-driven sections, for example the Kyrie and the Credo, Brumel wraps the melody with the ascending triadic motifs on which Hudson remarks. In other movements and sections, the composer divides the choir into two complete polychoral units. There are reasons why Brumel so clearly articulates the two approaches in the Missa Et ecce terrae motus. Quite simply, the two approaches are incompatible. If one conceives of cantus firmus as a means of melodic continuity, it is unsuited to a polychoral setting. This is not to suggest that a cantus firmus is impossible to use in a polychoral setting. However if one were used in such a setting, I believe it would disrupt one of the functions of the cantus fimus procedure, to be an enduring symbolic and referential component of the musical work. To place a cantus firmus in such a setting would preempt and disrupt these functions. Technically, the *cantus firmus* would not exist. A *cantus firmus* is, by definition, a fixed and complete melody. Moreover, the polychoral procedure is usually defined by repetition. The only cantus firmus that could survive in a polychoral setting is one where each musical phrase is constantly repeated. This procedure would allude to the technique, but would not be a *cantus firmus*.

The Agnus Dei II, is Gombert's valiant effort to mesh these processes but with his own compositional bias. As briefly discussed earlier, Gombert recreates the character of the older mass by using twelve-voices, *cantus firmus* and the triadic motif. However, he is relatively strict

with the *cantus firmus*. Whereas Brumel provides multiple *cantus firmi* in various voices, Gombert hints at multiple *cantus firmi* at the outset of the section with long-note values in multiple voices. However, this practice is largely forgotten after the opening bars. There are a few moments where long-note values are presented in the bass voice, but this moment may be more for harmonic stability than a reference to the *cantus firmus*.

The *cantus firmus* is present throughout Agnus II even during Gombert's "polychoral" moments. These moments are not truly polychoral because they are short (not even the entire length of a clause) and because the members of each group do not remain faithful. Voices defect from their groupings, creating continuity between each declamation.

So Gombert does, in a sense, replicate Brumel's mass, but in a more concise and altered manner. Gombert juxtaposes "polychoral" moments (splitting the texture into separate choirs) with the triadic motifs, but uses the *cantus firmus* throughout these sections, a technique which creates seamlessness between sections. This technique is a fundamental feature of Gombert's style. The *cantus firmus* allows the composer to create continuity between sections, where the absence of *pausas* which Finck notes, sets the composer apart from his predecessors, including Brumel.

4.3 CREDO MASS MOVEMENT

Gombert's eight-voice *Credo* is the composer's only surviving single-movement setting of a section of the Ordinary. It appears solely in the same volume of Montanus and Neuber's

Thesarus musicus as the misattributed motet Lugebat David Absalon.¹⁵⁸ I have discussed this piece above in reference to Gombert's eight-voice complex of chansons and contrafacta, but to reiterate, the Credo is a sacred parody of the chanson Je prens congie. Picker describes the work as a "large-scale parody of the chanson incorporating, sometimes literally, about half its music..."¹⁵⁹ While there may be some debate about the accuracy of Picker's estimate for the incorporated music, there is no question that the remaining material is newly composed. The majority of the material most closely related to the music of the chanson is in the first section. The following music, divided into three sections, is newly composed. At this juncture, providing a detailed examination of the music most closely related to the chanson is unnecessary and would be a basic rehashing of the discussion of the chanson and motets. Any discussion of the parodied material will focus on its implications for context or additional issues.

My discussion of the *Credo* then focuses on significant stylistic deviations and their significance. Of greatest interest is the newly composed music and how (or whether) it aligns with Gombert's style. Additionally, because of its multivoice setting, the potential similarities to this work and other eight-voice mass movements, and most especially, its particular relationship to the chanson complex, we must return to the concept of polychorality. The following close examination discusses Gombert's eight-voice *Credo* in terms of its similarity to its model, significant stylistic differences and the implications for attribution.

¹⁵⁸ RISM 1564¹. Thesaurus musicus continens selectissimas octo, septem, sex, quinque et quatuor vocum Harmonias (Nuremburg: Montanus & Neuber, 1964).

¹⁵⁹ Martin Picker, "A Spurious Motet by Josquin," 35.

4.3.1 Credo Je prens congie¹⁶⁰

As a point of departure in my discussion of the *Je prens congie* complex, I pointed out a significant antiphonal moment, which had been utilized in all the works in the complex, to determine possible influences of polychoral technique (See Chapter 3). This moment, which utilized the turning-figure device, should be considered as an expanded cadential technique that Gombert utilized in multiple genres and settings. Although this moment is quite striking and possesses notable rhetorical value, it is incidentally "polychoral" and does not offer any direct link between Gombert's multivoice style and the polychoral technique. The significance of the chanson *Je prens congie* and its associated works for the development of the polychoral style was unduly amplified in some mid-twentieth-century studies that relied upon the attribution of *Lugebat David Absalon* (and *Tulerunt Dominum*) to Josquin.

However, in the case of the *Credo*, Picker is more accurate in his description than when his description is applied to other works in the complex. He writes that the "*Credo* and the chanson it parodies are virtually the only eight-voice works attributed to Gombert that embody the principle of polychorality." Because the sacred motets in the complex are *contrafacta* on the chanson, we may project this characteristic onto all the works of the complex. Yet, as mentioned above and by numerous scholars, these works are not polychoral. Therefore, to recognize how the *Credo* may be closer to polychoral technique, it is necessary to consider the

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¹⁶⁰ The title of this section comes from Picker's suggestion that the work may be appropriately entitled *Credo Je prens congie* due to the significant musical borrowing from the chanson. See Picker, "A Spurious Motet of Josquin," 38.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 38

work's important distinction: it is a parody on the chanson and not a *contrafactum*. The greater degree of polychorality within the *Credo* is related directly to the newly composed musical material.

The first step in discussing any greater polychorality is to determine how the mass movement differs from its model. As mentioned above, Picker estimates that about fifty percent of musical material in the *Credo* may be found in the original chanson. The large part of this rehashed material is found within the first section and the primary deviations are negligible. For example, the opening imitative *exordium* of the *Credo* is melodically identical to the chanson. Yet voice entries are temporally closer together and all entrances do not begin on the opening text. As discussed regarding the *Credo* from the *Missa Tempore paschali* and other motets with lengthy texts, this is an adaptation to move rapidly through the text.

Picker provides other representations of the chanson within the *Credo*. First is the aforementioned "antiphonal exchange" on the text "Deum de deo" and the second is a passage towards the end of the work on the text "Confiteor unum baptisma." The latter example is negligibly altered in the mass movement for text considerations. However, Picker's final description of the music of the *Credo* is worthy of mention. He writes that "its antiphonal, homophonic treatment of four-voice groups on significant words and phrases reveals a careful and imaginative reworking of the original material in terms of the new text. Gombert, of course, was not unfamiliar with parody techniques, which he applied liberally in many of his masses." While this statement is accurate, possibly ten of Gombert's eleven masses are parody masses and

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 $^{^{162}}$ This section coordinates with the melodic material directly preceding Picker's "antiphonal moment" and the *Je prens congie* cadential procedure.

¹⁶³ Martin Picker, "A Spurious Motet by Josquin," 38.

three of these are parodies on his own work. Thus, the statement does not illustrate the exceptional position of the *Credo* in Gombert's surviving output, particularly in reference to polychorality.

The eight-voice *Credo* contains more passages that may be considered polychoral than any of Gombert's other large-scale works for eight or more voices. I adapt Anthony Carver's definition to determine a polychoral passage in Gombert's work. Carver writes that a polychoral work or passage is "one in which the ensemble is consistently split into two or more groups, each retaining its own identity, which sing separately and together within a through-composed framework in which antiphony is a fundamental compositional resource...." In the case of the eight-voice *Credo* and other comparable works, a "polychoral passage" is one in which there are at least two moments of dialogue where the groupings remain consistent. Because Gombert breaks groupings down with what seems to be no perceptible reason other than artistic desire (except in the case of the preparation of the cadence) his polychoral passages may span from two to several phrases. I do not limit the polychoral passage to an even dialogue, just consistent groupings. A polychoral passage may include odd numbers of phrases and texts. I used this method to determine the degree of polychorality within the single mass movement and works of the *Je prens congie* complex.

In Gombert's eight-voice works, there is a disproportionate degree of polychorality compared to the works of the *Je prens congie* complex and the *Credo* mass movement. To determine the degree of polychorality in Gombert's works, I tallied the duration of each passage in the single mass movement, the eight-voice *Credo* of the *Missa Tempore paschali*, the chanson and its

¹⁶⁴ Anthony Carver, *Cori Spezzati*, vol. I, "A Definition."

sacred *contrafactum Lugebat David Absalom* and compared them. Then I compared the duration of the passage to each section. For example, to determine the level of polychorality in the *Credo* of the Easter mass, I compared the duration of each polychoral passage to its section, then to the whole.

This method provides a wide range of results. The single-pars chanson is 21.1% polychoral and the entirety of Lugebat David Absalom is roughly the same. The total percentage of polychorality for the motet is 20.9%: the prima pars is, like the chanson, 21.1% while the secunda pars, "Porro rex operuit," is 21.9% polychoral. The eight-voice Credo from the Missa Tempore paschali is only 2.3% polychoral. In total, the Credo mass fragment is 32.8% polychoral. Though the difference in the proportion of polychorality may seem negligible between the chanson and the mass movement in total figures, when these ratios are properly contextualized and compared, it offers greater insight on the differences between the parody and chanson.

There is a considerable difference in the proportion of polychorality in the musical material common to all the works in the complex. While *Je prens congie* and the first movement of *Lugebat* are 21% polychoral, the *Credo* is more polychoral, at 31.4%. Though the difference between the two percentages seems small, we must consider that the coordinating melodic sections between the chanson and the mass are of different lengths. The chanson is 18.4% longer than the parody. Comparatively, for the chanson to be as polychoral as the *Credo*, it must be 32.8% more polychoral. In regards to the *Credo*, the proportion of polychorality precisely illustrates how Picker's observation on polychorality in the complex is more accurate.

Moreover, there are additional characteristics related to the polychorality of this work that are difficult to reconcile with Gombert's other surviving masses. First, the composer divides this work differently from any of Gombert's other *Credo* movements.

Table 28: Divisions in Gombert's Credo Movements and Mass Movement

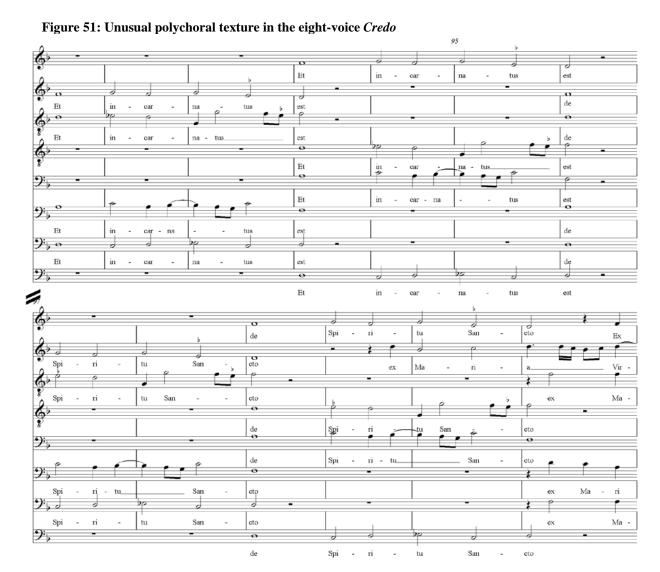
Mass	First Section	Second	Third Section	Fourth	Fifth
		Section		Section	Section
Masses for Four Voices					
Missa Da	Patrem	Crucifixus	Et in Spiritum		
Pacem	omnipotentem				
Missa Sancta	Patrem	Crucifixus	Et iterum		
Maria	omnipotentem		venturus est		
Missa Beati	Patrem	Crucifixus	Et in Spiritum		
Omnes	omnipotentem				
Missa Je suis	Patrem	Et incarnatus	Crucifixus	Et resurrexit	Et iterum
desheritee	omnipotentem				venturus
					est
Masses for Five Voices					
Missa Media	Patrem	Crucifixus	Et iterum		
vita	omnipotentem		venturus est		
Missa Sur tous	Patrem	Crucifixus	Et iterum		
regretz	omnipotentem		venturus est		
Missa	Patrem	Crucifixus	Et resurrexit	Et iterum	
Philomena	omnipotentem			venturus est	
praevia					
Masses for Six or More Voices					
Missa Quam	Patrem	Crucifixus	Et in Spiritum		
pulchra es	omnipotentem				
Missa Tempore	Patrem	Crucifixus			
paschali	omnipotentem				
Credo	Patrem	Et incarnatus	Et resurrexit	Et in	
	omnipotentem			Spiritum	

He begins a new division at the text, "Et incarnatus est," a procedure found only once else in his masses. The *Missa Je suis desheritée* also has a division at this text. However, the following section of the chanson mass is on the text "Crucifixus," bringing it in line with the rest of the

surviving masses. The eight-voice *Credo* does not divide here. This will be discussed in greater detail below.

Additionally, it is at the outset of the second section of the eight-voice *Credo* where Gombert's style changes considerably. Unlike any of his other mass movements or multi-part works, Gombert begins this section homophonically. Though Gombert is renowned for his imitation and counterpoint, he often uses homophonic declamation for rhetorical purposes. Other than this case, Gombert never begins any section or *pars* homophonically. Additionally, Gombert repeats this exceptional practice at the outset of each following section. The two internal sections are also considerably shorter than the bookended sections while the final movement is only negligibly shorter than the opening *Patrem*. The final section is also stylistically distinct from the parody section and the two sections that follow.

The final section, beginning with the text "Et in Spiritum" is the most difficult section to reconcile with Gombert's works. It is the most polychoral section in his multivoice settings. The section is over fifty percent polychoral (54.7%) and has the longest continual polychoral passages of the entire movement. Additionally, it features two homophonic syllabic declamations on the text "resurrectionem" in all eight voices (Figure 52). These two moments are significant. Although homophony is common enough in Gombert's sacred works, rarely does it feature all voices simultaneously. Rather, it usually appears as imitative homophonic groups.



The significance of this moment may assist in determing a possible purpose of the work, and casts considerable doubt on Gombert as the author of the entirety of the eight-voice *Credo*.

260 re-cti-o nem, re-cti mor re-cti-o nem, sur re-cti-o nem, re-cti-<u>p</u> sur nem mor-tu sur re-cti o - nem mor nem sur re-cti re-cti-o, sur-re-cti

sur-re-cti - o - nem

mor - tu - o

Figure 52: Homophonic declamation on "resurrectionem"

4.3.1.1 Misattributed?

re - sur - re-cti-o - nem

mor

Unlike the sacred *contrafacta* on *Je prens congie*, the authorship of Gombert's eight-voice *Credo* mass movement has never been disputed. The sole attribution comes from Montanus and Neuber's *Thesaurus musicus*, but despite the purported unreliability of German prints, especially in regards to Josquin, there has been no question of the *Credo*'s authenticity. This is particularly interesting considering the misattribution of *Lugebat David Absalom* to Josquin appears in the very same volume of the *Thesaurus musicus*. The lack of doubt is understandable.

¹⁶⁵ RISM 1564¹, *Thesaurus musicus continens selectissimas octo, septem, sex, quinque et quatuor vocum Harmonias* (Nuremberg: Montanus and Neuber, 1564).

There is plenty of evidence to support the attribution to Gombert. For example, the melodic relationship between the *Credo* and *Je prens congie*, whose authenticity has also not been questioned, firmly supports the attribution to Gombert. Ultimately, however, besides the attribution in the *Thesaurus musicus*, Gombert's authorship of the *Credo* is circumstantial and complicated by misattribution of the motet *contrafactum* to Josquin.

Another issue that weakens the attribution to Gombert is the *Credo*'s role as his only surviving single mass movement. Despite Gombert's thin biography, a considerable number of works survive. This survival is no doubt an effect of his contemporary fame and imperial patron. Despite these facts, only one single-movement work, the *Credo*, survives. If we are to assume that the *Credo* is Gombert's, then compared to the previous generation of composers associated with or employed by the Burgundian Habsburgs, Gombert leaves few representatives. Josquin, though tangential to the court, left almost ten separate mass movements. Issac and La Rue, composers directly in the employ of the Habsburgs, left fifteen and least five mass movements respectively. If Gombert's mass movement was composed for a significant imperial occasion as I have suggested, no doubt the composer had the opportunity to compose other mass movements for other occasion. It is possible Gombert only wrote one mass movement, but unlikely. The need for works such as these would have only increased as Charles attained greater political power. Though tenuous, the fact that Gombert only leaves one surviving mass movement supports a misattribution.

The exceptional polyphonic style of the *Credo* makes the misattribution not only plausible, but likely. The *Credo*'s double-choir style in its final sections is almost irreconcilable within Gombert's multivoice compositions. While the *Credo*'s approach is not completely alien to Gombert's other multivoice works, particularly in the case of the other pieces of the complex, the

degree to which choirs retain their groupings is exceptional. As discussed above, the final section of the *Credo* is more than fifty percent polychoral. This divergence from his "normal" multivoice style is conspicuous.

Also, the divisions of the *Credo* are also unlike any of those in Gombert's other *Credo* movements. A division at "Et incarnatus est" is conventional, logical and does not disrupt the sense of the text. This particular division appears in only one other mass. The Credo movement of Gombert's *Missa Je suis desheritée* divides at "Et incarnatus est," then divides much like Gombert's other masses. Moreover, the *Missa Fors seulement*, which had been for some time attributed to Gombert, is now seen as probably by Vinders, but is included in Schmidt-Görg's edition; it divides at "Et incarnatus es" and not at the "Crucifixus." This mass has now been considered not to be by Gombert and Eric Jas suggests that the work is probably by Vinders. ¹⁶⁶

Jas also suggests that the *Missa Je suis desheritée* may also be inauthentic. He lists the following reasons in his brief study: first, the thematic material of the model in the chanson mass does not occur equally among the movements; second, there is no other mass that features a cantus *prius factus* in a movement other than the final Agnus Dei; third, doubling of note values in the *cantus firmus* in the *Credo* does not appear in any of Gombert's other works; fourth, the *ostinato* in the superius is unlike other ostinatos in his works; fifth, the Sanctus opens with a *cantus firmus* fragment. This procedure occurs in some motets, but not in his masses; and sixth, and most pertinent to my argument, the second division of the *Credo* starts at "Et incarnatus est" and not at the "Crucifixus." The similar unusual division in the Credo between the mass

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¹⁶⁶ Eric Jas, "Nicolas Gombert's 'Missa Fors Seulement': A Conflicting Attribution," *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 46 (1992): 163-177.

movement and *Missa Je suis desheritée*, coupled with the question of the latter mass's authorship, casts doubt on the authenticity of the *Credo*.

The final division, "Et in Spiritum Sanctum," only occurs in one more of Gombert's remaining works. Basing doubt purely on the *Credo* movement's divisions is problematic and does not accommodate for artistic license or an extra-musical explanation, such as occasion. Yet there is a division, or rather a lack of the division, which strengthens the doubt on the eight-voice *Credo*. All Gombert's authentic complete settings of the mass ordinary feature a division at "Crucifixus," and this division occurs after the "Patrem" in all but one mass, *Missa Je suis disheritée*. The dubious chanson mass does feature a division at the "Crucifixus," only after "Et incarnatus est." The eight-voice *Credo* does not feature a division at the "Crucifixus." This peculiarity is one of the characteristics Jas uses to support his reattribution of the *Missa Fors Seulement* to Vinders.

4.4 SUMMARY CONCLUSION

Gombert's three multivoice masses, the *Missae Quam pulchra es, Tempore paschali*, and the *Credo* mass movement are complete mass cycles and parody masses on preexisting works by composers tangentially related to the Habsburg courts of Margaret of Austria. *Missa Quam pulchra es* is modeled after an eponymous motet by Bauldeweyn. Gombert's procedure in this mass is surprisingly conventional. It adheres to sixteenth-century compositional procedures in regards to the setting of parody masses, and it uses both more literal incarnations and variants of

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 171.

Bauldeweyn's melodies across the five movements. Though Gombert conventionally expands the final Agnus Dei from six to seven voices, he employs two compositional devices, a *cantus firmus* and an implied canon.

In Gombert's *Missa Tempore paschali*, his processes change. In addition to the work being based on chant, it has as its model Brumel's *Missa Et ecce terrae motus*. Gombert's work seems to be a hybridization of techniques used in motto masses and his own style. Gombert employs both Brumel's dotted motives as well as the same *cantus firmus* employed in Brumel's mass. Though scholars are hesitant to connect these two works, I believe that the connection is indisputable.

Gombert's single *Credo* movement is only half his own. The first part of the *Credo* is no doubt by Gombert's hand, and is a parody of *Je prens congie*. However, the final half of the movement is emphatically polychoral and unlike anything else in Gombert's output. The only source of this work is late and survives only as an edition by Montanus and Neuber, a publisher with a controversial history. It is very likely this work is only partially by Gombert.

5.0 MAGNIFICAT SETTING

In this chapter I examine Gombert's multivoice style in his *Magnificats*. As Gombert's sole setting of the Magnificats, his *octo tonorum* cycle offers a unique case in the composer's *oeuvre*. ¹⁶⁸ It presents a cohesively-packaged collection for examination and a unique opportunity to explore issues of form, long-range planning and the composer's multivoice procedures.

5.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE GENRE

Gustave Reese offers a summation of "elementary concepts" pertaining to the performance and function of the *Magnificat*. He writes,

In plainsong, each of the twelve verses of the *Magnificat*—the ten verses of the canticle proper plus the two verses of the Gloria Patri—is sung to a single Psalm-Tone formula. Which Psalm Tone should be used on any particular occasion is determined by the mode of the antiphon that precedes and follows the *Magnificat* in liturgical practice on that occasion—an antiphon which, so to speak, frames the recitative of the *Magnificat* with a prelude and postlude of flowing melody. There being eight modes, in any one of which the antiphon may be cast, there are,

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 $^{^{168}}$ I refer here to the "swansongs" hypothesis, which will be discussed in greater detail below.

basically, eight formulas to which the *Magnificat* may be intoned—one corresponding in structural suitability to each of the modes. ¹⁶⁹

He continues.

Since the *Magnificat* text is in prose, the number of syllables contained in each of the twelve verses will obviously vary from one verse to another. As part of the process of making text and musical formula fit together, the verses are broken up into certain divisions which, important as they are to the structure of the *Magnificat* in plainsong, are even more so to the structure of the *Magnificat* in polyphony. Every verse is divided into two parallel sections at its caesura. ¹⁷⁰

Reese continues in outlining the general form and application of the polyphonic *Magnificat*, but it is necessary to turn to another scholar for additional details. David Crook recently undertook the most significant examination of the polyphonic *Magnificat* in his 1994 study, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich*. A portion of the introduction, "The Polyphonic *Magnificat* Before Lasso and the Establishment of the *Octo Tonorum* Cycle," provides a concise and valuable description of the conventions of the genre. Using the manuscript Modena, Bibioteca Estense, a.X.1.11 (ModB) he describes attributes of *Magnificats* composed before the sixteenth century. They may be briefly summarized as follows:

- 1. each section draws upon the monophonic psalm tones for its melodic content;
- 2. in all settings, each of the twelve verses is treated as a separate section;
- 3. all settings leave the first half of the first verse as a plainchant intonation;

¹⁷¹ David Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994).

¹⁶⁹ Gustave Reese, "The Polyphonic *Magnificat* as a Design in Tonal Centers," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 13, no. 3 (1960): 68.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 68

- 4. the structure of each polyphonic verse derives from the structure of the psalm tones; and
- 5. the same polyphonic material is used for more than one verse. 172

Crook then updates his description of the polyphonic *Magnificat* for the sixteenth century and notes procedures that were retained from the previous centuries. He points out that sixteenth-century composers retained the use of the chant as a source of melodic material. The *Magnificat* tone served as the melodic palette for musical content and was often the framework of polyphonic settings. Additionally, sixteenth-century composers distributed the tone equally across the texture, whereas those from the previous century confined the tone to the top voice of a three voice texture.¹⁷³

Sixteenth-century polyphonic *Magnificats* were composed as alternatim settings. Composers often set each odd-numbered verse to the *Magnificat* tone. Composers sometimes left the first half of the first verse in plainchant intonation in odd-numbered polyphonic verses. For example, in some cases composers left the text "*Magnificat*" to be intoned, and set the remainder of the verse, "anima mea dominum" polyphonically. In other cases the entire verse was set polyphonically.

Composers in the sixteenth century also altered the number of voices employed in the *Magnificat* from one polyphonic verse to the next. Regarding the multivoice character of sixteenth-century *Magnificat* settings, Crook reveals a few conventions. For example, composers often reduced textures to reflect the text of the eighth verse, "Esurientes implevit

¹⁷² Ibid., 8-11.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

bonis et divites dimisit inanes." The Latin text speaks of those who hunger and those who are sent away empty. Sixteenth-century composers often decreased the number of voices in this verse, which illustrates the text. Another convention occurs in the case of a polyphonic twelfth verse. In the twelfth verse the entire ensemble or additional voices was employed. Crook notes that this convention was evidence the sixteenth-composers were concerned with form "marked by expansion and climax" rather than the balance and symmetry found in settings previously. 174

Crook's description of the *Magnificat* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries offers us a general framework against which to evaluate Gombert's *Magnificats* and to observe how the composer adheres to and departs from general conventions. This dissertation highlights multivoice settings, and Gombert's *Magnificats* offer an interesting case in which to examine his multivoice style. Because Gombert's multivoice verses are within an *octo tonorum* cycle, we can examine the multivoice verses within larger contexts such as long-range planning and form. Also, the cycle offers us a separate and complete case study within the composer's *oeuvre* in which to examine how imitative procedure works at a local level, for example from verse to verse, and at a broader level, such as from tone to tone. Schmidt-Görg suggests that each polyphonic verse is "transformed into a small imitative motet," which offers us the opportunity to examine changes in form and thematic treatment across the cycle.¹⁷⁵ The following examination takes an alternate approach to organization.

¹⁷⁴ Crook, *Imitation Magnificats*, 14.

¹⁷⁵ Gombert, *Opera omnia*, 4: VIII.

5.2 GOMBERT'S OCTO TONORUM CYCLE

Gombert's *Magnificats* survive in only one source, dated 1552.¹⁷⁶ Until recently, the cycle was the leading candidate for the unidentified *Schwanengesang* that earned the composer a reprieve from his sentence for violating a boy in the emperor's employ. Gombert had been sentenced to the galleys, but with the so-called "swan songs" the composer earned both a pardon and a benefice for his retirement.¹⁷⁷ No doubt the cycle was an understandable candidate as it was a cohesively packaged group of pieces. However, it would be beneficial to explore this issue more deeply.

5.2.1 The Question of Chronology and Purpose

Clement Miller first discussed the swan songs hypothesis as discussed in the writings of Renaissance scientist and mathematician Jerome Cardan (1501-1576). According to Miller, Cardan references Gombert twice: first, in the treatise *De Tranquilitate* (1561) and later in *De utilitate ex adversis capienda* (1648). In these accounts Cardan relays Gombert's legal predicament and provides commentary as a lesson to his readers. To support Cardan's

¹⁷⁶ The manuscript, MadN 2433, is housed in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, Spain. See *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music* (Rome : American Institute of Musicology, 1979).

¹⁷⁷ See Clement A. Miller, "Jerome Cardan on Gombert, Phinot, and Carpentras" *The Musical Quarterly* 58, no. 3 (1972): 415. Alan Lewis suggests that the pieces in Gombert's *First Book of Motets* are the songs which won the composer his freedom. See "Nicolas Gombert's First Book of Four-Voice Motets: Anthology or Apologia?" in *The Empire Resounds: Music in the Days of Charles V*, ed. Francis Maes (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999.)

accessibility to Gombert's situation, Miller discusses Cardan's relationship with Ferrante Gonzaga, a close general of Charles V. It is not clear how closely Gonzaga was acquainted with Gombert, but one clue to their relationship is in a letter written by Gombert to Gonzaga. The 1547 autograph letter is the last extant documentation of the composer's life; it enclosed an unidentified motet. Miller uses this evidence to substantiate both Cardan's connection to the composer and the potential accuracy of his anecdote. Nestled within Miller's discussion of Cardan and Gombert, is the nomination of the *Magnificats* as a candidate for the swansongs which freed the composer from his imprisonment. Miller writes,

It seems likely that the "swan songs" which were instrumental in securing Gombert's release from confinement were his eight *Magnificats*. They are apparently the last major work of this composer and are preserved in Madrid in a single manuscript dated 1552. In the manuscript Gombert is identified simply as "canonicus Tornacensis." Although he was called a canon of Tournai, Gombert was not listed among those who said Mass at the cathedral. Schmidt- Görg suggests the possibility that Gombert may have been simply a cleric. But Cardan's account indicates that Gombert probably was a priest, and the fact that he did not say Mass at the cathedral is very possibly one of the conditions under which he was allowed to resume his position there.

One flaw in Miller's hypothesis is that his only reason for promoting the *Magnificats* is their date. Alan Lewis makes a case against the *Magnificats* as the swan songs for this reason. Lewis notes that the letter to Gonzaga argues against the *Magnificats* as swan songs because the date of the manuscript's compilation is five years after the composer was freed. Lewis goes on to suggest his own candidate for the swan songs, the *First Book of Motets for Four Voices* (1539).

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¹⁷⁸ The letter is now housed in the Mary Flagler Cary Music Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.

¹⁷⁹ Miller, "Jerome Cardan on Gombert," 415.

¹⁸⁰ Lewis, "Nicolas Gombert's First Book," 46-62.

Despite Lewis's convincing argument against the Magnificats, they remain a viable, if dubious, candidate for the swan songs. Though the surviving manuscript is dated 1552, the Magnificats were composed in an undetermined period before this date. Also, the manuscript's title page gives Gombert's title as "canonicus Tornacensis," and suggests that the cycle was written while Gombert was a canon at Tournai. Lewis rightly warns against the accuracy of Cardan's account and reminds us that Gombert was already a canon at Tournai five years before he no longer appears on the imperial chapel documents. 181 Schmidt-Görg notes that Gombert is not mentioned on the roll from December 1540, which makes 1535 the earliest possible date for the composition of the *Magnificats*. ¹⁸² This creates a nineteen-year time span for the composition of the cycle: 1535, the date from when Gombert no longer appears in the chapel rolls, but is a canon at Tournai, until 1552, the date of the manuscript. If we assume that the more accurate time frame for the composition of the Magnificats is the time beginning when Gombert was definitively in residence at Tournai until after his release from imprisonment, then the earliest date for the *Magnificats* is 1547, the date of the Gonzaga letter, and supports Lewis's argument against the *Magnificats* as the swan songs.

Until records have been found that indicate precisely how long Gombert remained imprisoned, the question of the swan songs will likely remain unanswered. However, there are two conspicuous scenarios and three distinct periods or timeframes for their composition. In Scenario 1, the *Magnificats* are not the swan songs. Their corresponding period of composition would be while Gombert was in the employ of the emperor and associated with the imperial

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¹⁸¹ Cardan's works seem to have a sensational angle and may have been embellished to be more convincing.

¹⁸² Ibid., 50.

court chapel from 1526 until December 1540. In Scenario 2, the cycle is the swan songs and there are two periods during which they may have been composed. The second period is from approximately December 1540 until 1547 and the swan songs helped Gombert gain his imperial pardon. The third period is framed by his release from the galleys, at the latest 1547, until his death during his retirement at Tournai, *circa* 1560.

These scenarios bring with them various compositional implications. If the composer was at court or in the employ of the emperor when the cycle was written, they may have been used liturgically and performed at various important occasions. In addition to Compline, Vespers were the most commonly celebrated liturgical offices in the Royal Chapel. A later date for the Magnificats also may suggest a performance function. Tournai no doubt offered ample opportunity. Additionally, two of the *Magnificats* are for multiple tones. This procedure is not uncommon, but this characteristic does give greater weight to the suggestion the Magnificats may have been liturgical. If the cycle was the swan songs and was written to obtain a pardon, its intricate attention to imitation and variation would be explained. However, the very restriction of the tone makes constant variation a necessity. It is most likely that the *Magnificats* are not the swan songs. However, their date remains inconclusive.

A final issue on the purpose of Gombert's *Magnificat* cycle is the origin of the Latin inscriptions featured in the manuscript. For example, the *Magnificat* on the second tone provides the "jocular" remarks, "Dixisse me (iniquit Xenocrates) aliquando pænuite tacisse nunquam" at the outset of the eighth verse, "Esurientes implevit bonis." The message is a reference to the first-century Roman rhetorician and poet Valerius Maximus's seventh book of

¹⁸³ Schmidt-Görg, *Opera omnia*, 4, XVII.

anecdotes for rhetoricians and accompanies a verse that was conventionally for smaller groups. ¹⁸⁴ The text, roughly translated as "he had often repented speaking, but never of being quiet," is an intriguing inscription. This verse is set as a duet and may be both comment on the vocal setting, a duet, or perhaps a personal message for the singers. ¹⁸⁵ The additional remarks, "Beati qui esuriunt justiciam," ("Blessed are those who hunger [and thirst] for justice." Matthew 5/6), "Hic non esurias," ("He does not hunger."), "Pueros ornate silentium," ("The boys are splendidly quiet"), "Esurire licet" ("One may hunger") and the paraphrase of Valerius Maximus do not lead to a definitive explanation of the purpose and use of the *Magnificats*. Schmidt-Görg reveals only that these remarks were "very popular at that time," and that the "hand-in-hand things ecclesiastical and secular" were "humorous and charming at the same time." ¹⁸⁶ Valuable though Schmidt-Görg's remarks may be, he neglects making any suggestion of possible use. However, the incipits suggest that at the very least, the manuscript was used for performance. If these

The most famous attribution of this quote is to the rhetoritician Valerius Maximus. However, Plutarch attributes this saying to Simonides and Edward Marshall notes that this sentiment is also found in a Latin couplet. *Notes and Queries: A Medium of Intercommunication for Literary Men, General Readers, Etc*, No. 263 (January 10, 1885): 32.

sermoni summo silentio interesset, uno ex his quaerente cur solus linguam suam cohiberet, 'quia dixisse me' inquit 'aliquando paenituit, tacuisse numquam'. Factorvm et Dictorvm Memorabilivum Libri Novem. Book 7 chapter 2, ext 6. "Well? Wasn't the reply of Xenocrates admirable! He was there when some men were gossiping maliciously, but he kept completely silent. One of them asked him why he alone was holding his tongue, and he said, 'Because I have often regretted saying something, but I have never regretted keeping silent." Transl. Henry John Walker, Memorable Deeds and Sayings: One Thousand Tales from Ancient Rome (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Inc, 2004), 241.

¹⁸⁵ My translation.

¹⁸⁶ Schmidt-Görg, *Opera omnia*, VIII.

remarks were by the manuscript's calligrapher Robertus Quercentius, a known poet, they provide insight into the uses for the surviving copied manuscript, but little else.

5.2.2 Gombert's Setting

All the *Magnificats* of the cycle generally follow the same form: the twelve verses are set in *alternatim* with even verses set polyphonically and odd verses intoned. The polyphonic verses in Gombert's *Magnificat* cycle are mostly for four voices and generally follow the conventions that Crook outlines in his study, with only a few significant exceptions. The numbers of voices in each polyphonic verse were altered to correspond to rhetorical and symbolic customs. For example, except in the *Magnificats* on the third tone and for the seventh tone, the composer conformed to the convention of using fewer voices in verse eight, which describes hunger and emptiness, than in the polyphonic verse which precedes it. 187

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¹⁸⁷ Gombert does not provide the symbolic representation of the hungry either in verse eight in the Magnificat on the third tone, nor on the seventh tone. Whereas the discrepancies in the *Magnificat* on the third tone can be explained by its multivoice plan, there are no clear grounds for the move away from convention in the *Magnificat septimi toni*.

Table 29: Magnificat Text 188

1. Magnificat* anima mea Dominum

2. Et exultavit spiritus meus* in Deo salutari meo.

3. Quia respexit humilitatem

Ancillae suae:*
Ecce enim ex hoc

Beatam me dicent omnes generations.

4. Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est:* Et sanctum nomen ejus

5. Et misericordia eius in progenies et progenies* timentibus eum

6. Fecit potentiam in brachio suo* dispersit superbos mente cordis sui

7. Deposuit potentes de sede* et exaltavit humiles

8. Esurientes implevit bonis* et divites dimsisit inanes

9. Suscepit Israhel puerum suum* memorari misericordiae

10. Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros* Abraham et semini eius in saecula

11. Gloria Patri, et Filio,* et Spiritui Sancto

12. Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper,* et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

My soul magnifies the Lord And my spirit has rejoiced

in God my savior

For he has regarded the low estate

Of his handmaiden:

For behold, henceforth all generations

Shall call me blessed.

For he who is mighty has done great things to me

And holy is his name

And his mercy on them who fear him

from generation to generation

He has shown strength with his arm:

He has scattered the proud

He has deposed the mighty from their seats,

And exalted the humble

The hungry he has filled with good things

And the rich he has sent empty away.

He has helped his servant Israel

In remembrance of his mercy

As it was spoken to our fathers,

To Abraham and his seed forever

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son and to the

Holy Spirit

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall

be, world without end. Amen.

Another convention to which Gombert adheres is the addition of a voice part in the final polyphonic verse. This convention, also found in the Agnus Dei II of sixteenth-century mass settings, may be the reasoning behind one the most interesting divergences from conventions in the cycle. In verse ten of the seventh *Magnificat*, Gombert reduces the number of voices in the setting, but all other settings in the cycle increase by one voice from verse eight to verse ten. ¹⁸⁹ It is not immediately clear why Gombert chose to reduce the seventh setting to so few voices here, but this unique moment is "righted" in the final polyphonic verse. The composer adds two

¹⁸⁸ The asterisk in each verse denotes the caesura.

¹⁸⁹ Gombert decreases the number of voices in the tenth verse of the fourth *Magnificat*.

voices in the final verse, the setting that would have existed had Gombert continued in the general procedures found in the other *Magnificats*.

Table 30: Comparison of numbers of voices in Gombert's Octo Tonorum Cycle 190

•	Magnificat							
Text	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth and	Seventh	Eighth
	Tone	Tone	and	Tone	Tone	FirstTone	Tone	Tone
			Eight					
			Thone					
	Number of Voices							
2. Et exultavit spiritus meus in	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4
Deo								
salutari meo			_					
4. Quia fecit mihi magna qui	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
potens est et sanctum nomen eius								
6. Fecit potentiam in brachio	3	3	5	4	4	4	2	4
suo dispersit superbos mente	3	3	3	+		-	2	7
cordis sui								
8.Esurientes implevit bonis	4	2	6	3	2	3	4	3
et divites dimisit inanes								
10. Sicut locutus est ad patres	5	4	7	4	4	4	3	5
nostros Abraham et semini eius								
in saecula								
12. Sicut erat in principio, et	6	5	8	6	5	5	5	6
nunc, et semper, et in saecula								
saeculorum. Amen								

Gombert's polyphonic verses are modeled on the plainchant verses both melodically and formally. Formally, plainchant verses may be divided into two main sections. The first section includes the *initium*, or opening figure of the tone, which rises to the reciting tone or tenor, followed by the mediant or semi-cadence, and finally breaks at the caesura. The caesura is "a

 $^{^{190}}$ The third Magnificat is in bold type because it follows an alternate compositional plan.

pause in poetic metre, frequently near the middle of a line; such pauses are often reflected in musical settings."¹⁹¹ This pause plays an important role in our analysis that is essential to the discussion of the Magnificats below. The second section of the plainchant verse often resumes at the mediant pitch and then ends with a *differentium*, or one of many cadential patterns that transition the tone into the antiphon that follows it.

To further describe form at this specific level in polyphonic verses we may return to Crook's outline of the form of the *Magnificat* in the fifteenth century. Particularly, we return to his suggestion that the structure of each polyphonic verse derives from the structure of the tone. Using both Crook and Bullock's suggestions we may infer that the caesura of the tone would transfer directly to the polyphonic verse. Therefore, polyphonic verses are also divided into two sections. Using text as a guide, the caesura in a polyphonic verse should occur at the corresponding moment in text in the tone. It may be assumed then that the musical material adjacent to the caesura in the polyphonic verse should contain a significant sign that "represents" the pause: a strong cadence, change in declamation or grouping, or a combination of these.

In my study of Gombert's polyphonic Magnificat verses, particularly the multivoice verses, I have observed the following pattern in regards to Gombert's treatment of the caesura: in most cases, the sections following the verse's exposition use the accumulation of tension to advance to the caesura. I define the exposition as the opening segment that presents the *exordium* in all voices and ends at the first significant structural cadence.¹⁹² Given the characteristics of the

¹⁹¹ Alison Bullock, "Caesura," In *The Oxford Companion to Music*, edited by Alison Latham, *Oxford Music Online*,

http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e1076 (accessed October 26, 2008).

post-Josquin generation, we should assume imitation and counterpoint play a significant role in the creation of this tension, which is released at the caesura. How this tension is created and released in multivoice verses as opposed to verses for four and five voices is discussed below.

Schmidt-Görg suggests that at times the caesura may be obscured. He writes, "Where psalms sung in plainsong manner...have normally a clear caesura (the so-called mediant), Gombert overlaps the structural post of his composition. It is true that the opening parts of his verses' voices tend to cadence on this mediant, but this is again and again veiled by new parts." ¹⁹³ Though what Schmidt-Görg suggests is to some extent true, I would argue that some of these moments are "veiled." The "structural post" may be accompanied by overlapping entrances, but a well-defined cadence may still highlight that moment. Particularly in many multivoice verses, the creation of tension occurs to the extent that overlapping entrances could not obscure these moments. What follows below is an examination of how Gombert approaches the caesura in both conventional and multivoice settings through imitation, counterpoint, cadences or an amalgam of these techniques. For a brief introduction to Gombert's treatment of the caesura, I will first discuss the approach to the caesura in a four-voice verse in his fourth Magnificat. Because four-voice settings dominate the *Magnificat* cycle, it would be beneficial to describe the approach as it most commonly appears. After this introduction, I discuss how Gombert approaches the caesura in two six-voice verses.

¹⁹² The *exordium* is a term I have chosen to borrow from Bernhard Meier and Alan Lewis. Lewis describes the exordium as designating "the imitative point at the beginning of a piece or of a *pars*." Bernhard Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony*, trans. Ellen S. Beebe (New York: Broude Brothers, 1988) and Alan Lewis, "'Un certo che di grandezza': Nicolas Gombert's First Book of Four-Part Motets (1539)" (Ph.D diss., University of California-Berkeley, 1994), 35.

¹⁹³ Joseph Schmidt-Görg, *Opera omnia*, VIII.

5.2.2.1 Magnificat quarti toni: Two Examples of the Treatment of the Caesura

As is the practice with most compositions in the post-Josquin style, it is mostly through the comparative strength of cadences that the composer marked the caesura. For example, in verse ten of the *Magnificat quarti toni*, cadences are obscured either with overlapping entrances as Schmidt-Görg describes, or are evaded. The formulations and preparations of each cadence are relatively conventional, yet the cadence that marks the caesura stands out when compared to the preceding cadences (m. 22).

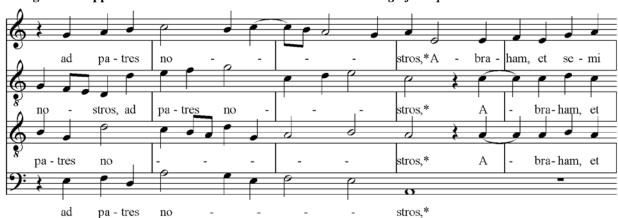


Figure 53: Approach to the caesura in the Tenth Verse in the Magnificat quarti toni m. 19-22

Unlike the two-voice cadences that precede it, the cadential preparation at the caesura is not obscured by counterpoint. Three of the four voices are engaged in the preparation of the cadence on the final of the tone (A), while the tenor 1 voice moves in a similar rhythmic motion as the cadencing pitches. Employing more than two voices in preparing the cadence in a four-voice composition is not crucial; therefore, this cadential moment at the caesura is more

significant when compared to the other cadences that precede it.¹⁹⁴ The only other occasion in this verse where a cadence features more than two voices is at the final cadence. Additionally, as all voices are either involved in the cadence or moving in a similar rhythmic pattern, the cadence at the caesura is the first moment of the verse where the succeeding point of imitation has not already begun before the completion of the current section.

The compositional procedure after the caesura in this verse is notably different from the procedures before the break. This sudden shift in declamation further emphasizes the caesura as a significant structural marking. The post-caesura text is set syllabically as a homophonic trio and is the first significant grouping of voices after the *exordium*. This trio is a cohesive unit that is paired imitatively with a homophonic duo. The new declamation, in combination with the full-stop cadence at m. 22 is a typical polyphonic representation of the caesura in verses for four or five voices.

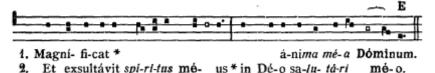
In verse twelve of the *Magnificat* on the fourth tone, Gombert combines cadences, unexpected vertical sonorities, counterpoint and vocal grouping in creating tension that emphasizes the caesura. Specifically, in addition to merely using the strength of cadences to mark the caesura, Gombert uses specific types such as Phrygian cadences to lead to the caesura. However, to grasp firmly the complexity of the role of the cadence in this particular section, it is necessary to briefly discuss the importance of the canticle tone and its relationship to the melody and structure through the vertical sonorities of the verse.

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¹⁹⁴ Meier, *Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony*, 90. "A two-voice compositional framework is the core of all cadences, their historical point of departure, and their common characteristic."

Based on Crook's description of the sixteenth-century *Magnificat*, we assume that the canticle tone is embedded in the melodic material of the final verse of this work. But instead, Gombert presents the canticle tone by utilizing the contour of the first half of the formula as an imitative subject, particularly in the *exordium*. In this case he also isolated the *initium* as a motive within the structure of the work.

Figure 54: The Fourth *Magnificat* Tone and the Initium. 195



Initium



Not only is the motive present at the exordium of the verse, but it is heard throughout the first half. With the exception of the final of the tone on E, the major components of the tone, the first pitch of the *initium*, reciting tone and mediant, are all on A. Accordingly, many cadences are on A. The exposition and an interesting transitional section both end with cadences on that pitch. However, in the sections directly after the transition which lead to the caesura Gombert shifts away from A sonorities and moves to cadences on D and, most surprisingly, on F. As stated

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¹⁹⁵ Liber usualis, 216.

earlier, the Magnificats are a set of melodic formulae, and polyphonic works built upon them must be integrated within the modal system. The fourth Magnificat tone is most closely related to Mode 3 and the cadences found within Gombert's polyphonic verses in this tone, on E, A and C, are common in this mode. Though the canticle tones and Magnificats operate within the modal system, Gombert does not cadence on the conventional expected pitches in the mode, but rather on important structural points in the canticle tone. Sometimes these points correlate with conventional cadential pitches in the mode. However, in the cases where they do not correlate, the justification of an "outside" cadential pitch may be found in the canticle tone. However, the cadential moments on D and F cannot be justified by the tone. It is unclear as to why Gombert chose to use such remote sonorities; nevertheless these sonorities are indispensible in creating the tension released at the caesura.

While Gombert's compositional style is marked by the dominance of imitation and counterpoint as organizing principles, repetition is is the primary means of creating tension at the caesura. Yet, here Gombert builds tension by the use of repetition in dynamic ways. After the transitional section, the text declamation shifts from melismatic to loosely syllabic (See Figure 55). Additionally, the texture shifts from free polyphony to a homophonic declamation. Though groupings are blurred through the close proximity of entrances, strict cadences at every four breves regulate the texture. Also, as the section becomes increasingly syllabic, the imitation is presented in metrically regular and alternating paired groups whose members do not remain entirely faithful to their assignments (m. 16-27). As the piece moves closer to the caesura, Gombert introduces the irregular cadences that increase tension and propel the section to the caesura.

16 et (princi) pi o, et nun, et sem et nunc. sem per, sem per, et nunc, et, nunc, et sem per, nunc, et et et prin nunc, et per, sem nunc.. et sem per, sem per, et nunc, et per, nunc. per, et nunc, et 22 0 per,* in la, et sae - cu 6 nunc, et - cu o per*, sem per, et nunc, et sem in 9: ₹ per,* et nunc, et sem et nunc, et sem cu - la, per, et nunc, et per,*

Figure 55: Verse 12 at the caesura (measures 16-27) of Gombert's Magnificat Quarti Toni

5.2.2.2 Magnificat octavi toni: Verse 12

In the final *Magnificat*, Gombert's procedures closely resemble those of the fourth *Magnificat*. The section leading to the caesura features repetition and closely occurring cadences to prepare the cadence that marks the caesura. Though the cadences are on pitches regular to the canticle tone and mode, they are mostly evaded. The evasion is accomplished through an ostinato-like

melodic pattern (See Figure 56). The ostinato is not confined to the bass voices. Instead, it is passed from the bass voices to the cantus voice while other voices prepare cadences. Also, like the previously discussed verse, the cadences are evaded three times before concluding on the perfect C cadence. Like the Phrygian E cadences on the approach to the caesura in the fourth *Magnificat*, tension is created here by repetition. Yet in the *Magnificat octavi toni*, the tension is released by completing the cadence on C that had been evaded three times before in measures 22-27.



Figure 56: Mm. 20-29 of Magnificat octavi toni, verse 12

5.2.2.3 Magnificat primi toni: Verse 12- Another Approach to the Caesura

There is at least one case within the cycle where the counterpoint, imitation, and strength of cadence do not point to the caesura. The final verse of Gombert's *Magnificat* on the first tone opens in a similar manner as previously mentioned multivoice verses, but exhibits distinct methods of imitation and counterpoint in the sections leading to the caesura. Particularly unique

is the fact that the strongest cadence of the verse does not correspond to the caesura of the text, but rather, it occurs after the caesura of the text.

In the exposition, this verse uses the same procedures as the exposition in the twelfth verse in the fourth Magnificat and is succeeded by transitional material. Here groups are paired in homophonic duos and trios that are mediated by evaded and closely-occurring cadences. The groupings are metrically regular. Also, like the previously-discussed fourth Magnificat, this stability is broken down by imitation. Additionally, some cadential preparations are irregular and Phrygian; specifically both D Phrygian cadences and a lone evaded A Phrygian cadence are found within the section. The cadential moment that accompanies the caesura in the text is then followed by transitional material accompanied by descending scale patterns and a melismatic declamation. It behaves neither as a developing section, nor a second exposition, but as a transitional section. The imitative entrances occur closely together. The voices come together to conclude in a very regular preparation of the cadence on Bb on the text "et in saecula" (m. 31). This cadence is by far the strongest cadence in the verse, and the cadential pitch is present in four of the six voices (versus three of the six voices with no bass support at the text-based caesura). The imitation that follows this section is double slash-through, or "V" imitation on the text "saeculorum Amen," which reinforces the start of a new section.

When the transitional nature of the material that follows the caesura, the strong cadence in the middle of a text clause and subsequent major change in declamation are combined, this section becomes increasingly problematic. 196

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¹⁹⁶ I have considered the possibility that there may be a problem with text underlay at this moment. Given the clear syllabic declamation in the melody, that seems unlikely, however.

Figure 57: Approach to the Caesura in the Magnificat octavi toni



Even if we look instead at the case of the final movement on the fourth tone, where imitation and/or counterpoint are used in tandem with unexpected vertical sonorities in an effort to justfiy the problems with the caesura in the twelfth verse in the first *Magnificat*, the case is still problematic. In the final movement of the *Magnificat* on the first tone, Gombert does not cadence on the same pitch at the caesura that he does in the other Magnificats of the cycle. First, we must consider the importance of the mediant in the analysis of the first *Magnificat*. As previously mentioned, though the *Magnificats* operate within a modal framework, cadential

pitches and other significant vertical moments correspond with significant pitches within the tone. Gustave Reese notes that, "agreement between the tonal center of the mode to which a Psalm Tone corresponds and the tonal center of a polyphonic setting of that Psalm Tone...is by no means always to be found." This fact is especially important in the first *Magnificat* as Gombert transposes the mode for this work to Mode 2 on G. This transposition is necessary for what Reese calls "structural suitability." 198

If we are to assume that as in the Magnificat on the fourth tone, vertical sonorities and cadences are essential in creating the tension at the caesura, the sonority at the caesura in verse twelve of the first Magnificat here is out of place. The cadence at the caesura in verse twelve in the *Magnificat primi toni* on the first tone is weaker than the one at measure the one discussed here, but it is a regular pitch, the final of the tone. Yet when compared to the cadence at the caesura in the other multivoice *Magnificats*, this moment is an anomaly.

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¹⁹⁷ Reese, "Tonal Centers," 71. Schmidt-Görg also writes in his foreword to the edition that, "In harmonic matters particular attention is drawn to the endings of compositions. They are not in all cases in keeping with the tonic of the ecclesiastical mode in question, but frequently with the proper final of the particular psalmodic mode. Thus in the fifth *Magnificat* instead of the final F chord, as required by the Lydian mode, there are the chords on A or D, corresponding to the final note of the psalmodic mode in question."

¹⁹⁸ Reese, "Tonal Centers," 68. "There being eight modes, in any one of which the antiphon may be cast, there are, basically, eight formulas to which the *Magnificat* may be intoned—one corresponding in structural suitability to each of the modes."

Table 31: Comparison of significant pitches in Gombert's Magnifcat on Tone 1 and the transposed mode

Tone	Initium	Mediant	Final	
1	F	A	D	
In transposed G-re	G	Bb	D	

The final verse of the Magnificat on the fourth tone is the only occasion where the cadential pitch at the caesura does not correspond to the mediant pitch of the psalm tone. ¹⁹⁹ In every other six-voice verse, including verse six in the *Magificat tertii et octavi toni*, the pitch at the caesura corresponds to the mediant of the tone. Yet in Gombert's Magnificat on the first tone, the only cadence on the mediant of the tone occurs after the caesura, which ends the problematic transitional section. When compared to the other six-voice finale verses, the caesura seems "misplaced."

To summarize, the procedures of the caesura in the *Magnificat primi toni* are unique in Gombert's Magnificat cycle for the following reasons:

- 1. instead of cadencing on the mediant pitch at the caesura as is found in all other six-voice finales, Gombert cadences on the final of the tone;
- 2. the musical material following the caesura does not function as a "second exposition" or as a section that starts a new idea, but as a transitional section; and
- 3. the cadence at the end of the transitional section is not only stronger than the cadence at the caesura, but is on the mediant pitch. The

¹⁹⁹ Also, the *Magnificat primi toni* is the only work within the cycle in which the final of the canticle tone corresponds to the final of the mode.

mediant serves as the cadence point at the caesura in all other six-voice verses and six-voice finales.

It is unlikely that this moment is a mistake, but rather an alternative approach to the caesura within the *octo tonorum* cycle.

As we have seen, in the final six-voice verses of each Magnificat, Gombert adheres to a particular pattern in the first half of the verse: he presents the exposition, followed by a transition, and then material which uses cadences, grouped imitation, and direct repetition to lead to the caesura. Though the style of pervading imitation brings with it the idea that imitation will dominate the texture, in the *Magnificats* there is equality between horizontal and vertical elements.

5.2.2.4 Magnificat on the Third or Eighth Tone

Gombert's *Magnificat* on the third tone is one of two works in the cycle that may be sung in multiple tones. ²⁰⁰ The third *Magnificat* may be performed in the third or eighth tone; this modal flexibility provides an additional dimension to this work that is emphasized by its unusual multivoice setting. Gombert remained true to convention in this work by setting each even verse polyphonically. However, as each subsequent polyphonic verse unfolds, the composer adds a voice part. The second verse, the first polyphonic verse, is set for three voices and by the final polyphonic verse Gombert expands the multivoice setting to include eight voices. The role of

²⁰⁰ Gombert's *Magnificat* for the Sixth Tone can also be used for the First.

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this work as a case within a case allows us to analyze the composer's style locally as its own entity and more generally within the formal plan of the *octo tonorum* cycle. Due to the limitations of this study we are primarily concerned with the final three verses, verses eight, ten and twelve, which are set for six, seven, and eight voices. However, for a more general understanding of how this *Magnificat* works we must first discuss how a polyphonic *Magnificat* may function in two tones.

The answer is found in a comparison of the canticle tones. Both tones three and eight are similar because they share the same primary pitches in the tone; both tones have G as their initial pitch and feature C as their mediant and reciting tone. What differs between the two tones is their final, which is A for tone three and G for tone eight. Gombert maneuvers the conflicting finals by providing two endings for each polyphonic verse.

Considering the lengthening of the verse, a comparison of the six-voice verse in this Magnificat with others in the cycle presents potential issues. First, there may be discrepancies in form. Despite there being an "extra" section to incorporate the eighth tone, the verses do not appear to be significantly longer than other verses on a single tone. The composer must, in the case of the third tone, present a fully-developed verse in a shorter span of time. Additionally, he must provide a smooth transition between the endings. There may exist, consequently, issues of compensation, *i.e.* having to prepare the final cadence earlier than in other six-voice verses. Secondly, because of the use of the six-voice setting as verse eight, there should be potential disparities in text declamation and in lengths of phrases. Thus, comparing the six-voice verse in the *Magnificat* on tone three across the cycle may be a case of apples and oranges, but this study would be remiss in excluding such an examination.

A particular difference between this six-voice verse and the others in the cycle is that the composer takes a different approach to the caesura than in other six-voice verses. While the multivoice verses of the *Magnificats* on tones one, four and eight feature a combination of repetition, imitative groupings and cadences in the musical material approaching the caesura, the section directly preceding the caesura in verse ten features free melodic counterpoint. The scalar passage features an ascending/descending or descending/ascending melodic contour and leads to the caesura and cadence on C.



Figure 58: Approach to the caesura in Magnificat tertii et octavi toni, verse 10

The closest comparable moment within the cycle is the seemingly misplaced section in the six-voice twelfth verse on the first tone. Instead, when considered in the context of the *Magnificat tertii et octavi toni*, we may align this verse with the verse preceding it. We may deduce then that though this verse seems to behave superficially like other six-voice verses, such as including a fully developed exposition, a transition section and conventional cadences, adjustments are made so that the particular verse adheres to the general procedures of the particular *Magnificat*.

Other reasons for its dissimilarities to other six-voice verses are likely its place in the *Magnificat*, as verse eight, and differences in text which will be discussed in more detail below.

As suggested earlier, Gombert likely had a predetermined multivoice plan in mind which offers this study a rare opportunity to examine changes in compositional procedures within an environment with similar characteristics. Specifically it allows us to study works of varying numbers of voices based on the same melodic structure. Whereas motets based on the same chant also give us similar conditions, motets may be separated by long stretches of time. Composers may change their style in the interim. Yet we may be relatively sure that the *Magnificat* verses were composed within a small time frame. For a comprehensive view of how the final three verses constitute a significant change in style, it would be beneficial to provide an analysis which includes the three-, four-, and five-voice verses. I will continue my analysis by foregrounding imitation as it applies in the structure and sectional changes.

Verses Two, Four and Six

In every polyphonic verse in this cycle there are three consistent formal markers: the cadence marking the end of the exposition, the caesura and accompanying cadence, and the cadence marking the conclusion of the first ending. That the sections between these markers become more complex as voices are added is assumed at this juncture. This section examines how and in what manner the composer makes the transitions across these markers and the role of imitation in these transitions.

In the first three polyphonic movements of the Magnificat on the third tone, the transitions across these markers are clear and conventional. For example, in verse two, all three voices

make the cadence at the major section markers with one exception. At the end of the exposition the tenor voice rests during the cadence to begin the new point of imitation (m. 9). Also, in the sixth verse, Gombert uses free counterpoint to lead to the caesura and then emphasizes the start of a new section, by providing "V" imitation in the five-voice texture (m. 20). In this verse Gombert also introduces a method of providing continuity between the first and second endings which is used again in verse eight.

This brief dotted fragment recurs in some form in every verse after it usually is paired with a syllabic declamation. Ultimately verses two, four and six are the foundation which presents the ideas that will be used later in the multivoice verses. However, as more voices are added, the methods and characteristics used in the first three polyphonic verses become increasingly unrecognizable.

Table 32: Comparison of voice settings in the polyphonic movements for Gombert's *Magnificat* on the Third or Eighth Tone

Text			
2) Et exultavit spiritus meus in Deo			
salutari meo			
4) Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens			
est et sanctum nomen eius			
6) Fecit potentiam in brachio suo	5		
dispersit superbos mente cordis sui			
8) Esurientes implevit bonis			
et divites dimisit inanes			
10) Sicut locutus est ad patres	7		
nostros Abraham et semini eius in			
saecula			
12) Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et			
semper, et in saecula saeculorum.			
Amen			

munc, et sem - per, et munc et sem - per, et in sae - cu - la sem - per, et munc, et sem -

Figure 59: Measures 21-32 in the Magnificat primi toni²⁰¹

As the number of voices increases in the settings of the third *Magnificat*, the following trends may be observed:

- 1. the composer relies more heavily on structural devices such as *cantus firmi*;
- 2. vocal groupings are larger and more complex; and

 $^{^{201}}$ In this example the asterisk denotes the text-based caesura and the double asterisk denotes where the cadence on the mediant tone occurs.

melodies are less faithful to the intonation formula when it is presented as an imitative subject.

Verse Eight: Structural Devices in the Third Magnificat

Though his six-voice verses behavesgenerally like a four- or five-voice setting, the six-voice settings in the *Magnificats* also function as the threshold for certain structural devices. One structural device, an ostinato, appears in this verse, but is not fully developed. Instead, the composer implies an ostinato at the opening (m. 4-9) and concluding (m. 37-43) sections of this verse. The ostinato has both a structural and thematic function in this verse. In both the exposition and in the second ending, the ostinato remains faithful to the melodic contour of the tone. It is impossible to know whether the composer intended this ostinato to foreshadow the later devices in this *Magnificat*, but its appearance in this verse in two places is an interesting occurrence.²⁰²

Verse Ten

In the following verse, the structural device is more explicit. The cantus voice presents a *cantus* firmus on the Magnificat tone. The device is almost completely faithful to the tone but for a slight alteration in rhythm in the preparation for the cadence. However, the *cantus firmus* does

 202 The second appearance of the ostinato occurs in the second verse and thus is only present if the *Magnificat* is intended for the eighth tone.

not remain in the cantus voice throughout the verse, but instead is placed in the first tenor voice after the caesura at measure 16 (Figure 60). Though this presentation in the lower voice obscures it, the *cantus firmus* remains an integral part of the scaffolding of this verse. In no other section is its importance clearer than in measures 24-25, where stability of the verse is eroded (through cross relations). In a surpising syncopated display, the voices around the *cantus firmus* are a descending sequence from an A sonority to an F sonority. This section concludes with a strong cadence on A. After the first ending, the *cantus firmus* changes parts yet again, this time to the third tenor voice (m. 29). The melodic contour of this *cantus firmus* melody is altered to conform to the formula of the eighth tone.



Figure 60: Measures 22-20 of verse 10 in the Magnificat tertii et octavi toni

Verse Twelve

The final eight-voice verse uses yet another type of structural device as Gombert employs two canons at the octave to scaffold the verse (B1/A + T2/C). Interestingly, the two canons are not a *cantus firmus* presentation of the tone but instead are newly composed melodies. According to Crook, the appearance of the *cantus firmi* and the expanded forces within the verse place Gombert alongside composers such as Morales, Festa and Senfl and adds "greater solemnity and greater artifice to the end of the canticle." These fixed melodies are the melodic hinges for the verse and allow flexibility in the melodic variation in remaining voices but also restrict Gombert in his groupings.

One vocal combination the composer uses is alternation between high and low voices. This combination manifests in an odd manner in this piece as the two outside voices, the second bass voice and the canon-bound cantus voice, seem to operate independently within the setting. Whereas the bass 2 voice had a more integral role within the groupings and texture in the previous verses, in the final verse, the bass 2 voice is almost constant throughout the entire verse, resting for only seven beats (Figure 61, m. 10).

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²⁰³ Crook, *Imitation Magnificats*, 18.

Figure 61: M. 9-17 of verse 12 of the Magnificat tertii et octavi toni



This constant engagement suggests an important role for it in the stability of the verse. Indeed, the bass 2 voice introduces the verse and presents most new texts or serves as a new point of imitation.

Similarly, the cantus voice, which serves as the second voice of a canon with the second tenor voice, moves outside the groupings and structure in the remaining voices. The two voices demonstrate their independent roles most prominently in measures 13-16 where the composer has split the choir into two low/high antiphonal choirs. However, the cantus voice remains constant throughout the low-voice grouping and the bass 2 is a part of the homophonic high-voice grouping.

This low/high grouping is only one of multiple ways Gombert divides the ensemble in this verse. Though the groupings do often mimic the antiphonal response in the low/high section, the groupings are not as clearly defined. For example, the measures before the low/high grouping, nine through twelve, present the same effect, but are grouped altus, tenor 1, tenor 3, and tenor 4,

followed by a grouping of all tenor and bass voices and finally the altus and all tenor voices. In the final grouping before the low/high grouping (m. 12) the bass 2 and cantus voices are present but are functioning in their independent manner. It is likely that these two outside voices are functioning as transitions to the low/high grouping, especially in the case of the bass 2. This voice provides a continuous horizontal melodic connection between these sections while acting vertically by supporting the cadence on C before the low grouping.

Finally, as more voices are added to the texture throughout the Magnificat, Gombert adheres less strictly to the *Magnificat* tone as an imitative subject. Alvin Johnson suggests that "since the melodic formula is stereotyped and also limited in its fund of melodic ideas, the composer was forced to draw upon his own imagination and inventive powers in order to maintain variety and continuing musical interest." These imaginative and inventive powers could easily be perceived by an observer as a degradation of the tone. However, Gombert is not deviating from the tone or degrading it, but is providing continual variations on the melody within a context of changing compositional processes. For example, comparatively, presenting the *intitium* of the intonation formula as a *cantus firmus* over the course of three measures is less recognizable than in a brief imitative motive. Counterintuitively, as the compositional procedures becomes less complicated (this is assuming that devices such as canon are less "work" for the composer than a duet because one does not have to create two melodies but one) the composer is more flexible in his melodies. Melodies that were quotations of the tone at the outset of the work become allusions to the tone by the final verse.

²⁰⁴ Alvin Johnson, "Review" *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spring, 1959): 85.

5.3 SUMMARY CONCLUSION

Gombert presents a cohesive set of imitative works united by melodic theme and vocal setting in his *octo tonorum* Magnificat cycle. However, despite the composer's aim of making the set a cohesive whole they are individual works with their own compositional plans. The Magnificat genre in the sixteenth century promoted extreme melodic variations which lend themselves to multivoice settings. Though Gombert provides fascinating deviation with settings like those on the third tone, he is contributing within a well-established multivoice tradition.

6.0 CONCLUSION

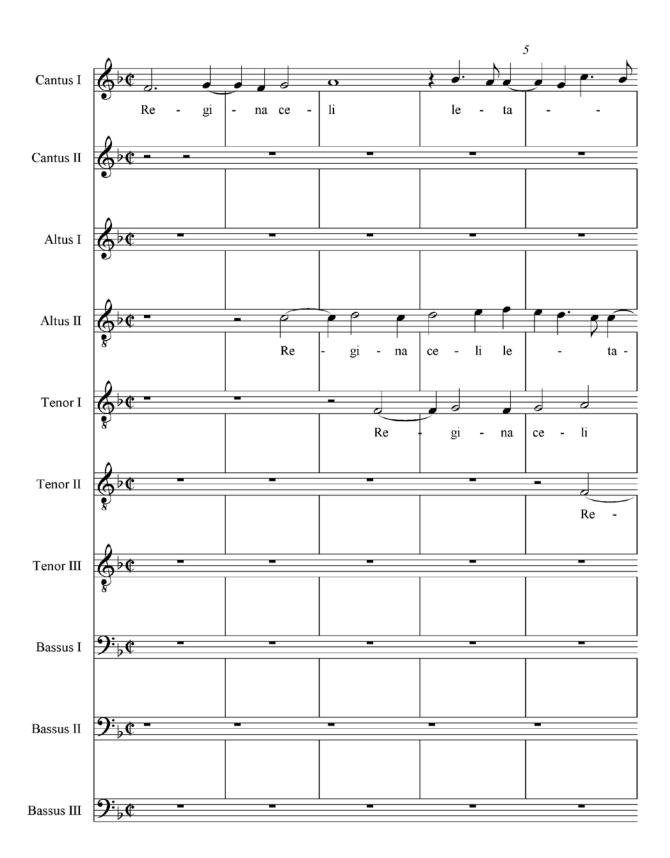
Nicolas Gombert's multivoice sacred music is a body of works full of diverse compositional techniques. Unlike his music for four and five voices, his multivoice settings require a greater compositional dexterity than do his settings for smaller ensembles. It appears that the greater the number of voices employed in the multivoice settings, the more Gombert relied on scaffolding compositional devices such as *cantus firmus* and canon. The six-voice setting has the smallest number of scaffolding techniques, and only one of twenty-two motets employ a *cantus firmus*. Yet, a higher percentage of settings for more than six voices use *cantus firmus* or canon. This study investigates and analyzes Gombert's multivoice sacred works in order to understand how (and why) the composer's multivoice sacred works required a more compositional complexity than did his works for four and five voices.

Among the various avenues for further research include a study on the correlation between the Easter season and Gombert's sacred multivoice works. An overwhelming number of these works are evidently for Easter. For example, Gombert's ten- and twelve-voice *Regina caeli* settings and his *Missa Tempore paschali* are all for Easter. Additionally, some works in the complex, like *Tulerunt Dominum* and *Sustinuimus pacem*, are Easter compositions, as is the *contrafactum O Iesu Christe* (though likely not authentic). This is probably no coincidence.

Also, the chronology of Gombert's music remains sorely underdeveloped. The primary problem in creating a chronology is the murkiness of his biography. The next stage in creating a chronology would be to outline the travels of the Emperor after 1526 and until Gombert's disappearance from the chapel rolls in 1540. Such a chronology would be a significant step in Gombert research.

7.0 APPENDIX 1

I transcribed the ten-voice Regina caeli from VerA218, Verona, Accademia filarmonica MS. B218.

































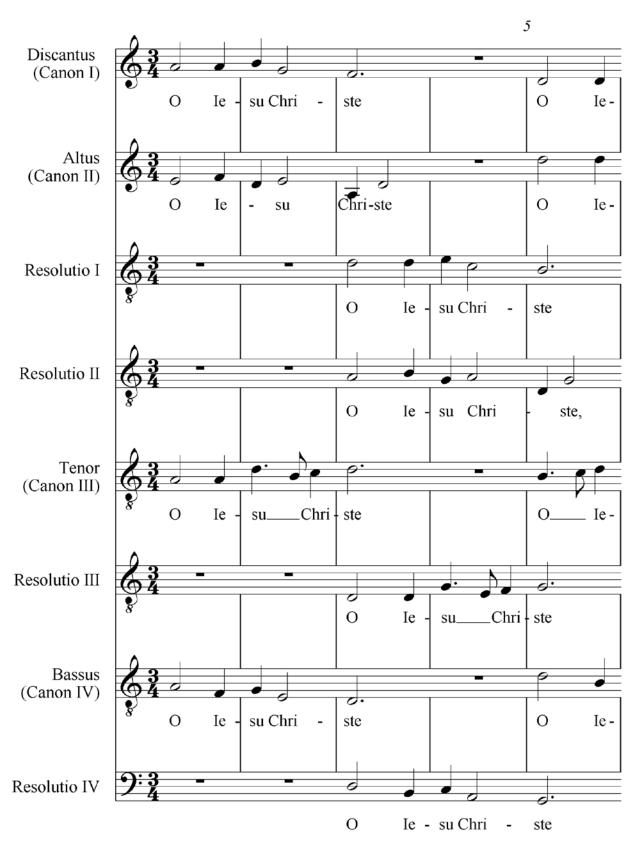


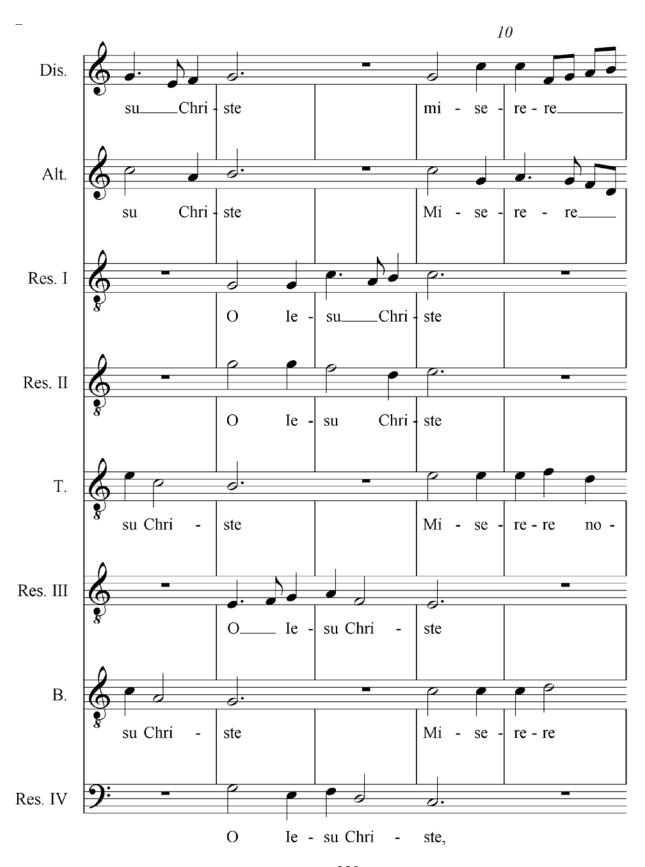


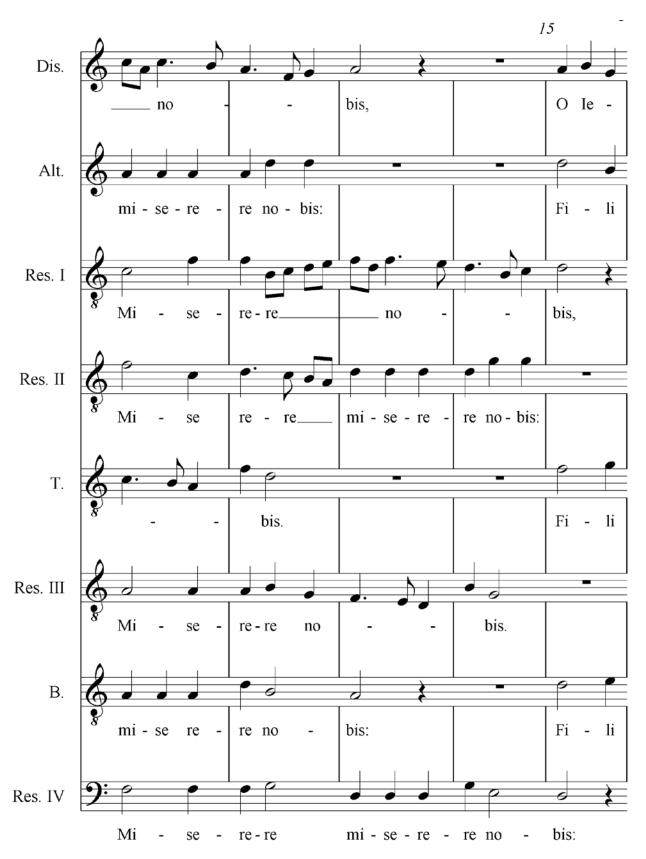


8.0 APPENDIX 2

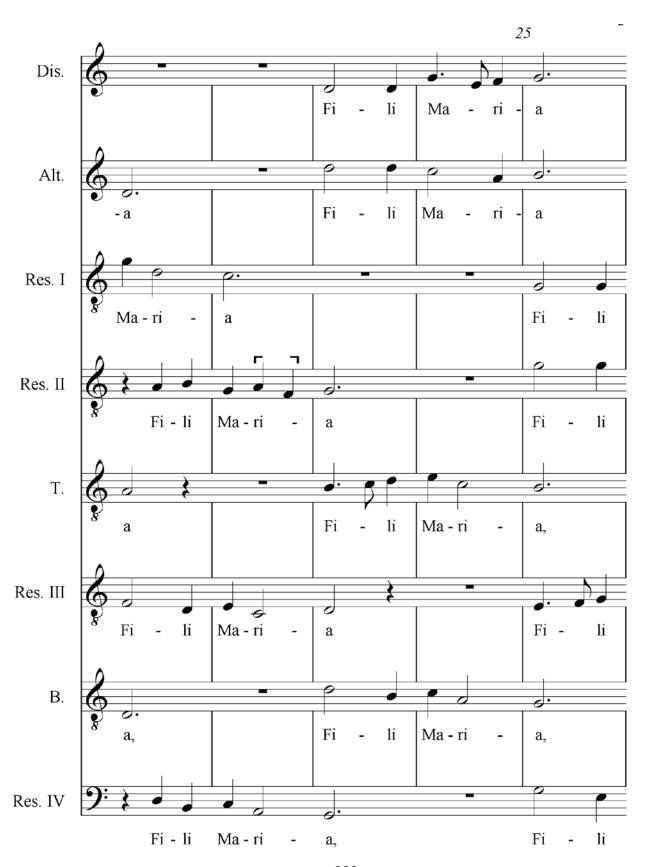
I transcribed *O Iesu Christe* from *Cantiones triginta selectissimae: quinque, sex, septem: octo: duodecim et plurium vocum....* Nuremburg: Ulrich Neuber, 1568. RISM 1568⁷.

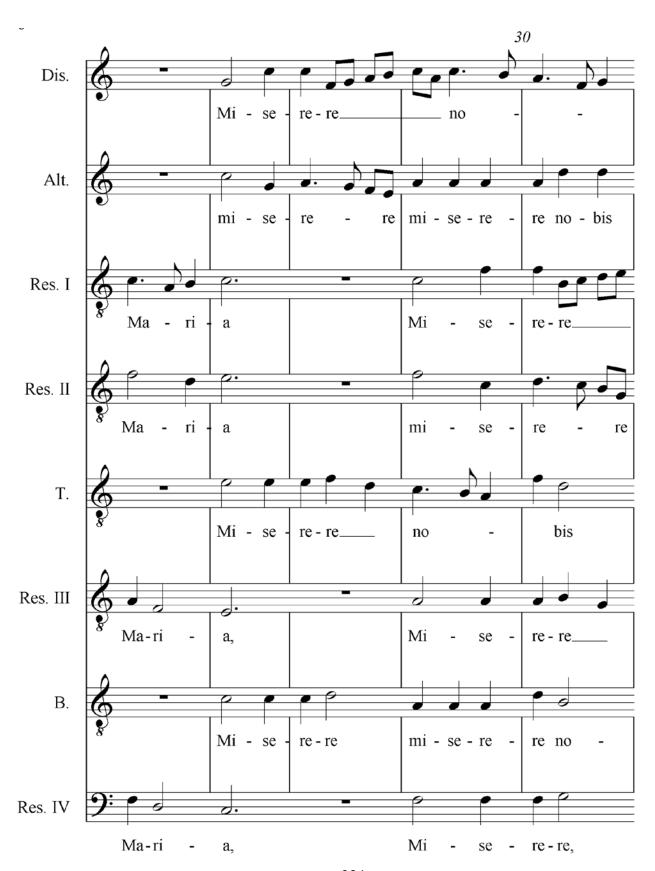


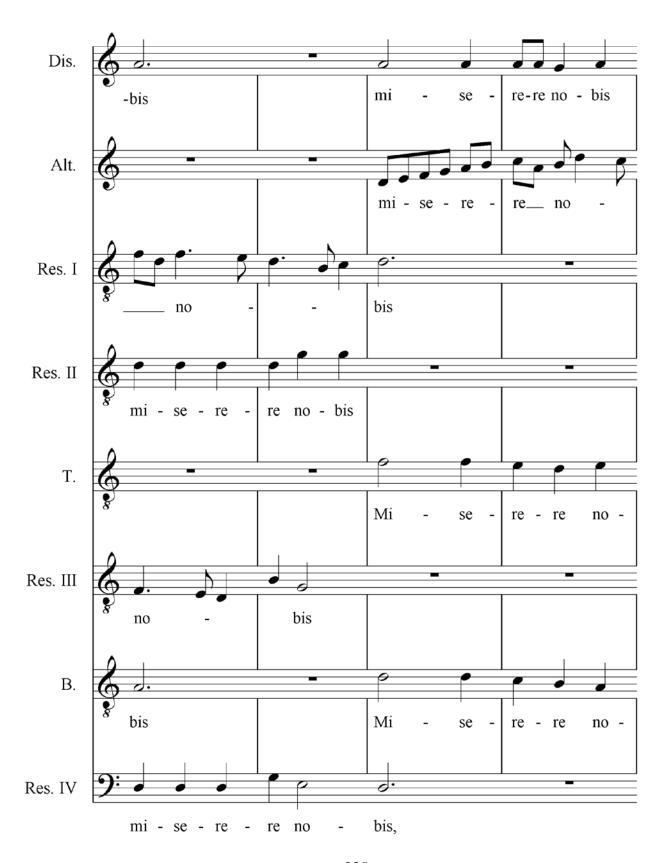




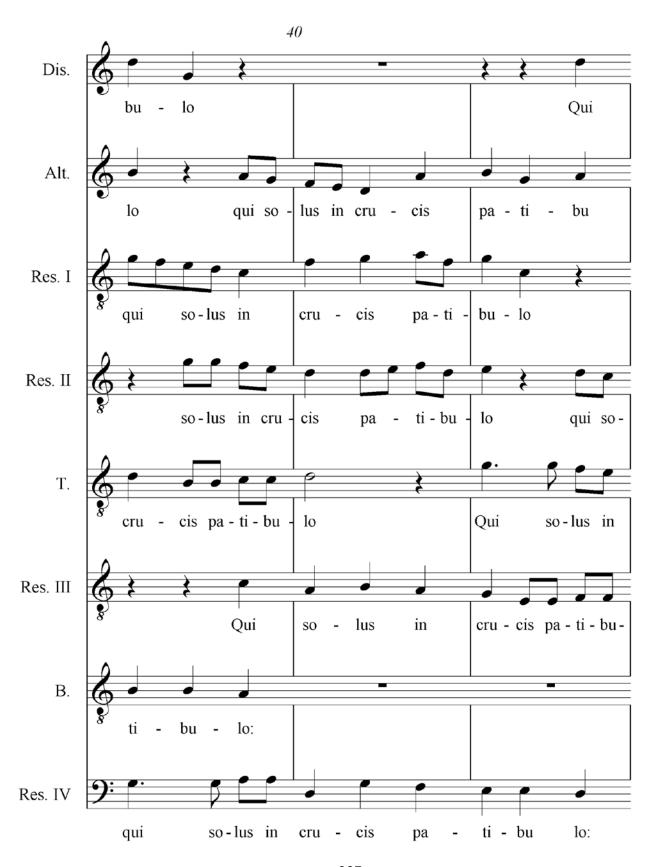


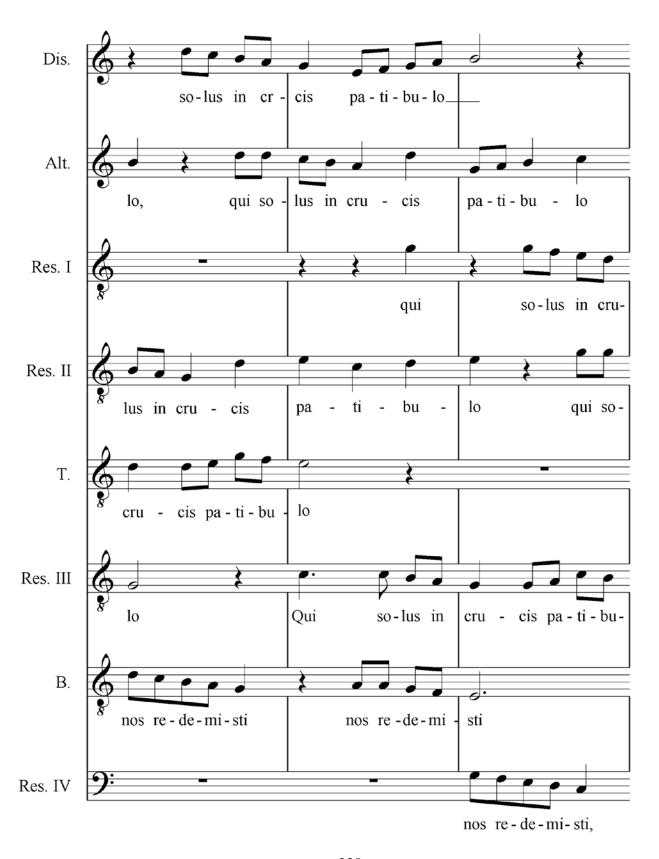




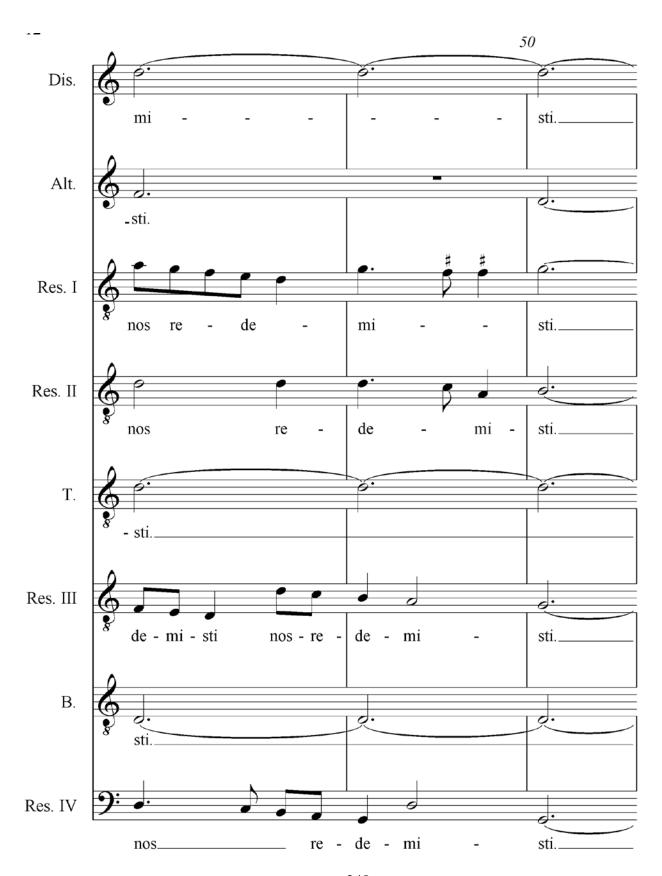


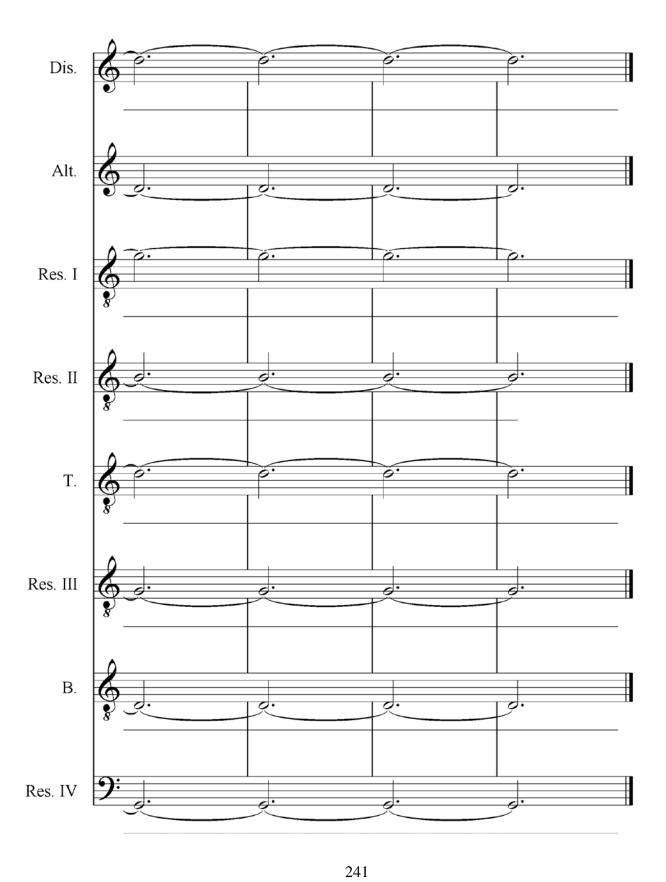












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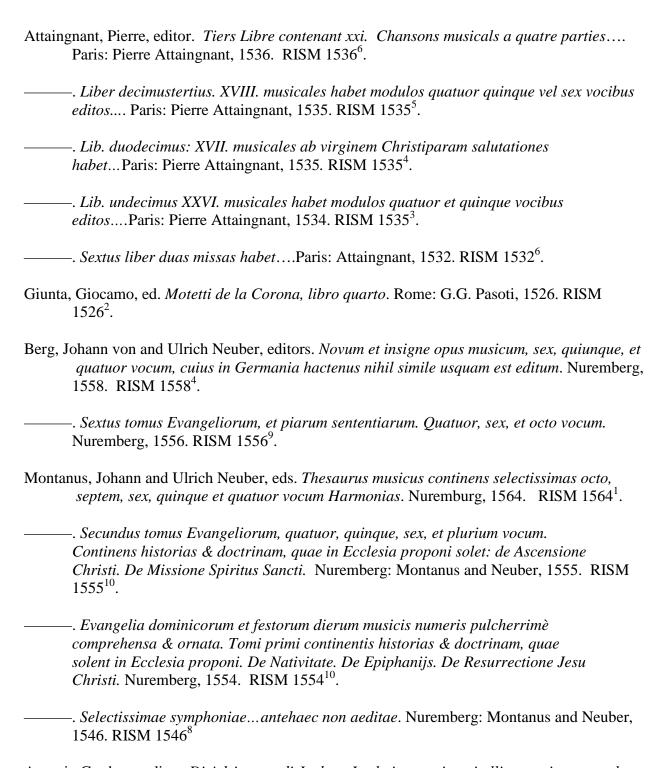
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DresSL Grimma 55	Dresden. Sächsiche Landesbibiothek. MS Grimma 55
DresSL Löbau 50	Dresden. Sächsiche Landesbibiothek. MS Löbau 50

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LeipU 49-50	Leipzig. Universitätsbibliothek. MS Thomaskirche 49 and MS Thomaskirche 50
LonBLR A49-54	London. British Library, Reference Division. Department of Manuscripts. MSS Royal Appendix 49-54
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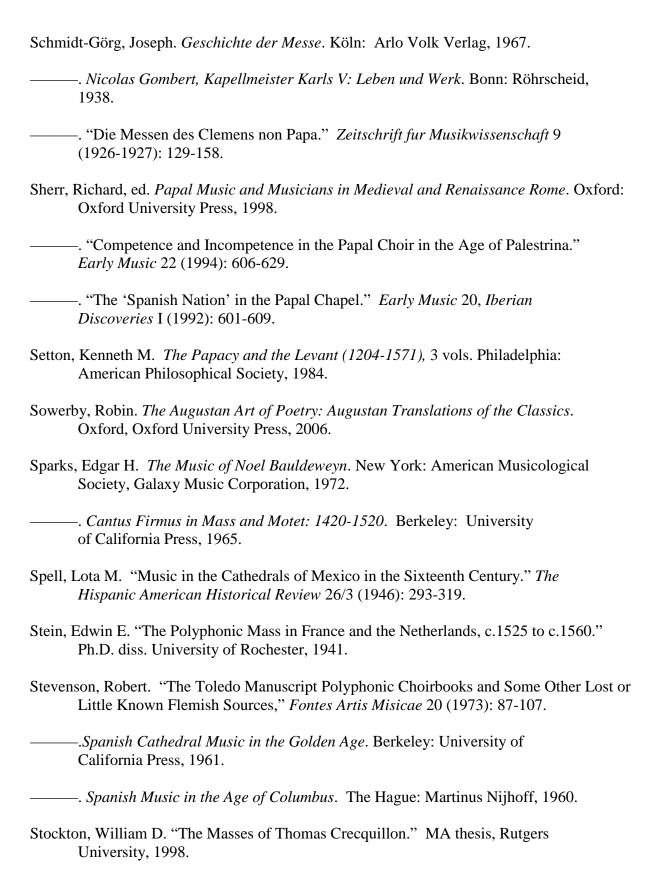
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