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AGNIESZKA LESZCZYŃSKA

Institute of Musicology, University of Warsaw

## *Stockholm manuscript S 230 and its Prussian context*

**ABSTRACT:** The manuscript S 230, held in the National Library of Sweden in Stockholm, has not been thoroughly investigated until now. The only extant partbook of the source contains thirty-two works, comprising motets and German songs. Only four of them bear the composers' names: Orlande de Lassus, Franciscus de Rivulo, Johannes de Vienna and Joachim a Burck. Among the composers of anonymous works to have been identified are Jacob Bultel, Jacobus Clemens non Papa, Arnold Feys, Nicolas Gombert, Josquin des Prez and Jacob Meiland, as well as Lassus and Rivulo. At least two works are unique to this source: Rivulo's *A Domino egressa est res ista* and Vienna's *Wohl dem, der den Herren fürchtet*. The text of Rivulo's motet is taken from the non-Vulgate version of the Book of Genesis, and the only other composer to write music to these words was Johannes Wanning, who succeeded Rivulo as *magister chori musici* at the Marian church in Gdańsk in 1569, five years after the latter's death. Johannes de Vienna was composer at the Königsberg court in 1564–1568 and 1571–1576. The work from the Stockholm manuscript is his only extant composition. Two motets from the Swedish collection also appear in the Prussian manuscript J 4° 24–28, held in the Copernican Library in Toruń: the anonymous *Non est bonum* and Rivulo's *Nuptiae factae sunt*.

**KEYWORDS:** Franciscus de Rivulo, Johannes de Vienna, wedding music, Royal Prussia, Duchy of Prussia

A few years ago, in the RISM database, I found information about a motet by Franciscus de Rivulo with which I was not previously familiar.<sup>1</sup> Together with thirty-one other compositions, it was written in manuscript S 230 (hereafter StockKB 230), held at the National Library of Sweden (Kungliga biblioteket) in Stockholm, which also contains other rare or unique works. All that remains of the original set of partbooks is a single book containing the part of the alto or tenor of compositions scored for five or six parts. The manuscript has not been the subject of detailed research till now: it appears in neither the *Census Catalogue* nor the *Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music*.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, its description disappeared from the RISM database, where the only information left concerns a few works

<sup>1</sup> RISM-OPAC <<http://opac.rism.info/>> .

<sup>2</sup> *Census Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550*, ed. Charles Hamm and Herbert Kellmann, 5 vols (Stuttgart, 1979–1988); *Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music* <<http://www.diamm.ac.uk/index.html>> .

from the manuscript, taken out of context. Unfortunately, I have not had any direct contact with this partbook; my study is based on the microfilm, and therefore the conclusions are not final and relate primarily to the repertoire alone.<sup>3</sup>

Let us have a look at the contents of the manuscript (see Table 3). In only four cases are the composers' names recorded. The majority of the compositions are anonymous, though the composers of many of them have already been identified – perhaps by the Stockholm librarians – and the relevant information has been added at the end of the manuscript. I succeeded in adding another three attributions to this list. The compositions by Josquin des Prez, Jacobus Clemens non Papa, Nicolas Gombert, Jacob Bultel, Arnold Feys, Jacob Meiland, Gosse and Joachim a Burck are presumably copies of prints from the second half of the sixteenth century. These works were highly popular in the German-speaking areas of Europe at that time, and the majority of them were printed many times, as well as being copied in numerous manuscripts. Of particular interest, however, are those compositions for which the Stockholm MS is their one and only source, or one of very few. Let us begin with the above-mentioned motet by the Gdańsk composer Franciscus de Rivulo, *A Domino egressa est res ista* (No. 18). The selection of the text is interesting in itself: besides the motet from 1580 by another Gdańsk composer, Johannes Wanning, we know of no other composition based on this text.<sup>4</sup> It is taken from a non-Vulgate Latin version of the Book of Genesis (24: 50, 57–58, 67), probably in a translation by Sante Pagnini.<sup>5</sup> The text describes the betrothal and marriage of Isaac and Rebecca (see Table 1).

This was the subject of Peter Praetorius' play *Historia von der Hochzeit Isaacs und Rebecca*, published in 1559 in Wittenberg. Praetorius settled in Gdańsk in 1576 and published there, in 1579, a revised version of this work with the title *Comoedia aus der Biblischen Historia von Isaacs und Rebecce Hochzeit auff neue ubersetzen*, for the marriage of Constantin Ferber and Elisabeth Hacken.<sup>6</sup> Presumably, Wanning's motet was composed as an addition to this play. Franciscus de Rivulo, who died in 1564, clearly could not have been familiar with this second version of Praetorius' work. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that the first edition, the one from 1559, inspired him to write his motet. Wanning undoubtedly knew the composition by Franciscus de Rivulo. He used exactly the same text, although

<sup>3</sup> I received the microfilm thanks to the kindness of Jack Zawistowski from the Manuscript Department of the National Library of Sweden.

<sup>4</sup> Johannes Wanning, *Sacrae cantiones quinque, sex, septem et octo vocibus compositarum, et tum vivae voci tum musicis instrumentis aptatarum*, Nuremberg 1580, No. 10. See also Agnieszka Leszczyńska, 'The Motets of Johannes Wanning from the Collection *Sacrae Cantiones 1580*', *Musica Iagellonica*, 3 (2004), 96.

<sup>5</sup> Sante Pagnini, a Dominican friar, was the author of *Veteris et Novi Testamenti nova translatio* (Lyon, 1527), and his translation was used in many later, mainly Protestant, editions of the Bible.

<sup>6</sup> Johannes Bolte, *Das Danziger Theater im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg and Leipzig, 1895), 20.

Table 1.

Franciscus de Rivulo <sup>7</sup>	King James Version
[Prima pars] A Domino egressa est res ista, non possu- mus tibi loqui vel bonum vel malum. Vocemus puellam et interrogemus os eius.	[Gen 24: 50] The thing proceedeth from the Lord: we cannot speak unto thee bad or good.
[Secunda pars] Vocaverunt ergo Rebeccam et dixerunt ad eam, visne ire cum viro isto que dixit, ibo, ibo.	[24: 57] We will call the damsel, and en- quire at her mouth [24: 58] And they called Rebekah, and said unto her, Wilt thou go with this man? And she said, I will go.
[Tertia pars] Introduxit autem eam Isaac in tentorum Sarae matris eius et accepit Rebeccam fuite- que ei in uxorem ac dilexit eam et cosola- tionem accepit Isaac post matrem suam.	[24: 67] And Isaac brought her into his mother Sa- rah's tent, and took Rebekah, and she be- came his wife; and he loved her: and Isaac was comforted after his mother's death.

he divided it into two parts, to his predecessor's three. The initial motif of the alto is similar in both works, and there is a melodic affinity between the arrangements of the word 'vocaverunt', which opens the second part in the older composer's motet. Both compositions were scored for five parts. The question arises as to where Wanning could have come across his predecessor's motet. Franciscus de Rivulo was chapel-master at the Marian church in Gdańsk during the years 1560–1564. Wanning did not obtain that position until 1568 or 1569.<sup>8</sup> Previously, from 1560, he was a musician at the court of Duke Albrecht in Königsberg. Prior to 1560, Rivulo probably had links with that same court, and he may well have visited there later, including in April 1561.<sup>9</sup> So the two musicians might have met in Königsberg, and Wanning might have come to know Rivulo's motet *A Domino egressa est res ista* through personal contact with its composer or through a manuscript from Gdańsk or Königsberg that has not been preserved to our times.

The Stockholm manuscript also contains another motet by Franciscus de Rivulo: *Nuptiae factae sunt* (No. 16), copied anonymously. This is a composition which, in view of its text concerning the wedding in Cana referred to in the Gospel of St John

<sup>7</sup> Though no proper source of this text came to light, a version from *Biblia utriusque testamenti de quorum nova interpretatione* (Robertus Stephanus, Geneva 1557) is almost identical to the text used by Franciscus de Rivulo (the only differences are the names ('Iehováh', 'Ribcáh' and 'Izf nhác' instead of 'Domino', 'Rebeccam' and 'Isaac') and the word order ('loqui tibi malum vel bonum' instead of 'tibi loqui vel bonum vel malum')).

<sup>8</sup> Agnieszka Leszczyńska, 'Johannes Wanning – kapelmistrz kościoła Mariackiego w Gdańsku' [Johannes Wanning – chapel-master of the Church of St Mary in Gdańsk], *Muzyka*, 44/3 (1999), 10.

<sup>9</sup> Leszczyńska, 'Franciscus de Rivulo and the Manuscript Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk 4003', in M. Jennifer Bloxam, Gioia Filocamo and Leofranc Holford-Strevens (eds.), *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio. Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn* (Turnhout, 2009), 263.

(2: 1–2), may also have functioned as a wedding piece. This motet has been preserved in a number of vocal MSS (WrocS 10, ToruńK 24–28, UppsU 76g, RegB 1018) and in one organ tablature (WrocS 4). The Stockholm version has been compared to the versions from the Prussian ToruńK 24–28 and the Silesian WrocS 10.<sup>10</sup> In the first two manuscripts, the alto melody is identical, while the Wrocław copy differs in eight places. The similarity between StockKB 230 and ToruńK 24–28 may indicate that their copyists were using similar sources. Another work common to StockKB 230 and ToruńK 24–28 is the anonymous wedding motet – not previously familiar from other sources – *Non est bonum hominem esse solum* (No. 12). In this case, the alto melody is basically identical in both sources, although the Toruń scribe omitted seven notes, presumably by mistake. The fact that the versions of the motets present in both manuscripts are identical may suggest that their copyists were using similar sources, and so the Stockholm and Toruń MSS might have originated from the community of musicians linked to Royal Prussia or the Duchy of Prussia.

*Wohl dem, der den Herren fürchtet* by Joannes de Vienna (No. 20) is a unique work. Until now, we were not familiar with any compositions by this musician, although Maria Federmann wrote about him as early as 1932. He was one of the court composers to Duke Albrecht in Königsberg; his name appeared in the court accounts during the years 1564–1568 and 1571–1576, but according to Federmann he may have been working at that court during an earlier period, at least from 1560, as one of the four ‘welsche cantores’ who were employed there at that time.<sup>11</sup> ‘Welsche cantores’ were singers and instrumentalists, probably from France or Italy, who, according to Ludwig Finscher, formed a kind of private ducal ensemble.<sup>12</sup> One of them, not mentioned by name, received remuneration for a composition in 1560; according to Federmann, this might have been Johannes de Vienna.<sup>13</sup> One may ask whether Johannes de Vienna could really have been an Italian or a French musician. Let us speculate a bit: his name would point to Vienna as his origin, but Federmann gives it, on the basis of court documents, as ‘Johanness de Vienne’, which might suggest that he came from the French town of Vienne (formerly Vienna) on the Rhone. Unfortunately, the documents referred to by Federmann are not accessible, which means we cannot verify this version of the spelling. On the other hand, the spelling ‘de Vienna’ in the Stockholm manuscript may be the result of an error by the German-speaking scribe, for whom Vienna was a much more obvious point of reference than Vienne. Also puzzling is the spelling ‘Ioannes’, used less frequently than ‘Johannes’ in German documents, and more typical of Italian, French, Netherlandish or Polish sources. Of course, this does not

<sup>10</sup> UppsU 76g does not contain the alto, which is present in the Stockholm MS, and I had no access to RegB 1018.

<sup>11</sup> Maria Federmann, *Musik und Musikpflege zur Zeit Herzog Albrechts. Zur Geschichte der Königsberger Hofkapelle in den Jahren 1525–1578* (Kassel, 1932), 145, 153.

<sup>12</sup> Ludwig Finscher, ‘Zur Geschichte der Königsberger Hofkapelle’, *Musik des Ostens*, 1 (1962), 188.

<sup>13</sup> Federmann, *Musik und Musikpflege*, 145.

constitute any proof of the musician's origins. We may mention here an episode from this composer's life relating to Kraków: research by Elżbieta Zwolińska has revealed that a 'Jan de Wienna' appeared at the royal court there in 1568. Court accounts describe him as a 'compositor Niemiecz', and so a German composer.<sup>14</sup> However, this also does not provide an unequivocal answer to the question of his nationality. He arrived in what was then the Polish capital from Königsberg, and he probably conversed with the locals in German, a language which the Cracow elites knew well at that time; he could thus be perceived as a German. Additionally, Vienna was decidedly better known in Kraków than Vienne, and so the name of the town used in the royal accounts may have also been the result of an error. The question of the musician's origins remains unresolved, but of greater significance is the fact that in the Königsberg and Kraków documents he is clearly described as a composer. Since he was primarily known for this activity, we can assume that the amount of his works cannot have been all that insignificant. After more than 400 years, the first fragment of his output has come to light – a single part of a five-part composition. This is obviously insufficient basis for an analysis of his compositional style. The text used by Johannes de Vienna is Psalm 128: *Wohl dem, der den Herren fürchtet* (= *Beati omnes qui timent*), translated by Martin Luther in 1527. This version of the text was very popular with Baroque composers, but was not often arranged during the sixteenth century, when Luther's earlier version of the same psalm, *Wohl dem der in Gottes Furch steht* (1524), was preferred. The few Renaissance printed compositions entitled *Wohl dem, der den Herren fürchtet* include works by Sigmund Hemmel from 1569 and Leonhard Lechner from 1589.<sup>15</sup>

In the surviving alto part from the composition by Johannes de Vienna, of particular interest is the use of the sharp before *e* as a cautionary sign before that note is lowered to 'e flat'; the composer thus assumed that a singer familiar with the principles of *musica ficta* would perform 'e flat' if the sharp was not there. In other places, de Vienna uses sharps (raising 'b flat' to 'b') and flats (lowering 'e' to 'e flat') probably in order to avoid *mi contra fa*. By the second half of the sixteenth century, reference to the principles of *musica ficta* was no longer common practice, but it does testify to Johannes de Vienna being a well-trained musician.

Another composition worthy of attention is the anonymous song *Frolich wil ich singen, kein traurigkeit mehr pflegen*. Its first polyphonic arrangement comes from Hans Kugelmann's collection *Concentus novi trium vocum* (Augsburg, 1540), where it appears in the section entitled *Cantus Prussiae*. This song, of popular origin, was later arranged by other musicians with links to Prussia. In the collection *Etlliche Teutsche Liedlein Geistlich und Weltlich* (Königsberg, 1558), Paul Kugelmann included three-part versions of this work composed by himself, his brother Hans,

<sup>14</sup> Elżbieta Głuszczyńska, *Muzyka nadworna ostatnich Jagiellonów* [The court music of the last Jagiellonians] (Kraków, 1988), 128.

<sup>15</sup> Sigmund Hemmel, *Der gantz Psalter Davids* (Tübingen, 1569); Leonhard Lechner, *Neue Geistliche und Weltliche Teutsche Lieder* (Nuremberg, 1589).

and Jorge Wonhart. Johannes Eccard was responsible for the five-part arrangement published in his collection *Neue Lieder mit fünff und vier Stimmen* (Königsberg, 1589). The short opening motive aside, the five-part song from the Stockholm manuscript is a different composition, but it has exactly the same text as Eccard's song. Since all the versions of *Frolich wil ich singen* known to date originate from the Duchy of Prussia, we may suppose that this also applies to the anonymous version.

Finally, let us examine the structure of the manuscript. The repertoire included in it gives the impression of being a cohesive whole, although it is written by at least three scribes. The first seven motets, extremely popular during the second half of the sixteenth century, were probably copied from printed collections. It is worth noting the two neighbouring compositions for the feast day of St Michael the Archangel: Jacobus Clemens non Papa's *Concussum est mare* (No. 4), and Jacob Bultel's *Michael Arcangele paradisi* (No. 5). The saint may have been singled out in this way deliberately.

There are also many compositions popular at that time among the next fifteen works (Nos. 8–22), but their distinguishing feature is their subject. Firstly, *Psalm 128* appears as many as four times: its Latin version *Beati omnes qui timent*, composed by Jacob Meiland (No. 8), Orlande de Lassus (No. 17), and Joachim a Burck (No. 22), and the German version discussed earlier, by Johannes de Vienna (No. 20). This psalm played a particular role in both Catholicism and Lutheranism, since its subject meant that it could be used during a marriage ceremony:

Blessed is every one that feareth the Lord; that walketh in his ways.

For thou shalt eat the labour of thine hands: happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee.

Thy wife shall be as a fruitful vine by the sides of thine house: thy children like olive plants round about thy table.

Behold, that thus shall the man be blessed that feareth the Lord.

The Lord shall bless thee out of Zion: and thou shalt see the good of Jerusalem all the days of thy life.

Yea, thou shalt see thy children's children, and peace upon Israel.<sup>16</sup>

Martin Luther made use of this psalm when explaining the principles of a good married life in *Eine Predigt vom Ehestand* (Wittenberg, 1525). The manuscript also contains four motets based on texts taken from The Song of Songs, which could also be employed during wedding celebrations: Gombert's *Ego flos campi* (No. 6), Meiland's *Gaudete filiae Ierusalem* (No. 13), Lassus's *Veni in hortum meum* (No. 15) and the anonymous *Ecce tu pulchra es* (before No. 1). Other biblical texts relating to the theme of marriage were used in three other motets: Rivulo's *Nuptiae factae sunt* (No. 16) and *A Domino egressa est res ista* (No. 18), and the anonymous *Non est bonum hominem esse solum* (No. 12). *Susanna se videns* by Lassus (No. 14) may also be included among the group of wedding compositions,

<sup>16</sup> King James Version.

in view of the story of the text's heroine – the biblical Susanna is the model of a faithful wife. However, that does not exhaust the list of wedding compositions in this manuscript. The anonymous motet *Ipse Deus sacri nim foedera lecti sanxit* (No. 9) is an epithalamium with an original text, but contains various standard phrases characteristic of this type of poetry. The anonymous work *Sacrum coniugium sic Deus instituit* (No. 31) belongs to the same category; thus nearly half of the manuscript consists of wedding compositions.

The last eight compositions (Nos. 23–30) relate to Christmas. The majority of these – motets by Gosse, Lassus, Josquin, Burck and Clemens – are copies made from prints, and their texts are generally known. It has not been possible to find the source of the anonymous motet *Ecce concipies Virgo Maria* (No. 24), but texts with similar incipits ('*Ecce Virgo concipiet*', '*Ecce concipies et paries filium*') were used in the Advent liturgy. Of interest is the anonymous song *Lobsinget alle gott* (No. 31), the text of which is a paraphrase of the last stanza of Martin Luther's *Von Himmel hoch, da komm ich her*, with an added Marian thread:

Table 2.

Anonymous of StockKB 230	M. Luther ( <i>Von Himmel hoch</i> )
Lobsinget alle gott im höchsten Thron der uns hat geschenkt sein einig sohn geboren von Maria den Jungfrau Zartt Jesum Christum der freuet sich der heylig Engell schar singet uns [...] zum neuen Jar.	Lob, Ehr sei Gott im höchsten Thron, Der uns schenkt seinen ein'gen Sohn.  Des freuen sich der Engel Schar Und singen uns ein neues Jahr.

It is difficult to determine the date when StockKB 230 was compiled without examining it in person and without knowing what watermarks its leaves contain. One can only establish, on the basis of its contents, that the collection must have been written after 1569: that year brought the publication, in Nuremberg, of the collection *Beati omnes. Psalmus CXXVIII*, from which the three motets with this title were probably copied (for the Meiland motet, it is the first dated source). The manuscript's place of origin also remains a mystery. However, the repertoire described above provides evidence that the copyists had some contact with musicians from Royal Prussia or the Duchy of Prussia. Among the four names of composers that appear in the manuscript, two – Lassus and Burck – relate to motets which were probably copied from prints, while the other two – Rivulo and Vienna, both from Prussia – concern works that are unique. The motets by Franciscus de Rivulo, who died in 1564, were copied in the Stockholm manuscript after his death. There must have existed yet another source or sources of his *A Domino egressa est res ista*, which would have made it accessible not only to a copyist of StockKB 230, but also to the Gdańsk composer Johannes Wanning.

Table 3. Contents of MS S 230 (Stockholm, National Library of Sweden)

No.	Composer	Incipit	Source of the text*	Concordances**
		<i>Ecce tu pulchra es / Faedus coniugii</i>	S. of S. 1: 14–15; wedding text	–
1	[Jacobus Clemens non Papa]	<i>Jubilate Deo omnis terra</i>	Ps. 99	1554 <sup>5</sup> , 1555 <sup>14</sup> , 1558 <sup>4</sup> , 1558 <sup>5</sup> , BrusC 27088, HradKM 29, MunBS 1536, NurGN 83795, RegB 693, StockKB 229, StuttL 3, ZwiR 74/1
2	[Jacobus Clemens non Papa]	<i>Adesto dolori meo</i>	–	1553 <sup>13</sup> , 1554 <sup>3</sup> , 1556 <sup>8</sup> , DresSL 1/D/6, DresSL Lob 14, HradKM 30, LeipU 49/50, RegB 940–1, RokyA 22, WrocS 1, WrocS 53, ZwiR 79/2
3	[Jacobus Clemens non Papa]	<i>O bone Jesu</i>	–	1554 <sup>3</sup> , 1555 <sup>14</sup> , 1556 <sup>8</sup> , DresSL 1/D/6, HradKM 30, WrocS 1, HradKM 29, LeidSM 1440, DresSL 1/D/ 6
4	[Jacobus Clemens non Papa]	<i>Concussum est mare</i>	De s. Michaelae Arcangelo: antiphon	1553 <sup>11</sup> , 1555 <sup>13</sup> , 1558 <sup>8</sup> , 1559 <sup>1</sup> , Ansbach 18, BerlS 40039, BerlS 40213, DresSL 1/D/6, DresSL Gl 5, DresSL Lob 12, GreifU 640–1, HradKM 29, LeidSM 1440, LeipU 49/50, LonBL 31438, LübBH 203, LüneR 150, RegB 861–2, RegB 887–90, WrocS 4, WrocS 5, WrocU 54, ZwiR 74/1, ZwiR 79/2
5	[Jacob Bultel]	<i>Michael Arcangele paradisi</i>	De s. Michaelae Arcangelo: antiphon	1555 <sup>3</sup> , RegB 861–2
6	[Nicolas Gombert]	<i>Ego flos campi</i>	S. of S. 2: 1–5	1541 <sup>3</sup> , 1552 <sup>2</sup> , 1555 <sup>3</sup> , ChelmE 2, HradKM 26
7	[Arnold Feys]	<i>Emendemus in melius</i>	Ash Wednesday: responsory	1554 <sup>2</sup> , 1555 <sup>3</sup> , 1556 <sup>8</sup> , 1580 <sup>4</sup> , DresSL 1/D/6, DresSL Gl 5, DresSL Grimma 55, DresSL Lob 14, HradKM 30, RegB 875–77, RokyA 22, VienNB 19189, WrocS 1, WrocS 12, ZwiR 74/1, ZwiR 79/2
8	[Jacob Meiland]	<i>Beati omnes qui timent</i>	Ps. 128	1564 <sup>3</sup> , 1569 <sup>1</sup> , HeilbS IV/2, MunBS 1536, RegB 775–7, WarU 7.41.5.14, WrocS 8, WrocS 9



9	–	<i>Ipse Deus primo sacri</i>	wedding motet	–
10	–	<i>Frolich wil ich singen</i>	Prussian song	–
11	–	<i>Nach dir thut mir verlangen</i> [tenor II], see No. 19	–	–
12	–	<i>Non est bonum</i>	Gen. 2: 18, 24; Eph. 5: 25–26	ToruńK 24–28
13	[Jacob Meiland]	<i>Gaudete filiae Ierusalem</i>	S. of S. 5: 8 (paraphrase)	M 2173 [1564], M 2174 [1569], M 2175 [1572], M 2176 [1573], BerlPS 40272, BerlS 40212, DresSL 1/D/6, DresSL Gl 5, HeilbS IV/2, LevočaE 13990a, MunBS 1536, RegB 875–77, RegB 893, RokyA 22, StockKM 15, StockKM 33, UppsU 76g, VastS 67, VastS 68, WrocS 9, WrocU 40, ZwiR 103/3
14	[Orlande de Lassus]	<i>Susanna se videns</i>	–	BerlS 40212, DresSL Grimma 52, DresSL Lob 12, LüneR 207, RegB 1018, StockKM 15, WrocS 10, WrocS 15, WrocU 28, WrocU 39, WrocU 42, ZwiR 97/1, ZwiR 103/3
15	[Orlande de Lassus]	<i>Veni in hortum meum</i>	S. of S. 5:1	L769 [1562], L775 [1563], L779 [1564], L780 [1564], L785 [1565], L792 P1566], L793 [1566], L817 [1568], L821 [1569], L822 [1569], L832 [1570], L875 [1574], L880 [1575], L888 [1576], 1580 <sup>4</sup> , L937 [1582], L961 [1586], L963 [1586], L991 [1589], 1604 <sup>10</sup> , GdańPAN 4030, KasL 143, LonBL 31438, NYorkP 4303, OxfC 984–88, RegB 875–77, RegB 893, RegB 1018, StockKM 15, StuttL 1, StuttL 5, UppsU 76g, VastS 67, VastS 68, VienNB 18828, VienNB 19189, WarU 7.41.5.14, WashF 408, ZwiR 103/3
16	[Franciscus de Rivulo]	<i>Nuptiae factae sunt</i>	John 2: 1–3, 6	RegB 1018, ToruńK 24–28, UppsU 76g, WrocS 4, WrocS 10

No.	Composer	Incipit	Source of the text*	Concordances**
17	Orland di Lassus	<i>Beati omnes qui timent</i>	Ps. 128	L784 [1565], L795 [1566], L816 [1568], L824 [1569], 1569 <sup>1</sup> , L859 [1573], 1575 <sup>17</sup> , L908 [1578], L916 [1579], 1583 <sup>23</sup> , L972 [1586], L978 [1587], L977 [1587], L1014 [1599], BerlPS 40272, BerlS 40212, DresSL Grimma 56, HradKM 26, RegB 223–33, RegB 875–77, RegB 893, StockKM 15, StuttL 15, VienNB 18828, WrocU 42
18	Franciscus de Rivulo	<i>A Domino egressa est res ista</i>	Gen. 24:50, 57–58, 67	–
19	–	<i>Nach dir thut mir verlangen</i> [altus], see no. 11	–	–
20	Ioannes de Vienna	<i>Wohl dem, der den Herren</i>	Ps. 128	–
21	–	<i>Benedixit Deus Noe Noe</i>	Dominica Sexagesimae: responsory [?]	–
22	[Joachim a Burck]	<i>Beati omnes qui timent</i>	Ps. 128	1569 <sup>1</sup> , DresSL Pirna III
23	[Gosse]	<i>Ecce Dominus veniet</i>	Dominica I Adventus: antiphon	1537 <sup>1</sup> , 1539 <sup>5</sup> , 1559 <sup>1</sup> , BerlS 40329, CopKB 1873, DresSL Gl 5, DresSL Grimma 53, DresSL Grimma 59a, LüneR 150, RegB 211–15, StockKB 229, WrocS 11, WrocU 54, ZwiR 100/5, ZwiR 74/1
[24]	–	<i>Ecce concipies Virgo Maria</i>	–	–
[25]	[Orlande de Lassus]	<i>In principio erat verbum</i>	John 1: 1–11	L796 [1566], L815 [1568], L825 [1569], L915 [1579], L919 [1579], L922 [1580], L976 [1587], L1004 [1593], BerlS 40039, RegB 853–4, WrocS 6, WrocU 5,

[26]	[Josquin Desprez]	<i>Praeter rerum seriem</i>	Nativitas Domini: sequence	1519 <sup>2</sup> , 1520 <sup>4</sup> , 1526 <sup>3</sup> , 1537 <sup>1</sup> , 1547 <sup>22</sup> , 1554 <sup>4</sup> , 1554 <sup>32</sup> , 1555 <sup>36</sup> , 1558 <sup>4</sup> , BerlDS 1175, BolC R142, BudOS 2, CopKB 1872, DresSL Gl 5, DresSL Grimma 57, DresSL Pirna IV, FlorD 11, GothaF A98, HofG 3713, HradKM 29, LeidSM 1440, LeuvU 163, MunBS 272, MunU 401, RegB 775–7, RegB 940–1, RegB C12, RokyA 22, RomeM 23–4, RomeSM 26, RomeV 35–40/I, SevBC 1, SGallS 463, SGallS 464, TarazC 8, ToleF 23, VatG XII.4, VatS 16, VatG XII.4, VatV 11953, WrocS 6, WrocS 11, WrocS 15, WrocU 40, WrocU 54, UppsU 76b, ZwiR 94/1
[27]	Ioachimusa Burck	<i>A solis ortus cardine</i>	Nativitas Domini: hymn	B 4954 [1566], WrocS 6
[28]	[Jacobus Clemens non Papa]	<i>Pastores quidnam vidistis</i>	Nativitas Domini: antiphon	1554 <sup>1</sup> , 1554 <sup>10</sup> , 1555 <sup>2</sup> , CopKB 1873, KasL 91, RegB 853–4, TarazC 8, WrocS 6
[29]	[Jacobus Clemens non Papa]	<i>Angelus domini ad pastores</i>	Nativitas Domini: antiphon	1553 <sup>12</sup> , 1554 <sup>10</sup> , 1555 <sup>2</sup> , 1559 <sup>1</sup> , HerdF 9822–3, HradKM 29, HradKM 30, LeidGA 1441, LeipU 49/50, StuttL 36
[30]		<i>Lobsinget alle lobsinget gott</i>	<i>Von Himmel hoch</i> (paraphrase)	–
[31]		<i>Sacrum conjugium sic Deus</i>	wedding motet	–

\* Abbreviations: Eph. = Ephesians, Gen. = Genesis, John = John, Ps. = Psalms, S. of S. = Song of Songs.

\*\* Mostly on the basis of *The Motet Database Catalogue Online* <http://www.arts.ufl.edu/motet/search.asp> (accessed November 2011).  
Prints – RISM sigla, manuscripts – Census Catalogue sigla.

