

THE ARTICULATION OF CULTURAL IDENTITY THROUGH PSALM MOTETS,
AUGSBURG 1540–1585

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partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
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ABSTRACT

Megan K. Eagen: *The Articulation of Cultural Identity through Psalm Motets, Augsburg 1540–1585*
(Under the direction of Anne MacNeil)

In this dissertation, I analyze the social and religious climate in Augsburg from 1540–1585 through the lens of psalm motets. The period between the initial shockwave of the Reformation and the sociocultural upheavals that ultimately produced the Thirty Years War may be characterized as one of intense negotiations regarding religious freedoms. The environment encouraged and even necessitated the development of materials oriented toward specific confessional groups. At the same time, residents of biconfessional cities such as Augsburg needed to find subtle or nonconfrontative ways to express their views. Despite both nascent and deep-seated differences, Catholics and Protestants of diverse sects all used the Psalter. This study interprets selections and centonizations of musically set psalm texts as indicators of multireligious communal identities.

Source materials consulted for this project include over one hundred prints and manuscripts of motets held at the Augsburg State and City Library and at the Bavarian State Library in Munich. The makeup of this repertory is defined by Augsburg's close connection to the Habsburg dynasty: composers represented in these volumes were active almost exclusively within the bounds of the Holy Roman Empire, and many composed for imperial courts. Preliminary findings showed that certain psalm texts were set with far greater frequency than others across a variety of contexts (liturgical and nonliturgical books; Latin, German, and

polylingual sources; etc.). I argue that settings of the most frequently-used psalms speak to shared experiences. Central themes of these texts include exile and ostracization; personal suffering that results from earthly injustice; and the explanation and elucidation of religious doctrine. All of these relate to the struggle of living in a biconfessional city at a time of significant political and religious change.

I hold that a majority of psalm motets in sources produced or acquired for use in mid-sixteenth-century Augsburg present materials that cut across confessional lines. The psalms that come into prominence through this music do not offer fully-formed religious instruction, like sermons given in a confessionally-stable landscape, but instead highlight topics for contemplation and reflection. Moreover, the conversations opened by these works are relevant to individuals of diverse beliefs, with some apparently resisting confessional demarcation.

*To Anne—
In bocca al lupo.*

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works north of the Alps. John's extraordinary command of primary and secondary sources relevant to this study, coupled with a profound respect for fellow researchers, stands out as the defining aspect of that experience. Thanks also go to David for his enthusiastic support of this project, and for sharing his expertise. David's work on Lasso, the mid-sixteenth-century motet, and motet exegesis significantly influenced my approach to this study.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAO	<i>Corpus antiphonarium Officii</i> , edited by René-Jean Hesbert (Rome: Herder, 1963–1979)
D-As	Augsburg State and City Library (Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg; RISM library sigla)
D-Mbs	Bavarian State Library in Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München; RISM library sigla)
D-Rp	Episcopal Central Library in Regensburg (Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg; RISM library sigla)
MGG(2)	<i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> , 2nd ed., edited by Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994–)
NG(2)	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , 2nd ed., edited by Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001)
NRSV	<i>The New Oxford Annotated Bible (New Revised Standard Version): with the Apocrypha</i> , 4 th ed., edited by Michael D. Coogan et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010)
RISM	Répertoire international des sources musicales
StAA	Augsburg City Archive (Stadtarchiv Augsburg)
Tonk Schl	Tonkunst Schletterer (Catalog numbers for music sources at the Augsburg State and City Library)

*Books of the Bible are abbreviated as per the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th ed., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003)

NUMBERING OF THE PSALMS

Psalms are numbered according to the Greek Septuagint (LXX) and Vulgate Bible. This system differs from standard Jewish and Protestant numbering practices, which are based on the Hebrew Bible. The two systems are compared below:

Numbering of the Psalms

Greek	Hebrew
Pss. 1–8	Pss. 1–8
Ps. 9	Pss. 9–10
Pss. 10–112	Pss. 11–113
Ps. 113	Pss. 114–115
Ps. 114	Ps. 116: 1–9
Ps. 115	Ps. 116: 10–19
Pss. 116–145	Pss. 117–146
Ps. 146	Ps. 147: 1–11
Ps. 147	Ps. 147: 12–29
Pss. 148–150	Pss. 148–150

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In this dissertation, I analyze the social and religious climate in Augsburg from 1540–1585 through the lens of psalm motets. Augsburg’s immense wealth; religious, political, and economic diversity; variety of spaces and occasions for performance (both public and private); and access to trade centers across Europe make this a unique time and place for the study of religious difference and toleration. For various reasons, Augsburg played a critical role in the development of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation movements. Luther met Cardinal Cajetan there in October of 1518 for a brief interview, after which Augsburg became the second most important publishing center, after Wittenberg, of Luther’s writings.¹ In 1530 the city hosted a diet that produced the (proto-)Lutheran *Confessio Augustana*, edited by Melanchthon.² Another diet took place there in 1548, following Charles V’s (r. 1519–1556) victory over the Schmalkaldic League.³ This led to a process of re-catholicization of imperial Germany, in particular through the restoration of Catholic churches and the compulsory reinstatement of Catholic practices and dogma—although Protestants were still granted certain rights. Chief among these was the right of Protestant clergymen to marry and the right of the laity to receive the chalice (the *Laienkelch*) during communion. These conciliatory gestures reflect Charles V’s objective, realized through

¹ Bernd Roeck, *Geschichte Augsburgs* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2005), 107.

² The twenty-eight articles of this document summarize the principles of Lutheran faith, and later formed the foundation of the doctrinal Book of Concord (published 1580).

³ An alliance of Protestant princes founded in 1531, the Schmalkaldic League subscribed to the *Confessio Augustana* and waged both a political and religious war against Charles V from 1546–1547.

the efforts of his brother, Ferdinand I (r. 1558–1564), of securing a temporary peace between Protestants and Catholics until the Council of Trent (1545–1563) could come to a more determinate means of addressing religious heterodoxy in the Holy Roman Empire. The council declined to negotiate the demands of Protestant ambassadors in its first session gathering (1545–1547) and deferred these talks again in its second (1551–1552). When it failed to reconvene even years after the threat that provoked its suspension in 1552 was subdued, Charles V formally enacted the Peace of Augsburg on September 25, 1555. Under the conditions of this ordinance, a tenuous but lasting peace ensued. Citizens of biconfessional cities such as Augsburg were ordered to live peacefully with one another, and Lutherans were granted spiritual jurisdiction (*Ketzerrecht*) apart from Catholics.⁴

The centrality of Augsburg within this narrative illustrates several key points, all of which relate back to the formation of the city's (all members and institutions inclusive) musical collection. For one, because the Fugger family of Augsburg had acted as imperial financiers since the reign of Maximilian I (r. 1486–1519), the emperor and his successors made regular visits there. Augsburg was, thus, a logical site for imperial assemblies such as the diets mentioned, along with additional gatherings in 1510, 1518, and 1550–1551.⁵ These events necessitated a certain caliber of public performance and occasional music, to which Sigmund

⁴ Roeck, *Geschichte Augsburgs*, 118. Notably, only Catholics and Lutherans were protected under this peace. Members of other Protestant religious groups, such as Calvinists and Anabaptists, still faced accusations of heresy. Cities governed by a sovereign rather than a city council adopted the statute, “*cuius regio, eius religio*” (whose reign, his religion), but allowed citizens of different doctrines to relocate.

⁵ Note that these diets did not focus exclusively on religious issues, but also addressed political and military matters, such as the Turkish threat and the succession of the throne. Concerning the latter, in particular, the Fugger family exerted considerable influence. Exploring the Habsburg-Fugger relationship and its impact on musical composition constitutes a central theme of Stefanie Bilmayer Frank's doctoral dissertation, “*Illustri ac generoso Domino*”-gedruckte Musikalienwidmungen an die Familie Fugger im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert” (PhD diss., University of Augsburg, 2015).

Salminger's *Cantiones selectissimae* 1, printed in Augsburg in advance of the 1548 diet, attests.⁶ De Cleve's *Cantiones sacrae* 1 and 2 (both 1559) along with his *Cantiones seu Harmoniae sacrae* (1579–1580), all printed in Augsburg, also contain works honoring members of the Habsburg dynasty. The Augsburg State and City Library collection (D-As) is further augmented by the output of imperial chapel composers. Their works—in particular, those of Cornelius Canis, Johannes de Cleve, Thomas Crecquillon, Johann Lestainnier, Pieter Maessens, and Nicolas Payen—are well represented in Augsburg prints and manuscripts, as well as in other prints purchased for the city's use. Finally, the dearth of printed works with texts of restricted confessional applicability—Marian antiphons, for instance, and motets incorporating petitions to saints—could reflect a sensitivity on the part of Augsburg printers and publishers to the city's biconfessional populace, and a need to cater to that broad market.⁷

The diversity of Augsburg's residents also likely influenced the accumulation of a confessionally, politically, and physically disparate ensemble of musical materials. While few Augsburg-produced prints carry overtly Catholic or Protestant repertoires, some prints and manuscripts linked to the city and held at the D-As, such as de Kerle's *Preces speciales* (Venice: Gardano, 1562), which is dedicated to the Council of Trent, are clearly confessionally aligned. Still others take a political stance: de Cleve's *Cantiones sacrae* 1 (Augsburg, 1559), for example, is controversially dedicated to Ferdinand I,⁸ while Contino's *Modulationes* 2 (Venice, 1560) is

⁶ On the music associated with these diets and the personages they honor, see Albert Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette 1480–1555* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1970); and Moritz Kelber, "Die Musik bei den Augsburger Reichstagen im 16. Jahrhundert" (PhD dissertation, University of Augsburg, forthcoming). Note that titles have been rendered so that key words are presented in the nominative case, and volume numbers are abbreviated with Arabic numbers.

⁷ This assertion, which certainly holds true for Augsburg prints from the 1540s through the 1570s, could not be made of Augsburg manuscripts from the same time period (particularly those for the Benedictine monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra), nor of the books collected by the Augsburg canon, Johann Georg von Werdenstein. The performance spaces of these works were, presumably, less public.

⁸ Pope Paul IV refused to recognize Ferdinand I as Charles V's successor.

dedicated to the Counter-Reformation hardliner, Cardinal Otto Truchseß von Waldburg, prince-bishop of Augsburg (r. 1543–1573). Paratexts and musically set materials of diverse sources embrace subtler religious and sociocultural nuances, as this dissertation will explore. As far as the size and scope of the volumes, the collection includes a variety of choirbooks, partbooks, and broadsheets. Nearly two hundred musical sources survive from the time period in question, including eighty-two prints and six manuscripts that contain psalm motets.

Provenance can be established for a selection of D-As-held music books, most significantly those owned by the church and school of S. Anna, the Benedictine monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra, the Jesuit school of S. Salvator, and the private collector, Johann Georg von Werdenstein. A seventeen-volume antiphoner produced in 1580 constitutes the only extant source of Office chants for the Augsburg cathedral. While these monophonic works do not relate directly to this project, the cathedral's continued promulgation of its own liturgy, almost two decades after the Council of Trent disbanded, speaks to the general lack of consistency along religious/doctrinal lines in this period. Another organization that played a critical role in obtaining musical materials, in particular for S. Anna and the town pipers (*Stadtppfeifer*), and in arranging for public and private musical performances, was the city council. Several letters addressed to the council from the 1540s through the 1570s speak to its involvement in public and private music making. The words "sumptu publico" (at public expense), which appear on the front covers of several S. Anna partbooks, indicate that these were city purchases.⁹

⁹ See Richard Charteris, "A Late Renaissance Music Manuscript Unmasked," *Electronic British Library Journal* (2006): 1–24; and *Augsburger Stadtlexikon Online*, s.v. "Aspekte der Augsburger Musikgeschichte," by Josef Maňcal, accessed January 12, 2015, <http://www.stadtlexikon-augsburg.de>. A transcription of a 1620 inventory of S. Anna music books, which includes a selection of materials from this period, is included in Hans Michael Schletterer, *Katalog der in der Kreis- und Stadt- Bibliothek, dem staedtischen Archiv und der Bibliothek des historischen Vereins zu Augsburg befindlichen Musikwerke* (Berlin: T. Trautwein, 1878), 11–16.

Although an important printing center in its own right, Augsburg was only intermittently a hub of music publishing in the mid-sixteenth century. As a result, the institutions and individuals mentioned above could not rely exclusively on Augsburg printers for their materials. The city's patrician class—in particular, the Fugger and the Welser families—engaged in trade across Europe and beyond, with the result that surviving Latin motet books held at the D-As and produced between the 1540s and the early 1580s include sources from fifteen printing firms located across Western Europe.¹⁰ The output of more than twenty firms would be reflected had the scope of this dissertation included French, German, and Italian secular publications and books of chant.

Augsburg's print profile in the mid-sixteenth century is best distinguished by the number of German literary sources issued from there. Nearly three quarters of Augsburg printer Johann Schönsperger's books are in German, for instance.¹¹ Given the close connection between the rapid transformation of religious, political, and scholastic discourse (from Latin to vernacular) and media (from manuscript to print), and the concurrent developments of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, this again attests to Augsburg's role in the expansion of both movements. The needs of a growing, increasingly literate urban population no doubt also impacted the production of new literary and musical materials.¹²

Arguably the financial center of the Holy Roman Empire, Augsburg's wealth was not equally distributed among its citizens. A predominantly Catholic patrician class engaged in high-

¹⁰ Antwerp: Susato; Augsburg: Kriesstein and Ulhart; Leuven, Belgium: Phalèse; Maastricht, Netherlands: Baethen; Munich: (Adam) Berg; Nuremberg: Berg & Neuber, Gerlach, and Formschneider; Paris: Le Roy & Ballard; Venice: Correggio (Merulo), Gardano, and Scotto; and Wittenberg: Rhau. The identity of an Erfurt publisher is unknown.

¹¹ Roeck, *Geschichte Augsburgs*, 94.

¹² Between 1500 and 1600, the population of Augsburg nearly doubled, rising from about 25,000 inhabitants to 40,000–45,000. Note that this does not include the populations of bordering municipalities such as Neusäß, which hosted a large Jewish community after the expulsion of 1438. See *ibid.*, 98.

profit trade with Italy, Hungary, Poland, and later more distant regions such as Sweden, Norway, and the Americas. Families like the Fuggers dealt in copper, which was essential for the production of cannon, and in other precious metals including gold, silver, and quicksilver. Savvy business maneuvering, particularly on the part of the Fuggers, resulted in a plethora of jobs for artists and artisans in Augsburg, as is evident from the surviving paintings, stone- and woodworkings, and gold- and silverworks from the first decades of the sixteenth century.¹³ From the mid-1550s through the mid-1580s Augsburg's economy suffered, however, largely because of imperial debts.¹⁴ An advantage of this situation, for the purposes of this study, is that while the output of certain individuals—the aforementioned artists of the Habsburg courts and composers active in Swabia and Bavaria like Jacobus de Kerle and Orlando di Lasso—is well represented, no one individual's work predominates. Cardinal Otto Truchseß von Waldburg founded a music chapel for the city's cathedral in 1561, using an endowment by canon Jakob Heinrichmann, though the institution did not come into prominence until Bernhard Klingenstein (c1545–1614) assumed the role of director;¹⁵ and the city was unable to maintain a cappella on the scale of Charles V's or the neighboring Duke Albrecht V's (r. 1550–1579). The resulting collection, in which the output of a broad diversity of composers active from the early- to mid-sixteenth century is represented, as opposed to that of an elite few, facilitates my discussion of general

¹³ Exemplary works of all types of handcraft from the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth century may be viewed at the Augsburg cathedral. These include a late fifteenth-century wooden sculpture of Mary; a complete bishop's gallery filled with late sixteenth-century art; and three stone altars carved from the early to mid-sixteenth century.

¹⁴ Roeck, *Geschichte Augsburgs*, 124.

¹⁵ Though Klingenstein was named to this position in 1574, his surviving oeuvre post-dates the time frame of this dissertation. For more on the Augsburg cathedral music chapel, see Christian Thomas Leitmeir, "Catholic Music in the Diocese of Augsburg ca. 1600: A Reconstructed Tricinium Anthology and Its Confessional Implications," *Early Music History* 21 (2002): 121–22.

trajectories in the selection and treatment of psalm motet texts. It also minimizes the risk of those findings being overtly influenced by individual idiosyncrasies.

In summary, Augsburg's more or less continuous heterodoxy (noting a Zwinglian and Anabaptist presence in the 1520s and 1530s, a formally recognized biconfessional identity from 1548, and a continued Jewish presence on days of trade), wealth, imperial connections, engagement in cross-continental trade, a socially diverse populace, various occasions that merited public and private musical performance, and the lack of a significant, sustained body of professional musicians throughout this period resulted in an amalgam of religiously, politically, and stylistically varied sources of psalm motets, now held in a single archive. A final characteristic of Augsburg's motet collection that I would like to highlight before proceeding is the potential Jewish influence on certain items. Historian Bernd Roeck describes Renaissance Augsburg as a sort of "German Jerusalem," its cityscape sculpted by high towers, and its early print output abounding with calendars and chronicles detailing the city's history and tracing its origins—like the Tanakh—to the beginning of time.¹⁶ Several Hebrew books were, in fact, issued from Augsburg printing presses between the years 1514 and 1543, and though Jews were not permitted to reside within city walls, they could enter by day to enact business. Several of the motets I examined use marginalia and/or combinations of musically set texts in such a way that suggests familiarity with the Hebrew Bible—probably by way of Luther's translations. These receive special attention in chapters four, five, and six.

Source materials employed in this study include over one hundred prints and manuscripts of motets held at the D-As, and books printed in sixteenth-century Augsburg that are now preserved

¹⁶ Roeck, *Geschichte Augsburgs*, 95.

at the Bavarian State Library in Munich (D-Mbs). Single items held at the Ludwig Maximilian University Library, also in Munich, and at the Episcopal Central Library in Regensburg were also consulted. Of the sources preserved in these cities, eighty-two printed books and broadsheets and six manuscripts include psalm motets (motets based entirely or in part on psalm texts. See Appendix II for a detailed listing). These pieces form the foundation of my study.

My initial findings show that the composers represented in these volumes were active almost exclusively within the bounds of the Holy Roman Empire. Although no single artist's or chapel's oeuvre predominates, the compositions of those employed in Swabia and Bavaria and in the Habsburg courts—especially those of Charles V and his successors—come to the foreground. The emerging blend of southern German and Franco-Flemish repertoires derives from the close connection between Augsburg and the Habsburg emperors. The period between the initial shockwave of the Reformation and the sociocultural upheavals that ultimately produced the Thirty Years War may be characterized as one of intense negotiations regarding religious freedoms. The Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547) also devastated several German cities, and both the conflict and its aftermath had a particularly forceful impact on Augsburg. The environment encouraged and even necessitated the development of materials oriented toward specific confessional groups. At the same time, residents of biconfessional cities such as Augsburg needed to find subtle or nonconfrontative ways express their views. Despite both nascent and deep-seated differences, Catholics and Protestants of diverse sects all used the Psalter.

The same humanist impulse that drove the revival of classical literature also renewed interests in patristic writings (texts by Christian authors active in the first through the mid-fifth centuries). It was through these texts that sixteenth-century exegetes and lay readers alike interpreted the psalms. This is especially well-attested by volumes of both German- and Latin-

texted translations of psalm commentaries, including those of Hippolytus, Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, Athanasius, Basil of Caesarea, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Cassiodorus that were issued by Augsburg printers throughout the sixteenth century.¹⁷ The Psalter is singled out by several church fathers on account of its prophetic value from a Christian exegetical perspective, its connectivity (through direct quotes and references) to the whole scripture,¹⁸ and the universality of its content. In the words of Eusebius of Caesarea, “Everything is gathered in the Psalter, as a communal treasury.”¹⁹ Basil of Caesarea augments this idea when he writes:

Now the prophets teach one thing, historians another, the law something else, and the form of advice found in the proverbs something different still. But the Book of Psalms has taken over what is profitable for all. It foretells coming events; it recalls history; it frames laws for life; it suggests what must be done; and in general, it is the common treasury of good doctrine, carefully finding what is suitable for each one. The old wounds of souls it cures completely, and to the recently wounded it brings speedy improvements; the diseased it treats, the unharmed it preserves. On the whole it effaces, as far as possible, the passions, which subtly exercise dominion over souls during the lifetime of man, and it does this with a certain orderly persuasion and sweetness which produces sound thoughts.²⁰

Athanasius echoes this notion, and adds that a certain authorship is transferred to the supplicant simply by the act of choosing which psalm to pray:

The words of [the Psalter] include the whole life of man, all conditions of the mind and movements of thought . . . If thou art in need of repentance or confession, if sorrow or temptation befall thee; if anyone has endured persecution or has escaped by hiding; if anyone is sad or troubled, or if good fortune has returned to him; if the enemy is

¹⁷ A brief overview of these authors’ commentaries is offered in Craig A. Blaising and Carmen S. Hardin, eds., *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture*, vol. 7: *Psalms 1–50* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2008), xviii–xxvii.

¹⁸ The psalms are cited more times than any other Hebrew Bible/Old Testament text in the New Testament.

¹⁹ Author’s translation. Original quoted in Walther Dehnhard, *Die deutsche Psalmotte in der Reformationszeit* (Wiesbaden, Germany: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1971), 20.

²⁰ Basil of Caesarea, *Homily 10:1*, quoted in Michael Maas, *Readings in Late Antiquity: a Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 73–74.

conquered, and he wishes to offer to the Lord praise, thanks and glory—for all this he can choose material enough from the psalms, and offer to God what they contain as his own work.²¹

These authors' influence on sixteenth-century theism is clearly evident in Luther's argument that the Psalter:

ought to be a precious and beloved book, if for no other reason than this: it promises Christ's death and resurrection so clearly—and pictures his kingdom and the condition and nature of all Christendom—that it might well be called a little Bible. In it is comprehended most beautifully and briefly everything that is in the entire Bible.²²

Johann Petreius's dedication to the *Psalmi selecti* 1 affirms that patristic concepts of the Psalter were also familiar to nontheologians. Defending his choice to publish a book of psalms, he argues that the psalms “have truly musical, that is divine, content” and adds that “studious youth by the frequent singing of them might become accustomed, in the course of another pursuit [singing], to the word of God.”²³

Nowhere is the avid mid-sixteenth-century interest in the Psalter more clearly shown than in the sheer quantity of extant motets based on psalm texts. Focusing on psalm motets held in prints and manuscripts produced c1500–1520, Timothy Steele locates only fifty-seven examples.²⁴ Working with a broader time frame of c1500–1535, and including partial and centonate works—which Steele does not—Edward Nowacki identifies 186 motets that use psalm

²¹ Athanasius, *Letter to Marcellinus on the Interpretation of the Psalms*, 27:42, quoted in Timothy Howard Steele, “The Latin Psalm Motet, ca. 1460–1520: Aspects of the Emergence of a New Motet Type” (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1993), 141–42.

²² Martin Luther, “Preface to the Psalter 1545 (1528),” in: *Luther's Works* 35:254, quoted in David Crook, “The Exegetical Motet,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 68, no. 2 (2015): 286, fn. 67.

²³ Johann Petreius, dedication to *Tomus primus psalmore selectorum*, quoted in Patrick Macey, “Josquin as Classic,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 118, no. 1 (1993): 2–3.

²⁴ Steele, “The Latin Psalm Motet,” 31–32.

elements.²⁵ Where Steele and Nowacki have endeavored to provide comprehensive surveys of the genre, within their respective periods, my study, which centers on the holdings of a single archive and incorporates fewer than twenty sources from other repositories, surveys eight hundred compositions that use substantial portions—quotations, adaptations, and paraphrases—of psalm texts. That is almost four times the number of motets I found which quote or adapt material from the gospels of Luke and Matthew. These proved the second and third most frequently used Bible texts in motets of this period. Table 1.1 gives the ten most often quoted or adapted Bible books in D-As-held and Augsburg-produced motets. A complete version of this table, which takes the whole scripture into account, is included in Appendix III.

Table 1.1: Bible Quotations and Paraphrases as Motet Texts

Book Title (Short Form)	Bible/Testament	Section	Total Motets	In Augsburg. Mss.	In Augsburg. Prints
Psalms	JB/OT	Poetic and Sapiential	800 ²⁶	86	66
Luke	NT	Canonical Gospels	221 ²⁷	16	19
Matthew	NT	Canonical Gospels	213 ²⁸	21	16
John	NT	Canonical Gospels	187	20	12
Isaiah	JB/OT	Major Prophets	102 ²⁸	11	7
Sirach (Ecclesiasticus, Ben Sira)	Apoc.	Vulg.: Poetic and Sapiential	66	9	7
Song of Songs (Song of Solomon)	JB/OT	Poetic and Sapiential	63	4	8
Acts of the Apostles	NT	Apostolic Historical	61	9	4
Mark	NT	Canonical Gospels	54	3	3
Wisdom	Apoc.	Vulg.: Poetic and Sapiential	46	5	4

²⁵ Edward Nowacki, “The Latin Psalm Motet, 1500–1535,” in *Renaissance-Studien: Helmuth Osthoff zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Tutzing, Germany: H. Schneider, 1979), 161–171.

²⁶ 163 *falsobordone*-style settings and 85 contrapuntal examples are omitted from this count (see Appendix II sections B and C, respectively). Settings of the Sanctus, which quotes part of Ps. 117 (or Matt. 21), are also omitted.

²⁷ Settings of the Magnificat are omitted from this count.

²⁸ Settings of the Sanctus, which quotes part of Matt. 21 (or Ps. 117) and part of Isa. 6, are omitted from these counts.

Further preliminary results show that certain psalm texts were set with far greater frequency than others across a variety of contexts (liturgical and nonliturgical books; Latin, German, and polylingual sources; music written for different institutions; etc.). Eight psalm texts emerged as the most frequently used. These are Pss. 118, 44, 117, 32, 50, 70, 67, and 138.²⁹ That is, the psalms beginning:

- 118: Beati immaculati in via (Happy are those whose way is blameless)³⁰
- 44: Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum (My heart overflows with a goodly theme)
- 117: Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus, quoniam in saeculum misericordia ejus.
Dicat nunc Israel . . . (O give thanks to the Lord, for he is good . . .)³¹
- 32: Exsultate, justi, in Domino (Rejoice in the Lord, O you righteous)
- 50: Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam (Have mercy on me,
O God, according to your steadfast love)
- 70: In te, Domine, speravi; non confundar in aeternum; in Justitia tua libera me, et
eripe me: inclina ad me aurem tuam, et salva me (In you, O Lord, I take refuge
. . .)³²

²⁹ Septuagint (LXX) numbering of the Psalms.

³⁰ Punctuation is based on the 1899 edition of the Clementine Vulgate Bible by the John Murphy Company, Baltimore, Maryland, published by Tan Books in 1971.

³¹ Five psalms begin with the phrase, “Confitemini Domino,” namely: Pss. 104, 105, 106, 117, and 135. Ps. 104 continues, “et invocate nomen ejus” omitting the “quoniam bonus” phrase; Ps. 105 continues, “quoniam bonus, quoniam in saeculum misericordia ejus. Quis loquetur potentias Domini”; Ps. 106 continues, “quoniam bonus, quoniam in saeculum misericordia ejus. Dicant qui redempti sunt a Domino”; and Ps. 135 continues, “quoniam bonus, quoniam in aeternum Misericordia ejus” replacing “saeculum” with “aeternum.”

³² Two psalms begin with this phrase, namely Pss. 30 and 70. The opening lines of Ps. 30 read “In te, Domine, speravi; non confundar in aeternum; in Justitia tua libera me” and continue “Inclina ad me aurem tuam; accelera ut eruas me.”

- 67: Exsurgat Deus, et dissipentur inimici ejus (Let God rise up, let his enemies be scattered)
- 138: Domine, probasti me, et cognovisti me (O Lord, you have searched me and known me)

I found at least twenty motets across the D-As collection and in Augsburg-produced sources that set a substantial identifiable portion of each text with no fewer than five settings each within Augsburg prints and manuscripts. Tables 1.2a–b show the overlap between the most frequently-set psalm texts overall and in Augsburg-produced sources, respectively. Table 1.2a is organized so that the psalms most frequently used across all sources I consulted appear at the top (forty-two settings of Ps. 118 through twenty settings each of Pss. 24, 67, 138, and 144). Table 1.2b is arranged so that the psalms most frequently used in Augsburg-produced prints and manuscripts combined appear at the top (nine settings of Ps. 118, with two in prints and seven in manuscripts, through five settings each of Pss. 138 and 97, all in manuscripts). A complete version of Table 1.2a, listing numbers and data for the entire Psalter, is found in Appendix III.

Table 1.2a: Psalm Motet Texts (all sources)

Psalm No.	Total Motets	In Augs. Mss.	In Augs. Prints
Ps. 118	42	2	7
Ps. 44	39	8	0
Ps. 117	34	3	3
Ps. 30	27	4	0
Ps. 32	27	6	1
Ps. 50	27	1	6
Ps. 70	24	4	2
Ps. 24	20	0	3
Ps. 67	20	5	3
Ps. 138	20	5	0
Ps. 144	20	3	1

Table 1.2b: Psalm Motet Texts (Augs.-produced sources)

Psalm No.	Total Motets	In Augs. Mss.	In Augs. Prints
Ps. 118	42	2	7
Ps. 44	39	8	0
Ps. 67	20	5	3
Ps. 32	27	6	1
Ps. 50	27	1	6
Ps. 117	34	3	3
Ps. 70	24	4	2
Ps. 138	20	5	0
Ps. 97	18	5	0

Apart from their shared predominance in musical settings, these texts appear to have little in common. Some are attributed to David, while others are not. Some are composed in a first-person perspective, others in the third person, and still others, in a mixture of the two. Some received more attention than others in patristic, late medieval, and/or contemporary commentaries. Some employ large-scale organizational strategies, like acrostics, while others are shaped on a local level through stanzas and parallelisms. In terms of content, they are also diverse. At first blush, the only commonality is that they are all among the longest psalm chapters. Were that the only significant factor, one might expect to find more settings of Pss. 77, 88, and 17—the second, third, and fourth longest psalms in the complete Psalter, respectively—which rarely feature.

What I propose is that settings of the most frequently-used psalms speak to experiences that could be imagined as shared. In some cases, such as that of Ps. 67 whose central theme is exile, those experiences may have had immediate relevance to Augsburg's citizens. The city's Anabaptist population was arrested and expelled in 1528, and all of its Catholic clergy were exiled in the decade between 1537 and 1547. Jews were banned from dwelling within city walls a century earlier, in 1438, and throughout the sixteenth century were only permitted to enter the city by day. Other experiences immediate to the time and culture, including the (re-)formation of ideologies and doctrines, and the idea of coexisting in the face of religious difference, find an echo in this selection of psalm texts, given that many focus on topics of doctrine and religious discord. All eight of the psalms listed above present textual material that cuts across steadily coalescing confessional lines.

Reading these texts against a backdrop of Renaissance humanism, the Reformation, and the Counter-Reformation, I argue that the psalms that come into prominence through musical

settings issued from 1540 to 1585 and which are associated with one or more Augsburg institutions do not offer fully-formed religious instruction, like sermons given in a confessionally-stable landscape, but instead highlight topics for contemplation and reflection. Moreover, the conversations opened up by these motets are relevant and meaningful to plural religious doctrines. In fact, I hold that some motets and motet books in the collection actually resist confessional demarcation. The following chapters test this hypothesis through assessments of, first, psalm motets sent to the Augsburg city council (chapter two), psalm motets that present re-readings of psalm-based prose and poetry (Augustine's *Confessions*, Savonarola's *Meditations*, etc.; chapter three), and case studies examining the three most frequently-set psalm texts in both D-As and Augsburg-produced sources, namely Pss. 118, 50, and 67 (chapters four, five, and six).

Psalm motets such as Josquin's "Miserere mei, Deus," Lasso's "Timor et tremor," and Palestrina's "Viri Galilaei" count among the most highly esteemed works of sixteenth-century creativity according to both current and historic valuation. It is no surprise, therefore, that the genre of psalm motets has received considerable scholarly attention. The following pages provide an overview of recent findings, current trajectories, and seminal works that have most directly impacted on this study. This section is organized according to three lines of inquiry that have elicited considerable and continuous discussion among musicologists over the past four decades, namely: 1) how are psalm motets defined, 2) what is their function, and 3) what connections can be discerned between psalm motets and concurrent sociocultural developments of humanism, the Reformation, and the Counter-Reformation.

While conceptions of the psalm motet are sometimes limited, “motet,” by itself, has become a catch-all for usually, but not exclusively, sacred Latin-texted works that do not fit into other categories (hymns, sequences, Magnificats, etc.). As part of his introduction to the conference, “Hearing the Motet,” James Haar sketched out some of the primary difficulties associated with defining motets, namely: the absence of “period, genre, form, style, textual language, or performance medium” limitations.³³ Narrowing the focus to the sixteenth century, Anthony Cummings describes the motet as “conventionally employ[ing] liturgical texts or combinations of them” yet “marked by a freedom of musical style and function that generally did not characterize more obviously liturgical works.”³⁴ In a separate source, Cummings affirms that the motet is “a polyphonic work based on a Latin text—sometimes liturgical, sometimes not—apparently selected to express sentiments of a particular type.”³⁵ Cummings’s emphasis on the genre’s flexibility is somewhat at odds with Timothy Steele’s, Edward Nowacki’s, and others’ ideas about what constitutes a psalm motet. Steele’s definition of “psalm motet,” for instance, is much more confining:

A polyphonic setting of a complete psalm, or a substantial and integral portion of one psalm, selected from among the 150 canonic psalms of the Bible, written in the advanced contrapuntal idiom of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, with or without a cantus firmus, and found in standard motet anthologies of the period.³⁶

³³ James Haar, quoted in Dolores Pesce, ed., “Introduction” to *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 4.

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

³⁵ Anthony Cummings, “The Motet,” in *European Music 1520–1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2006), 133.

³⁶ Steele, “The Latin Psalm Motet,” 2.

Steele adds that these works often include “textual appendages . . . particularly the doxology or an antiphon” and frequently make use of psalm tones.³⁷ Though focusing on psalm motets composed from 1460 to 1520, Steele’s definition finds considerable resonance in studies of later repertoires. In his contribution to the *Renaissance-Studien* volume dedicated to Helmuth Osthoff, Edward Nowacki presents separate tables for complete and partial (also centonate) psalm motets.³⁸ Excepting partial settings of Ps. 118, Nowacki asserts that the latter “are not psalm motets in the strict sense.”³⁹ Use of complete psalm texts as a defining aspect of psalm motets is also implied in Oliver Strunk’s survey of Palestrina’s motet oeuvre. In this context, Strunk treats antiphon and responsory motets as distinct from psalm motets—despite the fact that both of the former frequently employ psalm elements. Strunk ignores this connection, focusing instead on the stylistic similarities between Palestrina’s settings of psalm and sequence motets.⁴⁰ Though prefiguring the (Tudor) psalm motet as a “polyphonic treatment of an entire Vulgate psalm,” David Mateer disputes the use of an overly rigid definition for the genre. He argues for the inclusion of works setting all but one or two psalm verses, and works setting substantial portions of longer psalms. He insists, however, that “to preserve the genre’s identity, one must impose some limit to the amount of textual freedom permissible, even under a loose interpretation of the definition.” Based on this assertion he, like Steele, excludes centonates.⁴¹

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 60.

³⁸ Centonate psalm motets combine excerpts of two or more texts, at least one of which derives from the Psalter.

³⁹ Nowacki, “The Latin Psalm Motet,” 160.

⁴⁰ Oliver Strunk, “Some Motet Types of the Sixteenth Century,” in *Essays on Music in the Western World* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1974), 113.

⁴¹ David Mateer, introduction to *Robert White vol. 1: Five-Part Latin Psalms*, ed. David Mateer (London: Stainer and Bell, 1983), xi.

Other scholars have adopted broader understandings of what the term “psalm motet” might include. Though the genre is not positively defined in Walther Dehnhard, Mariko Teramoto, or James C. Griesheimer’s doctoral theses (and subsequent publications), each addresses a repertory that includes, as psalm motets, partial and adapted psalms. Dehnhard’s *Die deutsche Psalmmotette* focuses on German-texted psalm motets by nineteen known and several anonymous authors issued in print collections between 1525 and c1570. His and others’ identification of these vernacular works as psalm motets undercuts the prevailing notion that the genre must be Latin-texted. Dehnhard’s Appendix V summarizes the texts set by these artists: all told, only seventy-one out of the total 101 motets surveyed set complete psalms. Twenty-eight of the remaining thirty use single or selected psalm verses, while two are centonates.⁴² Teramoto’s understanding of psalm motets is delineated by her materials: three large-scale print volumes of “selected psalms” (psalmi selecti) issued by Petreius in Nuremberg, 1538–1542. These works are entirely Latin although, as with Dehnhard’s repertory, they include partial and centonate settings. Four psalm paraphrases also feature.⁴³ Griesheimer, unlike Strunk, implies an overlap between antiphon motets based on psalm elements and psalm motets. In the context of a chapter on textual aspects of Ludwig Senfl’s motets, he writes: “Psalm texts account for a score of settings and may be divided between psalm-based items, most notably antiphons, and settings of complete psalms or large portions of them.” This implication is affirmed where antiphon motets such as the “Hic accipiet Deus” and “Panem angelorum,” which previously appeared in tables of

⁴² Dehnhard, *Die deutsche Psalmmotette*, 316–17. In his dated but still valuable study on Protestant church music, Friedrich Blume assumes that the German psalm motet is a subgenre of a larger repertory, and argues for its centrality in the initial development of Protestant ecclesiastic song: “along with the Protestant lied,” he holds, the German psalm motet stands as “the only specifically Protestant form of church music in the age of the Reformation.” See Friedrich Blume, *Protestant Church Music: a History*, trans. F. Ellsworth Peterson et al. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974), 99.

⁴³ Mariko Teramoto, *Die Psalmmotettendrucke des Johannes Petrejus in Nürnberg* (Tutzing, Germany: H. Schneider, 1983), 6–11.

antiphons, resurface in lists and discussions of psalms.⁴⁴ In an unpublished talk given at the “Mapping the Post-Tridentine Motet” conference, Diane Temme argued indirectly for the inclusion of *falsobordone*-style compositions such as Lasso’s “Domine, quid multiplicati sunt” and “Deus in adiutorium meum intende” among psalm motets.⁴⁵ Given the marginalization of such works as motets, it seems that Steele’s (and others’) assertion that psalm motets be composed in an “advanced contrapuntal idiom” still holds sway in some circles.

The present study differs from related research in that it accepts as psalm motets any and all polyphonic, through-composed works that set complete or partial psalms, as well as centonates, paraphrases, and literary extracts (Augustine’s *Confessions*, Savonarola’s *Meditations*, etc.) that are substantially based on psalm verses or hemistiches. This project therefore includes bicinia and tricinia, Latin and vernacular psalms, and would incorporate non-strophic *falsobordone* psalm settings had any examples been located. Strophic songs (Lieder, chansons, etc.) and motets in which only the first few words or the initial phrase of the psalm appears are excluded, as are hymns and sequences. My findings indicate that, relative to antiphons and responsories, very few hymns and sequences are based on psalm texts. Due to the limited connections between hymns/sequences and the Psalter, the lines of demarcation between these two genres and psalm motets are more easily drawn. As for other established forms of sacred polyphony—most notably the Mass and the Magnificat—the only potential overlap derives from the Sanctus of the Mass Ordinary (this paraphrases Is. 6:3 and Matt. 21:9/Ps. 117:26), the Introit of the Requiem Mass (“Requiem aeternam”: this paraphrases Ps. 64:2–3),

⁴⁴ James C. Griesheimer, “The Antiphon-, Responsory-, and Psalm Motets of Ludwig Senfl” (PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 1990), 10–18, esp. 15.

⁴⁵ Diane Temme, “The Homophonic Psalm-Motet and Late Sixteenth-Century Liturgical Psalmody” (presentation at the “Mapping the Post-Tridentine Motet” conference, Nottingham, U.K., April 18, 2015).

and the Gradual of the Requiem Mass (“Si ambulem”: this uses an excerpt from Ps. 22:4). While I did not locate isolated Sanctus settings in motet books or manuscripts, I did find several motets that borrow or adapt material from the Requiem texts.⁴⁶ These are, therefore, included in Appendix II, and are counted among the motets this study admits.

What I have provided in the paragraph above is less of a definition than a framework. While I agree with Mateer that an overly diffuse definition of psalm motets renders the genre distinction meaningless, given the scope of works published under vague umbrella terms such as “psalms,” “motets,” and “songs,” coupled with the range of materials modern scholars discuss as psalm motets, I have elected to cast a wide net. My main criterion in defining the genre—after polyphony (minimal to advanced) and a through-composed, non-strophic structure—is that a substantial, audible/recognizable portion of the motet’s text be based on a psalm. This latter aspect is challenged by works such as Jacobus Vaet’s five-voice “Mater digna Dei,” a motet whose *secunda pars* cantus firmus repeats the opening phrase of Pss. 50, 53, and 56, “Miserere mei, Deus.” Drawing an analogy between this situation and that of the “L’homme armé” masses, I argue that the “Mater digna” should not be considered a psalm motet. Just as the use of a “L’homme armé” cantus firmus does not redefine a Kyrie as a chanson, Vaet’s inclusion of this fragmentary Ps. 50 excerpt, used in only half the work, and buried within a thick five-voice texture, does not justify its inclusion among psalm motets.⁴⁷ A similar issue arises with regards to Lasso’s and Lodovico Agostini’s “Peccantem me quotidie” motets, both of which set a

⁴⁶ Jacobus Vaet uses the Requiem introtit text as a fifth-voice cantus firmus in his “Continuo lachrimas”—a lament on the death of Clemens non Papa (*Modulationes* 2, Venice: Gardano, 1562). De Cleve borrows the same material for his “Maxmiliane pater patriae,” which mourns the passing of Maximilian II (*Cantiones seu harmoniae sacrae*, Augsburg: Ulhart, 1579/80). Antonio Chemotti’s untitled doctoral dissertation (forthcoming) further investigates the problematic distinction between liturgical and non-liturgical settings of Requiem Mass texts, in particular the “Libera me, Domine.”

⁴⁷ Thanks to Anne MacNeil for suggesting this analogy.

respond from the Office for the Dead. The respond concludes, “Miserere mei, Deus, et salva me,” borrowing the same verse fragment as Vaet’s composition but nothing more. The verse associated with this respond quotes Ps. 53:3, however, and is included in the longer “Peccantem me quotidie” motet of Benedictus Appenzeller, affirming this latter work’s identity as a psalm motet. Although Lasso’s and Agostini’s compositions are not identified as psalm motets, given the currency of Ps. 50’s opening phrase in mid-sixteenth-century theological and devotional literature, coupled with the salient treatment of this text in their respective works, they receive attention in my case study on Ps. 50.

Paraphrasing William S. Newman and Philip Gossett, Cummings argues that “what is called a motet in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries *is* a motet.”⁴⁸ To be fair, his statement is not exclusionary, but in consideration of the D-As collection it is not very useful. In fact, “motet” features only rarely in titles of D-As-held and Augsburg-produced books. Cummings acknowledges that in the later sixteenth century, titles such as *Cantiones ecclesiasticae* were more often the norm, and attributes printers’ and publishers’ aversion toward “motet” as a title keyword to a general humanist distaste for scholastic Latin.⁴⁹ Titles such as *Cantiones sacrae* likely indicate a more general collection. An overview of the titles, subtitles, and indices of the music books I consulted both justifies my use of a more inclusive definition for psalm motets than is generally accepted and emphasizes the point that the sources which preserve psalm motets in Augsburg are only occasionally identified as “psalms” or “motets.”

Table 1.3 summarizes keywords from titles, subtitles, and indices of all printed motet books and broadsheets that were consulted for this project. Each column—titles, subtitles, and

⁴⁸ Cummings, “The Motet,” 130.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 131.

indices—is subdivided so that the total number of sources to use each term appears first, followed by the number of Augsburg-produced prints that do so.

Table 1.3: Keywords in Motet Books

Keyword	Titles		Subtitles		Contemporary Indices	
	Total	Augs.	Total	Augs.	Total	Augs.
“Songs” (cantica, cantiones, Lieder)	46	8	4	1	15	1
“Motets” (motecta, motetta, motetti, muteta)	8	0	28	4	19	4
“Modulations” (modulationes, moduli)	7	0	2	0	1	0
“Music” (musicae, musices)	5	0	1	0	0	0
“Canon(s)” (canon, canones)	5	4	0	0	0	0
Two- and three-voice collections (tricinia and bicinia)	4	0	0	0	0	0
“Consonances” (concentus)	3	2	0	0	0	0
“Psalms” (Psalmen, psalmi)	2	0	2	1	1	0

Only the eight most frequently used keywords appear here. Unusual keywords, such as “lamentations” (lamentationes), “prayers” (preces), or “miner’s songs” (Bergkreyen) that are used only once or twice in D-As-held and Augsburg-produced music books are omitted.

As a title keyword, “song” (cantica, cantiones, or Lieder) predominates, though “motet” (motecta, motetta, motetti, or muteta) regularly appears in subtitles. It is most often used in the context of the phrase, “quas vulgo moteta vocant” (which are commonly called motets), or a close variation thereof. The inclusion of this phrase as a subtitle in four Augsburg-produced prints and more than twenty additional sources supports Cummings’s assumption that the word “motet” was too “inelegant” to be presented in the larger eye-grabbing font of the main title text.⁵⁰ At the same time, the term’s apparent familiarity may have necessitated its inclusion

⁵⁰ Cummings, “The Motet,” 131.

elsewhere on title pages or in indices, where it could be effectively buried but still accessible to the browsing customer. Note that “motet” also features more often than “song” in indices of both the overall collection and in Augsburg-produced books.

The overlapping use of keywords meaning “song,” “motet,” “modulation,” and so forth further affirms that at this time period, these terms were interchangeable. All told, the thirty-seven sources of motets I examined use differing keywords between their titles, subtitles, and/or indices. This is not to say that the definitions for these terms are the same. If they were, one would expect to find a similar set of adjective descriptors paired with each, which is not at all the case. “Songs” are regularly paired with adjective descriptors meaning “sacred,” “ecclesiastic,” and so forth. “Motets” and “modulations,” on the other hand, tend to stand alone. This could indicate one of two things: 1) a sacred or ecclesiastic aspect of motets is generally understood, or 2) motets are only occasionally identified as having a spiritual character, therefore describing them as “sacred” or “ecclesiastic” is inaccurate. Given the frequent pairing of motet-book titles such as “sacred songs” with subtitles or indices dubbing the same works “motets,” along with the overwhelming preponderance of motets in D-As-held and Augsburg-produced sources that quote or adapt Bible texts, I hold to the former argument.

Both current and historic scholarship questions the function of psalm motets as key to their definition. Yet, while some authors have securely answered the queries of when, where, and for whom specific motet repertoires were performed, by and large we are left only with enough evidence to speculate.⁵¹ The majority assessment of motets as “paraliturgical”—that is, having a

⁵¹ Through his pioneering study of Sistine Chapel diaries, Cummings demonstrates that motets were performed in both liturgical and nonliturgical contexts and affirms, moreover, that these works were not consistently sung in accordance with manuscript rubrics assigning them to specific liturgical occasions. Based on surviving records of Mary of Hungary, Glenda G. Thompson argues that motets were regularly sung after sermons. Though both richly sourced and well-articulated, neither Cummings’s nor Thompson’s articles definitively prove that these usages of motets extended beyond the boundaries of the papal or Hungarian courts, respectively. See Cummings, “Toward an

noncompulsory association with the liturgy and, in the view of most scholars, a freer and more elaborate style than strictly liturgical works—is problematic due to inconsistent interpretations of this term. “Paraliturgical” may indicate any composition or volume whose potential liturgical usage is undermined by internal or external factors. Internal factors may include texts that fail to align with a Roman Catholic or local liturgical standard (by omission, alteration, or addition of material, perhaps) or stylistic traits. A work composed in an elaborate, highly contrapuntal idiom might be deemed aesthetically inappropriate for use in church, especially in the later sixteenth century. A composition that was once considered liturgical may therefore become paraliturgical over time. External factors derive from the print or manuscript context. A print containing the antiphon motet, “Hic accipiet Deus,” for example, but dedicated to a secular authority, carrying mixed sacred and secular elements, containing both Latin and vernacular works, and/or inviting performers to sing or play the enclosed materials on instruments would render the antiphon paraliturgical according to at least some interpretations of the term.⁵² On the other hand, a centonate made up of one matins and one vespers antiphon, both for the Feast of Corpus Christi, could also be taken as paraliturgical, even if the work appears in a book of *Cantiones ecclesiasticae*, arranged according to the church year and containing the appropriate rubrics. Given the many disparate and inconsistent definitions and applications of “paraliturgical,” for the purposes of this dissertation I am parsing motets as liturgically and nonliturgically oriented. Print or manuscript context is taken as the leading parameter in distinguishing between these two

Interpretation,” 44; and Glenda G. Thompson, “Music in the Court Records of Mary of Hungary,” *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 34, no. 2 (1984): 137.

⁵² My study surveyed ten D-As-held volumes with subtitles inviting performers to either sing or play the contents. Nine out of these ten volumes were produced in southern Germany, suggesting that the performance of motets on instruments was particularly popular in that region. This notion is supported by the fact that additional books of German Lieder I examined offer similar invitations. These books contain a wide variety of complete, partial, and paraphrased psalm motets, and include Alexander Utendal’s *Septem psalmi poenitentiales* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1570).

types. Prints and manuscripts assembled for use during Mass or as part of the Divine Office, with materials grouped and organized according to the feasts of the temporale or sanctorale cycles, and indices/rubrics that affirm this organizational scheme are taken as liturgical. Given the restrictive nature of this definition, only a handful of sources are classified thus, namely the five manuscripts copied out by Johannes Dreher for use at the Benedictine monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra; Georg Rhau's (ed.) two *Responsoria* volumes and his *Novum opus musicum*; Diego Ortiz's *Musices* 1; Leonhard Paminger's *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* 1–3; Berg's (ed.) *Patrocinium musices* 1–4; Infantas's *Sacrae cantiones varii styli* 2–3; Lindner's (ed.) *Sacrae cantiones*; and Isaac's *Choralis Constantinus* 2–3. The remaining manuscript, prints, and broadsheets I identify as nonliturgical.⁵³ By grouping these works as liturgical, I do not mean to suggest that they were definitely used in ecclesiastic contexts. Consistent differences in the textual treatment of motets in these sources, as compared to books identified as nonliturgical support this delineation, however, and are discussed further in chapters four, five, and six.⁵⁴

I agree with David Crook's assertion that "what made the motet appropriate for performance" in the sixteenth century was, in fact, the relevance of its text. As testimony to this position, Crook examines motets and rubrics assigning the works of one Lutheran source (Johannes Rühling's *Tabulaturbuch*, 1583) and one Catholic source (Andreas Pevernage's *Cantiones sacrae*, 1578/1602) to selected Sundays. In both cases, Crook shows that the

⁵³ Subtitles of several D-As-held sources, including Susato's (ed.) *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* 1–12 and Contino's *Modulationes* 1–2 indicate liturgical usage. This does not bear out when one considers the organization and contents of these works, however, all of which are loosely grouped by pitch/mode and include a small selection of secular works.

⁵⁴ This is not to say that the term, "paraliturgical" is not useful. A compelling case for the use and even the necessity of this term could be developed from the materials James Haar and John Nádas explore in their study of Mod B. A book of polyphonic hymns and antiphons, the choirbook's index is separated into two parts, the second of which is headed "hic incipient motetti." Among the following works are two Marian antiphons which previously appeared among the liturgical settings. See James Haar and John Nádas, "The Medici, the Signoria, the Pope: Sacred Polyphony in Florence, 1432–1448," *Recercare* 20, no. 1–2 (2008): 25–93.

exegetical potential of motet texts, relative to Gospel and Epistle readings of the day, outweighed previous liturgical usage. Crook argues that by “interpreting and elaborating” canonic readings, motets assumed a sermonizing role.⁵⁵ Martha Feldman, Robert L. Kendrick, M. Jennifer Bloxam, Jessie Ann Owens, and Franz Körndle have contributed to developing the notion of the composer as a reader or exegete, through diverse assessments of music as a commentary on musically-set texts. The idea of the psalm motet, specifically, as a “unique reading of a psalm by an intelligent musician whose musical choices were determined in large part by his understanding of the shape of the text and what it meant to him” is central to Steele’s conceptualization of the genre.⁵⁶ Crook takes a different approach, focusing on how motet texts comment on other texts that form part of the liturgy. His essay places singers and listeners in the spotlight as potential interpreters and exegetes who might perceive textual connections.

Taking a cue from Bonnie Blackburn’s “For Whom Do the Singers Sing?” this study steps back from focusing on composers as readers, and instead turns to users (that is, singers, listeners, and readers) as potential exegetes. In her article, Blackburn asks: “do the words matter to the singer?” Blackburn questions the perceived identity (or identities) of beneficiaries of prayer motets—singers, patrons, composers, etc.—and contemplates the intercessory value of diverse settings to these personages. Even more strongly than Blackburn, Crook shifts the focus away from composers as readers. Or, to put it another way, shifts the focus from the genesis of

⁵⁵ Crook, “The Exegetical Motet,” 255–316.

⁵⁶ Martha Feldman, “The Composer as Exegete: Interpretations of Petrarchan Syntax in the Venetian Madrigal,” *Studi musicali* 18 (1989): 203–38; Robert L. Kendrick, “‘Sonet vox tua in auribus meis’: Song of Songs Exegesis and the Seventeenth-Century Motet,” *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 16 (1994): 99–118; M. Jennifer Bloxam, “Obrecht as Exegete: Reading Factor orbis as a Christian Sermon,” in *Hearing the Motet*, ed. Dolores Pesce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 169–92; Jessie Ann Owens, “Palestrina as Reader: Motets from the Song of Songs,” in *Hearing the Motet*, ed. Dolores Pesce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 307–28; and Franz Körndle, “Musik in Psalmkommentaren des 17. Jahrhunderts,” in *Psalmen: Kirchenmusik zwischen Tradition, Dramatik und Experiment*, ed. Helen Geyer et al. (Cologne: Böhlau, 2014), 27–46.

the motet to its reception. Both scholarly works touch on broader questions of users' ideas about textual meaning in motets, and their potential authority to form individual interpretations. If we accept that 1) psalm motets were used both liturgically and nonliturgically, and 2) in liturgical contexts they were treated with a flexibility that allowed for performances on occasions other than those indicated by their texts, then we must also consider that decisions about what psalm motets should be performed when were made on a local or individual level rather than an institutional one. A degree of ownership is already extended to the user by way of these works' unprescribed function—in church, in school, at home, etc. On the other hand, because these works were performed in groups, some institutional context plays a role. Nevertheless I estimate that the genre opened itself up to individual readings in a manner that was less encouraged by other genres of sacred music.

A situation that has not yet received attention in this introduction is that of private performance. Several Augsburg residents, especially some members of the patrician and professional classes, held considerable private libraries.⁵⁷ While this dissertation centers on music produced for or assembled by specific Augsburg institutions—the city council, SS. Ulrich and Afra, and S. Anna most notably—given the city's wealth, its print industry that at least intermittently issued music books, and its engagement in cross-continental trade, there is no reason to doubt that private music making took place in Augsburg homes. The period of focus for this dissertation, 1540–1585, roughly coincides with eras of a peak in print output in both Venice (Gardano and Scotto) and Nuremberg (Petreius, through 1550, and Berg &

⁵⁷ During the first half of the sixteenth century, Konrad Peutinger (1465–1547) assembled one of the largest private book collections north of the Alps, for example, and Johann Jakob Fugger's (1516–1575) library contained more than 10,000 volumes. Augsburg councilor Johann Heinrich Herwarth von Hohenberg (dates unknown) and canon Johann Georg von Werdenstein (1542–1608) both collected a considerable body of musical materials, among other items. Much of Fugger, von Hohenberg, and von Werdenstein's holdings are now preserved at the Bavarian State Library in Munich.

Neuber/Gerlach). In describing the output of the Gardano and Scotto firms, Iaian Fenlon observes that “most of the music books that they printed were directed at a domestic audience. By the middle of the sixteenth century . . . the ownership of music now extended to a larger constituency that included members of the merchant and professional classes, and even to those lower down the social ladder.”⁵⁸

Studies about sixteenth-century Augsburg, and in particular those focused on issues of religious identity and music also intersect significantly with this project. Alexander J. Fisher’s *Music and Religious Identity* formed something of a launching platform for me: focusing on the period, 1580–1630, which saw a firmer concretization of confessional identities in the city, Fisher surveys several different types of music including polemical *contrafacta* that speak to growing religious tensions; Lutheran music performed at S. Anna; Catholic liturgical and nonliturgical works and associated composers of the cathedral and S. Salvator; Catholic devotional music; and Catholic performative pieces such as processions and pilgrimage songs. Acknowledging the “rise of confessionalized Catholic music” in Augsburg, Fisher asserts that even in this period “Catholic” and “Protestant” sensibilities derive most prominently from textual selection and character. Confessional orientations were expressed, in other words, primarily through texts. The locations and circumstances of performances, however, also articulate confessional orientations.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Iaian Fenlon, “Music, Print, and Society,” in *European Music 1520–1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2006), 295. See also Jane Bernstein, *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁵⁹ Concerning texts that reflect a Catholic identity, Fisher suggests that works with Marian, Eucharistic, and Christological themes and compositions whose text’s “individualistic, subjective and often vividly imagistic character” contrasts with “more abstract and communal” Protestant works. See Alexander J. Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580–1630* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 223–24. On the impact of imperial private devotion and family traditions, see Steven Saunders, *Cross Sword and Lyre: Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg (1619–1637)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

While I identify more and subtler texts as confessionally symbolic than those Fisher acknowledges, my discussions of conceptual interstices between Protestant and Catholic, as well as sacred and secular constructs are significantly indebted to his idea that a synthesis of factors participate in the delineation of confessional idioms. That said, there are quite a few points at which our discussions diverge. In his chapter on devotional music, for instance, Fisher takes far greater interest in performance spaces and the organizations/institutions—the Jesuits, confraternities, pilgrims, etc.—for whom certain sacred nonliturgical compositions and genres held meaning. For the most part, these genres are nonbiblical; and close textual and stylistic analyses are not generally his focus. Instead, in keeping with his thesis, Fisher ascribes Catholic confessional signification to works with Marian, Eucharistic, and Christological themes as much on account of their affiliations with Catholic individuals, groups, and occasions in Augsburg as with their texts. This argument is well made given that Protestant and Protestant-leaning composers active a generation earlier set some of the same texts as Fisher’s examples. Gregor Aichinger’s “Hic est panis,” for instance, which Fisher discusses in the context of a section on Catholic Eucharistic polyphony, forms the *secunda pars* of the Lutheran composer Leonhard Paminger’s “In illo tempore” motet for the Feast of the Passion. Fisher examines a version of the “Maria zart” Lied from Johannes Leisentrit’s (ed.) *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen* in a section on Catholic Marian devotion, and yet another rendition of the text is set in Erasmus Rotenbucher’s (ed.) Protestant-oriented *Bergkreyen*. Marian piety among Lutherans gains little attention in Fisher’s book, as it is probably less pronounced than in the mid-sixteenth century. Mathias Gastritz’s Protestant setting of S. Bonaventure’s “Contristatus sum” (from his *Marian Psalter*) attests to this difference. In brief, the climate of Augsburg in the late sixteenth through the early

seventeenth centuries witnessed a process of confessionalization which eliminated much of the gray area to which this dissertation draws attention.

Christian Thomas Leitmeir's "Catholic Music in the Diocese of Augsburg" opens with a succinct summary of Catholic musical life in Augsburg and Dillingen throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. His article highlights the role of Cardinal Otto Truchseß von Waldburg in revitalizing Catholic culture in the city, particularly from the 1560s, and focuses on Bernhard Klingenstein's *Triodia sacra* (Dillingen: Meltzer, 1605).⁶⁰ Forthcoming studies on music in mid-sixteenth-century Augsburg include Aaron James's doctoral thesis, "Transforming the Motet," which examines the recontextualization, adaptation, and transformation of motets in the Salminger anthologies (1540–1545); Stefanie Bilmayer Frank's study, "'Illustri ac Generoso Domino'-Gedruckte Musikalienwidmungen," which addresses the Fuggers as music patrons, collectors, and donors, and examines their role in the transmission of Italian music north of the Alps; and Moritz Kelber's dissertation, "Die Musik bei den Augsburger Reichstagen im 16. Jahrhundert" which explores the vast repertory of music composed for and associated with Augsburg imperial diets.⁶¹ In addition to discussing an overlapping repertory, each of these authors examine the cultural conditions of Augsburg, as well as the particular agencies of composers, editors, and patrons in a way that is absolutely relevant to the present study.

More general essays, such as Robin A. Leaver's "The Reformation and Music," Craig A. Monson's "Renewal, Reform, and Reaction in Catholic Music," and R. Po-chia Hsia's "The Structure of Belief" provided an essential backdrop for my work. Leaver consistently

⁶⁰ Leitmeir, "Catholic Music," 117–73.

⁶¹ Aaron James, "Transforming the Motet: The Adaptation and Reuse of Franco-Flemish Polyphony in the Salminger Anthologies" (PhD diss., Eastman School of Music, forthcoming); Frank, "'Illustri ac generoso Domino'"; and Kelber, "Die Musik bei den Augsburger."

conceptualizes the Reformation as a “catalytic process,” as opposed to one of cataclysmic change, and reminds the reader that at its outset, Reformers and Catholics alike were mutually invested in “maintaining the unity of the church.” Leaver identifies the Peace of Augsburg (1555) as a more polarizing event than any preceding episode: German territories became, for the most part, delineated as Protestant or Catholic, with only a few exceptions (e.g., Augsburg). Summarizing the key points that ultimately distinguish Protestant doctrine, in the form of Latin phrases, Leaver provides:

Sola scriptura (the scripture alone)

Sola fidei (faith alone)

Sola gratia (grace alone)⁶²

Together, these assert the primary authority of the Bible over the church, and confirm Luther’s reading of Eph. 2:8–9, “For it is by grace [alone] that you have been saved through faith.”⁶³

Monson points out that the idea of the edicts and degrees of the Council of Trent being implemented according to a form of top-down model is more an ideal than an actuality. Tridentine reforms were enacted by both large-scale bureaucratic institutions and local authorities, he asserts, concluding that there was no “monolithic” Counter-Reformation.⁶⁴ On the whole, the impact of the council on German Catholicism was quite limited. Fully nine-tenths of the Holy Roman Empire had converted to Protestantism by 1560, after which various efforts

⁶² Robin A. Leaver, “The Reformation and Music” in *European Music 1520–1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2006), 371–400, esp. 377.

⁶³ Luther’s inclusion of the word “allein” (alone) in his translation of this text sparked a heated debate, as reflected by Luther’s open letter diatribe, “Ein Sendbrief von Dolmetschen und Fürbitt der Heiligen” (Wittenberg: Rhau, 1530). Lutheran interpretations of the Doctrine of Justification are based on a reading of Paul’s Epistle that considers humans powerless to enact their own salvation.

⁶⁴ Craig A. Monson, “Renewal, Reform, and Reaction in Catholic Music,” in *European Music 1520–1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2006), 418. See also Craig A. Monson, “The Council of Trent Revisited,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55 no. 1, (2002): 1–37.

(educational, political, and military) instigated a Catholic revival period.⁶⁵ The history of Augsburg is distinct from this narrative, given the bipartisan leadership of the city council from 1555 and the fact that Bavaria and the neighboring Dillingen both stood as Counter-Reformation strongholds. General trends that are reflected in Augsburg's sociocultural dynamics include increased patriarchal secular authority and the gradual transcendence of anti-Jewish prejudices across confessional lines.⁶⁶ Hsia also highlights the "formation of social identity and of individual identity" at this time, which involved reconciling "external conformity" with "individual conscience."⁶⁷

In preparation for my first trip to Augsburg, I spent time reviewing Peter Bergquist, James Erb, David Crook, and Rebecca Oettinger's twenty-one volume *Complete Motets* edition of Orlando di Lasso's motet oeuvre. I expected to use this critical edition as a model for approaching a substantial motet collection, though I recognized the differences between approaching a collection by a single author and a multi-author collection such as the one in Augsburg. Based on Bergquist's findings,⁶⁸ I came up with several opening hypotheses and strategies for tackling Augsburg music books. While I was not at all surprised to find an abundance of psalm motets in Augsburg (approximately one in three motets; nearly the exact same ratio that characterizes

⁶⁵ Peter Bergquist, "Germany and Central Europe," in *European Music 1520–1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2006), 340.

⁶⁶ R. Po-chia Hsia, "The 'Structure of Belief': Confessionalism and Society, 1500–1600," in *Germany: A New Social and Economic History*, ed. Bob Scribner (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 355. See also Stefan Lang, "Zwischen Reich und Territorien. Innen- und Außenperspektiven jüdischen Lebens im 'Land zu Schwaben' in der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Die Juden in Schwaben*, eds. Michael Brenner and Sabine Ullmann (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2013), 115–31, esp. 120.

⁶⁷ Hsia, "The 'Structure of Belief,'" 373.

⁶⁸ See, in particular, Orlando di Lasso, *Orlando di Lasso: The Complete Motets*, edited by Peter Bergquist et al., vol. 22 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 1995–2007).

Lasso's motet collection), I never imagined I would identify such a quantity of psalm paraphrases and centonates. Out of the approximately 170 psalm motets composed by Lasso, only a handful quote material from multiple psalms, or from a psalm and another Bible book. Exceptions include nine psalm-based centonates,⁶⁹ and three works that blend one or more psalms with other textual material across the Bible.⁷⁰ Set against nearly 155 "straight" single-source motets—that is, motets based on consecutive material from one Bible chapter—these twelve works, plus two potentially spurious compositions (both probably composed by Ferdinand de Lassus) appear extraordinarily rare. I found quite an abundance of motets that set centonate texts in Augsburg prints and manuscripts, however, to the point where I have concluded that Lasso's penchant for working with isolated consecutive psalm texts perhaps typifies his approach. I also noticed that, apart from a "Deus canticum" setting, all of Lasso's centonate psalm motets are liturgically derived. This was not at all the case for motets preserved in Augsburg.

A third point where using Lasso's oeuvre as a model failed was when it led me to identify straight settings—again, motets setting consecutive psalm verses—as the norm. Only twenty-

⁶⁹ These are Lasso's "Dominus scit cogitationes hominum" from the *Primo libro de mottetti* (Antwerp, 1556; this motet combines material from Pss. 58 and 93); his "In me transierunt irae tuae" from the *Sacrae cantiones* (Nuremberg, 1562; this motet combines material from Pss. 37 and 87); his "Quam magnificata sunt opera tua" from the *Thesaurus musicus* (Nuremberg, 1564; this motet combines material from Pss. 91 and 93); his "Tu Domine benignus es" and "Laudate Dominum de caelis" from the *Primus liber concentuum sacrorum* (Paris, 1564; these motets combine material from Pss. 24, 85, and 140, and from Pss. 148 and 150, respectively); his "Concupiscendo concupiscit" and "Deus canticum novum" from the *Sacrae cantiones* (Venice, 1565; these motets combine material from Pss. 51 and 144, and from Pss. 91 and 143, respectively); his "Locutus sum in lingua mea" from the *Selectissimae cantiones* (Nuremberg, 1568; this motet combines material from Pss. 38 and 85); and his "Ego dixi: Domine, miserere mei" from the *Liber mottetarum trium vocum* (Munich, 1575; this motet combines material from Pss. 40 and 89). See Lasso, *Complete Motets*, vols. 4, 5, 6, 8, 11, 17, and 18.

⁷⁰ These are Lasso's "Ego sum qui sum" from the *Selectiorum aliquot cantionum sacrarum* (Munich, 1570; this motet combines material from Pss. 1 and 3 and Exod. 3); his "Congregati sunt inimici nostri," whose first issue date is unknown (this motet combines material from Ps. 58, Sir. 36, and Hag. 32 and uses a phrase from Ps. 67 as a cantus firmus); and his "Omnes de Saba venient," which was issued in 1590 at the earliest (this motet combines material Ps. 71 and Isa. 60). See Lasso, *Complete Motets*, vols. 7, 18, and 19.

four out of Lasso's approximately 170 psalm motets use nonconsecutive verses, exactly half of which Bergquist found to be liturgically based. This prompted me to formulate two hypotheses: 1) the use of nonconsecutive psalm verses was, if not quite so rare as the use of multisource centonates, still rather uncommon; and 2) one should expect about half of said works to follow a liturgical text. In fact, I found a considerably higher percentage of motets in Augsburg based on nonconsecutive psalm texts. Most, though not all, combinations of verses and hemistiches were liturgically determined. Fourth, noting that Lasso set a considerable number of complete psalms—twenty-eight works all told, plus several *falsobordone*-style settings—I estimated that approximately one in six psalm motets in Augsburg would also carry a complete psalm text. This proved decidedly false. I found very few complete psalm settings among D-As-held and Augsburg-produced prints and manuscripts, and almost none outside of strictly liturgical volumes.

Fifth, I observed that Lasso borrowed texts from approximately two-thirds of the 150 psalms of the complete Psalter, and noted that his musical settings of those texts are more or less evenly distributed. Lasso rarely set texts from the same psalm more than two or three times, and only the 172-verse Ps. 118 received his attention in more than six extant pieces. Bergquist identified fifteen motets that quote Ps. 118, followed distantly by six settings each of Pss. 68 and 85. This primed me to expect a high volume of Ps. 118 settings in Augsburg and, indeed, this text proved the most frequently used in both prints and manuscripts. Apart from this psalm, whose exceptional length, I assumed, accounted for the high number of works, I anticipated finding a roughly equal number of settings of other psalm chapters. Appendix III section 2 gives

my actual results (this is abbreviated in Tables 1.2a–b), and shows more of a gradation from the most to the least frequently-set psalm texts.⁷¹

Moving beyond my assessment of Lasso’s works, another discovery that surprised me was the apparent influence of familiarity with the Hebrew Bible. This seems to have shaped the construction of at least two of the psalm motets discussed in chapter six, and at least one rubric and textual centonate discussed in chapter five. These readings were likely filtered through Luther’s Bible translations, yet the discovery compelled me to look more deeply into the history of Hebrew studies in Augsburg. The city maintained a Hebrew school for several decades during the early part of the sixteenth century, and a selection of pedagogical texts in Hebrew were published there. While this does not necessarily evince total fluency among Augsburg citizens, it indicates a pronounced interest in the Hebrew language. Additionally, it opens up the possibility for a discussion of the potential influence of Hebrew psalms and Jewish psalm commentaries on a small subset of centonate psalm motet texts, rubrics, and marginalia.⁷²

Lastly, going into this project I thought that I would get a greater sense for local idioms from the manuscripts. While my examination of the manuscripts did, indeed, reveal much about the Benedictine musical life in Augsburg—which feasts were solemnized, which composers were held in highest regard based on the number of works copied out and attributed to them, etc.—in terms of the data collected for musical settings of psalms and for specific psalm numbers, Augsburg-produced prints and manuscripts, as well as the prints of the overall D-As collection, appear quite similar. The only significant deviation is the high number of Ps. 44

⁷¹ Appendix III Table B gives a complete version of Table 1.2a.

⁷² On the significance of learning Hebrew among German Protestants, see Kristian Jensen, “The Humanist Reform of Latin and Latin Teaching,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 63-81.

settings preserved in Augsburg manuscripts and in the *Choralis Constantinus* volumes. This appears to be more of a liturgical-nonliturgical distinction than a reflection of Augsburg culture in general, since I found almost no settings of Ps. 44 in prints identified as nonliturgical. The same preference for Netherlands composers of the Habsburg courts that is apparent in Augsburg sources may also be seen in D-As-held books, such as Susato's twelve-volume *Cantiones ecclesiasticae* series. One local idiosyncrasy that distinguishes Augsburg prints from the manuscripts and other D-As materials is the preference for canons and fugues. This is particularly well-demonstrated by the fact that Ulhart released several broadsheet prints whose unique layouts reflect the canonical devices employed (see Figure 1.1).

The data collected for Augsburg-produced volumes, which include eighty-six psalm motets in manuscripts and sixty-six psalm motets in prints, is proportionally similar to the much larger corpus of D-As-held examples. The latter includes 530 psalm-based works, and is augmented by 118 motets from books published by Augsburg residents or sent to the city council.⁷³ As shown in Tables 1.2a–b, eight out of ten psalm texts identified as the most frequently-used overall also count among the most often set in Augsburg-produced sources, and the arrangement of these texts, from the most- to the least-often borrowed is also similar (see Tables 1.2a–b). This is validating for two reasons: 1) it shows that a study focused on Augsburg-produced sources has far greater potential to reflect the broad scope of psalm motet textual types or categories and treatment than a study focused on the oeuvre of one individual. This holds true even in consideration of Lasso's works, whose psalm motet output is nearly equal to the number of psalm motets found in Augsburg-produced prints and manuscripts combined. 2) It

⁷³ Augsburg bookseller Georg Willer published and sold vols. 2–3 of the 1555 edition of Isaac's *Choralis Constantinus*. A significant portion of the materials in these books was copied into Augsburg manuscripts for the Benedictine monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra. This indicates that the monastery owned copies of these sources, and further secures these books' sixteenth-century provenance in Augsburg.

substantiates my introductory argument that Augsburg, as a major trade center with significant resources, social diversity, and few resident professional musicians, is an ideal place to undertake this type of study.

An overarching trend this dissertation highlights is the preponderance of psalm quotations and paraphrases in motets over all other sources of texts, including the Gospel and other Bible books, the Roman Catholic liturgy, popular devotional writings, and secular literature. Eighty-six out of the total 290 motets (30%) preserved in Augsburg manuscripts are based on texts from the Psalter; 66 out of the total 308 works preserved in Augsburg prints are also psalm-based (21%); and 648 out of the total 2,518 motets held in music books of the D-As and D-Mbs collections and in Regensburg (Wagener's *Acht deutsche Psalmen*) use complete, partial, centonate, or adapted psalm verses (26%). The statement, one out of every four motets composed in the mid-sixteenth century and held in Augsburg-produced or D-As-held volumes is based, at least in part, on a psalm text lends specificity to the concept of these works' prevalence, as does the summary, six out of ten manuscripts (60%) and 82 out of 94 books and broadsheet prints (87%) consulted for this study contain at least one psalm motet.⁷⁴

The data demands further scrutiny and, as I discovered, a more nuanced approach. Differences among the most frequently set texts, such as their attributions, organization, content, and character, prevent the formulation of general hypotheses about the relative value or significance of specific psalms. Setting the selection of texts aside, however, some consistencies do emerge from an overview of their musical treatment. First, most psalm motets set concise *representative* verses and hemistiches. I interpret composers' consistent setting of verses from the beginnings or endings of sections and stanzas to indicate that in the sixteenth century these

⁷⁴ Indeed, psalm motets make up more than half the content of some books, for example: Lasso's *Selectiones aliquot cantionum sacrarum* (Munich: Berg, 1570). See Lasso, *Complete Motets*, vol. 7.

passages were viewed as the most characteristic. Several abbreviated psalm texts centonize the first and final or penultimate verses. Many of these texts are liturgically derived (antiphon motets form a large percentage) or, the very least, are modeled on liturgical texts. Therefore, this particular structure of psalm motets appears to predate the sixteenth century. Second, centonate psalm motets often synthesize texts that carry a similar or identical phrase. To me, this indicates a high degree of attentiveness to biblical word choice. Third, liturgically imitative works often bring together texts tied to a common feast day. This is seen in several “responsory”-type motets whose texts follow an AB:CB structure. Psalm motets illustrating each of these consistencies are discussed in the forthcoming chapters.⁷⁵

While scholars such as Friedrich Blume and Lorenzo Bianconi—iconic figures in the field of early-modern art music in Europe—focused on musical style as a way of identifying and assessing confessional leanings, I began this project with the idea that a greater focus on textual selections, centonizations, and text-setting techniques might enable me to identify and circumscribe German Catholic and Protestant musical idiosyncrasies, working in a much earlier time period than these two scholars address. As my journey progressed, my exclusive interest in confessionalism waned and I became increasingly intrigued by the idea of individual readers of psalm motets—how literacy and engagement may have shaped singers’, listeners’, and readers’ concepts of these works. I was particularly surprised to find that even relatively non-erudite literature of the period, such as Hans Sachs’s *Wittenberger Nachtigall*, presents different kinds of texts—narratives, theology, marginalia, etc.—that are diversely accessible to individuals across various backgrounds. Though the poem is written in the vernacular, and presented as a playful allegory, the reader’s interpretation of the work deepens with a detailed knowledge of the Bible,

⁷⁵ I am applying Strunk’s language where I refer to antiphon and responsory motets. Though distinct, for the purposes of this study, motets and polyphonic propers using psalm texts are surveyed together.

as well as a familiarity with (proto-)Lutheran doctrine and history. More than a few psalm motets centonize biblical texts whose common elements (word choice, syntax, central themes, etc.) seem to derive from the larger contexts of the chapters from which they are drawn. An awareness of these contexts potentially augments the user's understanding and interpretation of the text.

Centonate psalm motets offer a particularly compelling case in point. While these works could be enjoyed with or without hermeneutic engagement on the part of the user, and having or lacking a familiarity with the source texts, the significance of textual interconnections becomes available to readers who are highly literate and engage closely with the words. A consideration of Huldrich Braetel's canon, "Ecce quam bonum," offers a visual illustration of this idea (see Figure 1.1).

While the erudite reader might focus at once on the central text as a means of unraveling this puzzle, a person of more modest literacy might gravitate toward the imagery. Eight figures race around the circle of notation, representing, perhaps, the eight voices of the motet. Three are prey—two hares and a hart—and may symbolize the three voice parts that initiate the canon. Per the instructions, two voices initiate the piece, reading the outer- and innermost circles of notation. The canon/fugue is presented in the innermost circle ("medius circulus fugam habet"). Both the text and the depictions present material that is open to a diverse readership. Centonate psalm motets in particular also invite plural readings, given that their textual blends often derive, as stated, from surrounding biblical passages. In some cases, repetition and melodic overlap affirm the connections between these texts that are otherwise unclear. Examples of such works appear in the ensuing chapters.

Figure 1.1: Huldreich Braetel, “Ecce quam bonum” (Augsburg: Ulhart, 1548)⁷⁶

Mus. Nr. 150/4
Braetel

GENEROSIS NOBILIBVSQVE DOMINIS IOANNI IACOBO, GEORGIO, CHRISTOPHORO, VDALRICO, REIMVNDIO FVGGERIS FRATRIBVS GERMANIS, DOMINIS ET MOECENATIBVS SVIS PERPETVO COLENDIS, DEDICAVIT SIGISMVNDVS SALMINGER.

MDXLVII.

CANON.
Nota. Oculi accipim. Medium circuli figem habet, cum qua duo exteriori & duo interiori circuli voces incipiunt, ita tamen, ut ex medio circuli voce, tres albae voces in unum, singulae post tria tempora sibi subsequantur, Exteriori & interiori circuli voces, in medio circuli figem cadunt, ubi morantur, et sic in medio circuli sicut, ac prius fuerit non aliam, & novissimam primi.
**AVTORE HVLDERICO
BRAETELIO.**

<p>Fuggeri patriae magnum decus, atq; parentum Gloria, praclaræ clara propago domus, Quo studio Musas iam dudum sponte auctis Quantus & in vobis sit peracto amor. Iam dudum patria est vobis, patriæq; colossi Obstant vestrae munera magna domus.</p>	<p>Et mihi sunt testes vestri benefacta fautoris Plurima, quæ carpi fulcra fuisse meâ Atq; ideo gratiam vobis testantia mentem Dum mea paupertas munera parva parat, Forte mihi occurrit, cœcorum Encomium fratrum Me, digna, & vobis munera viâ mihi,</p>	<p>Accipite hoc igitur placato pectore munus, Parvasq; magnorum, sunt mea dona, locos Quodq; negant vires fortuna, pompa voluntatis Fragiles, quæ fertur saepe placere Deo, Vultu faciles, concordia pectora, fratres, Fergite, quod facitis, quæso, laetare mihi.</p>
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CVM GRATIA ET PRIVILEGIO CÆSARÆ AC REGIÆ MAIESTATIS
Augustæ Vindelicorum excudebat Philippus Vihardus.

⁷⁶ Courtesy of the Bavarian State Library in Munich (D-Mbs).

The further I probed into matters of cultural identity and ambiguity in Augsburg, the more often I saw motets both reflecting and, at times, even permeating cultural boundaries. I explore some illustrations of these instances in chapters two and three, focusing in chapter two on how mercantilism and civic government reshaped the relationship between patronage and the publication and performance of sacred music; in chapter three, I concentrate on settings of literary works that are based on or inspired by psalms and integrate psalm texts. I argue that composers' "re-readings" of these works as motets may reflect the kind of lay engagement with these works that would have taken place orally among singers, listeners, and readers. In this chapter, I highlight a tendency to correct biblical paraphrases, re-rendering these to follow the Vulgate Bible or the text of a local breviary. In both chapters, the diverse confessional orientations of authors, composers, users, and patrons indicate blurred religious and political boundaries that one might otherwise expect to be quite clear.

The Council of Trent addressed the topic of music only briefly.⁷⁷ Even on a broader scale, the council's impact on religious life in the city of Augsburg in the immediate decades after its disbandment appears quite minimal. Contractual letters I consulted at the Augsburg State Archive—both from the cathedral and the Benedictine monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra—dealt predominantly with day-to-day matters, such as the housing of military personnel and the rebuilding of a washed-out bridge.⁷⁸ I found no items discussing the council in any terms. Two publications by Jacobus de Kerle, then the director of Cardinal Otto Truchseß von Waldburg's private chapel, reflect a developing post-Tridentine culture. These are de Kerle's *Sex missae* and

⁷⁷ Trent's sole statement on music was, in fact, "And they should keep out of their churches the kind of music in which a base and suggestive element is introduced into the organ playing or singing, and similarly all worldly activities." Norman Tanner, trans. and ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2 (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), 736.

⁷⁸ Augsburg State Archive: Reichsstadt Augsburg Urkunden (Rep. XXXIII–XLI, LXVI and Rep. XLIII–XLIV).

his *Preces speciales*, both printed in Venice (Gardano, 1562). The contents of the *Missae* are, as advertised, five settings of the complete Mass Ordinary and one Requiem Mass. The *Preces*, on the other hand, includes ten large-scale responsories, each of which concludes with an appended doxology and a Kyrie. The texts for both the verses and responds are comprised of diverse Bible quotations and adaptations. Though structured as responsories, the compositions contained in the *Preces* are not liturgical. They function, rather, as musical homilies, each bringing together a selection of texts that are oriented around a common moralizing theme. The *Preces* was performed for attendees of the Council of Trent, as Christian Thomas Leitmeir has discussed, and subsequently achieved wide acclaim as a model for post-Tridentine artists.⁷⁹ Alexander Fisher discusses more salient fallout from post-Tridentine reforms, particularly after the arrival of the Jesuits in Augsburg in 1580. He concentrates on the culturally divisive final decades of the sixteenth century, however, continuing into the seventeenth century.⁸⁰

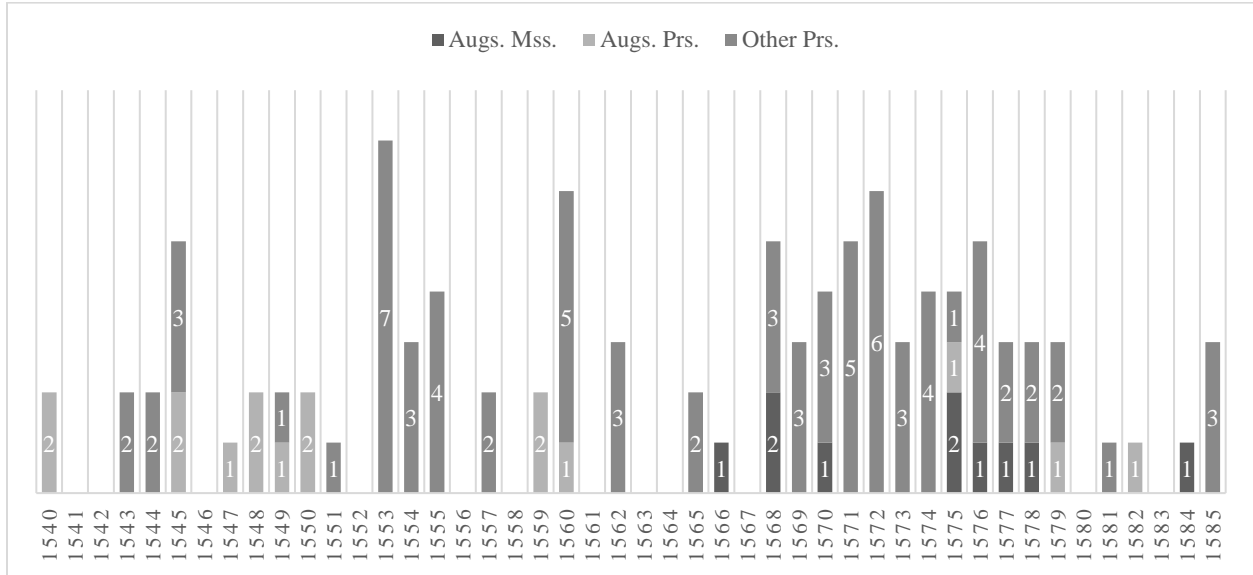
The establishment of a Jesuit school at S. Salvator in 1580, followed by a rise in social conflicts between the mid-1580s and early 1590s—the *Vokationsstreit*, for instance, threatened Protestants’ autonomy in naming their own preachers, and the *Kalenderstreit* stemmed from Protestant resistance to the introduction of the Gregorian calendar—fundamentally changed the cultural climate in Augsburg.⁸¹ I elected to focus on the period from 1540–1585 both due to the concentration of motet books I found at the D-As from this time period (note the arc in figure 1.2), and because I wished to concentrate on the sociocultural landscape of Augsburg prior to the disputes of the mid-1580s and the ensuing conflicts.

⁷⁹ See Leitmeir, “Catholic Music,” 122.

⁸⁰ See Alexander Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity*, esp. 157–163 (on the arrival of the Jesuits).

⁸¹ A Jesuit presence was already well-established in Dillingen by this point. Cardinal Otto Truchseß von Waldburg transferred leadership of the University of Dillingen to the Society of Jesus in 1564. See Leitmeir, “Catholic Music,” 118.

Figure 1.2: Augsburg-Produced and D-As-Held Sources of Motets⁸²



Two key points distinguish my work from preexisting, large-scale motet studies: for one, I do not argue for the emergence or acme of a motet style. Rather, my focus is on the language of psalm motets of diverse types. Textual selections and text setting techniques, I hold, echo existing as well as newly surfacing cultural, political, and economic ambiguities that characterize the time period in a manner more salient than regional or individual styles. Each chapter takes a different tack in addressing this language, showing on a piece-by-piece level a plurality of ways in which cultural and especially confessional ambiguities are communicated through the psalm motet genre. Whether focusing on unusual psalm motet textual types—settings of large-scale German psalm motets, for instance, which are discussed as part of chapter two, or settings of literary texts based on psalms, discussed in chapter three—or on the most frequently-set psalm texts, each work, as well as each group, seems open to varying levels of interpretation. Moreover, each provides a set of multimedia elements—music, musically-set texts, and sometimes marginalia—

⁸² Author's original.

that potentially build on each other and provide various platforms for engagement by diversely literate users.

In the year 1717, two centuries after Martin Luther posted his ninety-five theses in Wittenberg—an act that reputedly catalyzed the most significant, sustained reformation movement in Germany—the Augsburg musician, Johann Michael Roth, honored the event through a published collection of copperplate engravings. These images, which represent the output of various Augsburg artisans, were first issued separately as part of Augsburg’s bicentennial Reformation Day celebration on October 31, 1717. In order to fully “read” them, multiple forms of literacy must be brought to bear.

Diverse narrative elements may be inferred from the imagery and texts that adorn the front cover (see Figure 1.3).⁸³ A triangle hovers near the top of the page, within which the Latin phrase “Verbum Domini” (The Word of the Lord) is inscribed. The triangle is set within a blazing sun whose rays burn away the surrounding clouds. The action of these multivalent signs is confirmed through the words of the proverbial-sounding couplet, “Was vor mit Wolcken war verhüllt/Anizt die Welt mit Licht erfüllt” (What was previously shrouded in clouds now fills the world with light), which are imprinted on a banner hanging just below the sun.

⁸³ Engraver: Gottfried Pfautz; publisher: Gottfried Jakob Haupt.

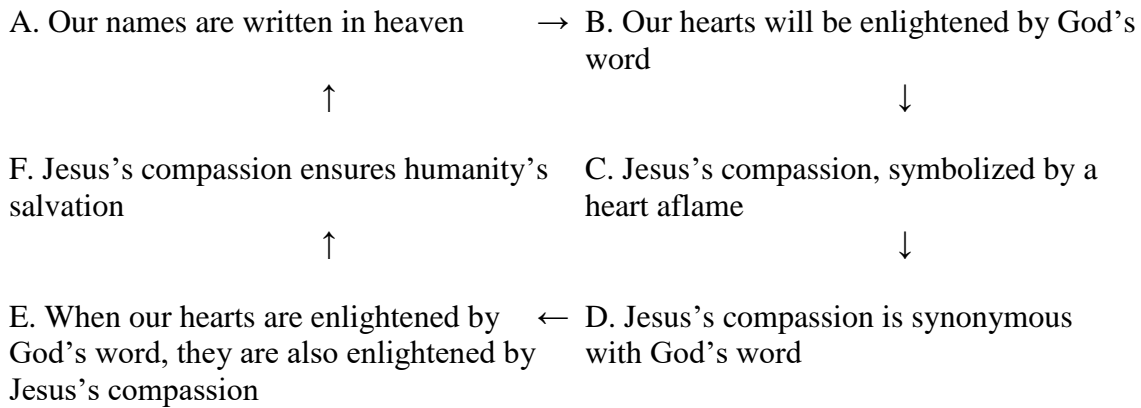
Figure 1.3: Johann Michael Roth (ed.), *Augsburgische Reformations Iubel-Feyer* title page (Augsburg: Roth, 1717/1718; engraver: Gottfried Pfautz)⁸⁴



⁸⁴ Figures 1.3–1.4 are reproduced by kind permission of Duke University Libraries.

Beneath this banner, streaming forth as luminous beams, are three Bible quotations. The first phrase, “Der Herr wird dein ewiges Licht sein, die Tage deines Leidens sollen ein Ende haben” (“The Lord will be your everlasting light, and your days of mourning shall be ended,” from Isa. 60:20), flows down to the left toward the face of a young woman holding an ouroboros. As with the above set of symbols, this image both augments and directs one’s interpretation of the text, in this case focusing on the idea of eternity. The woman stands on a pedestal that is embossed with another couplet, “Aller Welt Pracht muß vergehn/Gottes Wort bleibt ewig stehn” (All the world’s splendor must pass, but God’s Word will stand forever), which parallels several Bible passages.⁸⁵ As the eye travels from the “Verbum Domini” header to this lower left couplet on eternity and God’s word, one perceives that the circular form of the ouroboros has been reproduced through a verbal and pictorial orbit.

Another beam, directed toward a woman on the right who bears the sacred heart, carries the phrase, “Freuet euch, daß eure Nahmen im Himmel angeschrieben sind” (“Rejoice that your names are written in heaven,” from Luke 10:20). The couplet inscribed on this woman’s pedestal reads, “Laß durch deines Wortes Schein/Gott mein Hertz erleuchtet seyn” (Let my heart be enlightened, God, through the glow of your Word). While an interpretation of these texts may not be self-evident, I suggest the following:



⁸⁵ These include Ps. 118:89, 1 Peter 2:25, and most recognizably, Matt. 24:35.

The figures of the two women frame Roth's title, *Augsburgische Reformations Jubel-Feyer* Streaming into the opening line of this text is the phrase, "Ich bin bei euch alle Tage biß an der Welt Ende" ("I am with you always, to the end of the age," from Matt. 28:20). Below the title, resting atop a central pillar, a larger image of the sacred heart stands alone. Perhaps this confirms the connection between Jesus, represented by the heart, and the trinity, represented by the triangle above. Perhaps another interpretation is indicated. Throughout the collection, the significance of biblical excerpts, rhymed couplets, visual signs, and the relationships they share, are rarely obvious. As with the motets that form the focus of this dissertation, these materials inspire contemplation and conversation.

Following a preface, wherein Roth justifies the making of this collection according to popular demand, one finds a "Briefly-Composed Historical Report" on the Reformation Day festivities. Contrary to his header, Roth details, at length, the events surrounding the celebration. Included in his report are the names of the six Protestant parish churches in Augsburg that took part in the jubilee; communion times and times set aside for confession; and a list of the Bible verses on which sermons would be given—both for the Reformation Day celebration, and for each day of the surrounding week. There is a prevalence of psalm texts in this program: on Saturday, October 30, sermons were delivered at each parish church on Ps. 56(57):8–12.⁸⁶ Services on October 31 began with a reading from 2 Chron. 15:1–16, followed by morning, midday, and evening sermons on John 17:17, Ps. 118(119):30–31, and Ps. 83(84):2–3. These services were accompanied by the "sound of trumpets and kettledrums, . . . together with choral hymns and rousing figural music."⁸⁷ Roth's attention to the music performed as part of this event

⁸⁶ Jewish and Protestant numbering practices.

⁸⁷ "So bald der Gottes-Dienst mit Trompeten und Paucken-Schall angefangen worden, folgten nebst den Choral-Gesängen auch erweckende Figural Musiquen nach."

affirms its centrality to the occasion and the history it symbolizes. For the following octave, sermons were given on Ps. 45(46):2–6, Heb. 13:7, 2 Tim. 1:13 and Ps. 78(79):5–8 (the latter, as part of a special children’s service), Acts 20:29–31, Matt. 5:11–12, and Gal. 6:16.

Returning to the engravings, one notes a similar preponderance of psalm texts embedded in the images. For example, a side panel on an anonymous engraving depicts a sermonist delivering the words of Ps. 128(129):1, Acts 26:22, and Ps. 117(118):23–25 (see Figure 1.4a).⁸⁸ At the bottom of the frame, one also finds a reference to Acts 10:33, and below this, another rhymed couplet: “Weil uns heiß Gottes Wort die Diener Christi lehren, So läßt sich Jesus selbst von unsern Cantzlen hören” (Because God’s Word called upon servants of Christ to teach us, therefore let Jesus himself be heard from our pulpits). These words, again, direct one’s reading of the embedded texts, particularly as Acts 10:33 focuses on gathering in the presence of God to hear God’s commands; however, none of the words spoken by the sermonist are those of Jesus Christ. As was also the case with the front cover, the viewer must act as an interpreter, therefore, to come to an understanding of this panel’s main message.

A similar invitation for individual analysis, which also illustrates the complete saturation of psalm texts in the collection, may be seen in a side panel from the same engraving (see Figure 1.4b). Here, one finds several people gathered for confession. To the far left, two clergymen sit together, their books closed in their laps. One listens, his head bowed, while the other speaks words of contrition from Ps. 50:5 (51:3): “For I know my transgressions, and my sin is ever before me.” A woman stands before them, her eyes downcast as she reads from Ps. 18:13 (19:13): “Keep back your servant also from presumptuous sins; let them not have dominion over

⁸⁸ Though the names of the engraver and publisher are not given on this page, the work may, again, be Pfautz’s and Haupt’s. The complete header text reads “Vorstellung derer Kirchen-Ceremonien wie solche allhier in Augspurg bey uns Evangelischen gehalten werden” (Presentation/introduction of the church ceremonies such as [those] being held for us Lutherans here in Augsburg).

me.” To the far right, a third cleric offers words of promise from Ps. 91:12 (92:12): “The righteous flourish like the palm tree, and grow like a cedar in Lebanon.” With one profession of guilt, a plea for aid, and a proclamation of hope, one wonders who, here, has the power of absolution? The couplet below yields an answer: “Wer seine Sünde bekennt, bereut die Missethaten, Der findet Gnad bey Gott und ist ihm wohlgerathen” (Whoever confesses his sins and regrets his misdeeds finds favor with God and is well-advised by him). The clergymen to the left, who initially seemed most guilty through their dialogue, are hereby shown to have favor with God on account of their confession.

Figure 1.4a: Roth, “Vorstellung derer Kirchen-Ceremonien” panels (engraver: anon)



Figure 1.4b: Roth, “Vorstellung derer Kirchen-Ceremonien” panels (engraver: anon)



Taken as a whole, Roth’s collection offers a crystallization of eighteenth-century thinking about the Reformation: what it was about (God’s word),⁸⁹ who it empowered in delivering its core precepts (the individual), and in what ways those precepts could be conveyed (through an amalgam of imagery, texts, and music). The focus on God’s word is clear, particularly from the collection’s cover, and stands as a recurring motif that carries throughout the book. The

⁸⁹ The Reformation, in particular, emphasized faith and the accurate reading of scriptures over ritual; Lutherans subscribed to the principle of *sola scriptura*, meaning the Bible alone determines all matters of doctrine and religious practice. Yet the primacy of God’s word is apparent in both Protestant and Catholic discourse throughout this period. For example, the Tridentine *Decretum de sacrificio missae* from the twenty-second session of the Council of Trent, which was held September 17, 1562, includes a chapter directing celebrants to “explain . . . some of what is recited in the course of the mass.” This includes, of course, lectures, readings of the psalms, etc. See Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2, 735.

presentation, as a potpourri of visual and textual elements, from depictions of Greek and Roman culture to contemporary Christian symbols, and from Bible phrases and other dogmatic texts, to clever riddles and German proverbs (*Sprichwörter*), is oriented toward a multiplicity of possible readers who have different levels of education and diverse literacies. Also, notably, the use of rhymes encourages a reading of these texts out loud, which suggests a focus on sonic, as well as literary aspects of the couplets. Relationships between the images and the texts are rarely clear or closed off from diverse readings: rather, they invite open reflection and speculation on the part of the viewer. This could be seen as a concretization of a Lutheran emphasis on the idea of the priesthood of all believers.

A contemporary text that encourages the type of close reading, reflection, and open discussion that I suggest Roth's work invites is Luther's "Preface to the Wittenberg Edition" of his writings (1539). Here, Luther proposes a three-step process for reading and interpreting the Bible, which he summarizes as *oratio*, *meditatio*, and *tentatio*.⁹⁰ His approach derives from a late-medieval form of spirituality, wherein one ascends from penitence to ecstasy via "contemplation." This involves reading the scriptures aloud, and then praying and meditating as one awaits spiritual enlightenment through union with Christ. Luther adapted this approach to include similar actions (meditation and prayer), but with a more immediate goal of attending to God's word on earth; the project of theology, he held, was confined to the world. In describing the *meditatio*, Luther was specific:

You should meditate, that is, not only in your heart, but also externally, by actually repeating and comparing oral speech and literal words of the book, reading and rereading

⁹⁰ *Tentatio* meaning "putting to trial"; this indicates putting one's interpretation to the test, both through actions and observation.

them with diligent attention and reflection, so that you may see what the Holy Spirit means by them.⁹¹

Even more than Roth's engravings, the psalm motets discussed in this study constitute a perfect illustration of the process Luther outlines—not only “by way of textual selection,” as Tim Carter observed, but also “because of the textual repetitions inherent within any musical setting.”⁹² Indeed, Luther interprets Ps. 119 (LXX: Ps. 118) as a primer for reading the whole Bible.

Like Roth's engravings, Braetel's canon, and Luther's text, psalm motets—especially newly-formed centonates of the sixteenth century—blend elements of diverse media in a manner that proposes plural readings. Musically set texts, including psalm elements, paraphrases, and adaptations, offer one layer for interpretation, the music another, and surrounding paratexts a third. This dissertation investigates the relationships between these interdependent elements, and further examines the cultural identities of psalm motets, as these are articulated by surrounding print or manuscript contexts, the circumstances surrounding their production or publication, and the institutions with which they were affiliated. Overall, in these works, I see theology made more accessible and broad, open to individual assessment.

Five chapters follow this introduction, each focusing on a different subgroup of psalm motets. These are presented as three different perspectives, with the first and second (chapters two and three) oriented around more unusual types of psalm motets, and the third (chapters four, five, and six) focusing on the most frequently-set texts. Chapter two, “Psalms for a City Hall,” grounds the

⁹¹ A translation of the complete preface is available in Martin Luther, “Preface to the Wittenberg Edition of Luther's German Writings,” in *Luther's Works Vol. 34: Career of the Reformer IV*, edited by Jaroslav Pelikan (Saint Louis: Concordia Pub. House, 1960), 283–88.

⁹² Special thanks to Tim Carter for recommending Luther's text and for his insights concerning its connections to this project. Personal correspondence, April 22, 2016.

reader in Augsburg and casts a close lens on works sent to the town council. Five volumes, submitted between 1565 and 1569, can be placed in the hands of the city council on a fixed date. Among these are three motet books and two choral passions, all composed by non-Augsburg residents and offered to the council in the hopes of gaining employment or securing funds in support of a print run. The chapter takes the form of four short narratives (the Passions are combined into a single section). All five associated composers are Protestant or Protestant-leaning, but they set excerpts of diverse German and Latin Bible translations and address their works not to a Protestant magnate, nor to a prominent Protestant clergyman, but rather to a confessionally bipartisan secular ruling body—the Augsburg city council. This situation leads into a discussion of conceptual interstices between Protestant and Catholic, as well as sacred and secular concepts, which are shown to be quite definite in the body of these works. Psalm motets come to the fore in my analyses of Gregor Wagener’s *Acht deutsche Psalmen* (Erfurt, 1565), Mathias Gastritz’s *Novae harmoniae cantiones* (Nuremberg, 1569), and Sophonias Paminger’s (ed.) *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* (Nuremberg, 1573).

Chapter three, “Re-Reading the Psalms through Saints, Heretics, and Humanist Poets,” examines motet settings of poetry and prose, focusing on materials from the church and school of S. Anna. Originally a Carmelite monastery, the church played host to Martin Luther in 1518 and converted to Protestantism only a few decades later. In 1531 a Latin school (*Gymnasium*) was founded in affiliation with the church; and in 1534 the parish migrated completely to S. Moritz. The school of S. Anna remained, and catered to Augsburg’s Protestant elite though students of both Protestant and Catholic orientations enrolled intermittently until the founding of S. Salvator in 1580. Music books acquired for use at S. Anna include partbooks, treatises, and manuals of diverse types. The majority of works cited in chapter three are included in the twelve volumes of

Susato's *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* (Antwerp, 1553–1557). This chapter focuses on settings of Augustine's meditations and confessions, Bonaventure's *Marian Psalter*, Savonarola's meditations on Pss. 51(50) and 31(30), and a selection of poems by contemporary German humanists, Adam Siber and Reinier Snoy. The chapter concludes with a discussion of why motets of this type are so unusual.

Chapters four, five, and six focus on motets setting all or part of Pss. 118, 50, and 67, respectively. Though among the most frequently quoted or paraphrased psalm texts to appear in Augsburg motet books, the organization, content, and character of these texts are distinctive to each. Ps. 118, which centers on the concept of God's law, is an acrostic: each line within an eight-verse octave or stanza begins with the same letter (in Hebrew), and each stanza begins with a consecutive letter from the Hebrew alphabet. The psalm is exceptionally long, with twenty-two octaves all told, and 176 verses. The stanzas that make up the Davidian psalms 50 and 67, on the other hand, are organized by content rather than according to a fixed poetic formula. Ps. 50 is highly personal, as David laments his transgressions after bedding Bathsheba. One of the so-called penitential psalms, the "Miserere" features in the liturgies of solemn feasts and funerals. Ps. 67, on the other hand, is written in the third person, and carries themes of exile that relate to the Israelites' journey out of Egypt. Though less central to Protestant and Catholic liturgical traditions, this psalm garnered significant attention among mid-sixteenth-century Christian exegetes.

My objectives with these chapters are 1) to develop an understanding of these psalms that is sensitive to their overall form, content, and character and 2) to estimate how composers and users may have read these texts, based on patterns of textual selection, centonization, and underlay that come to the foreground in musical settings. Since composers normally set only

select verses or even short phrases of longer psalm texts, one may speculate that singers and/or students spent time reflecting on or reviewing these works' contexts. Indeed, in some cases marginalia identify sources. There is also a great deal to be "read" in the music itself. I hold that the same open invitation to individual readings and interpretations that Roth's engravings seem to propose may also be seen in psalm motets composed almost two hundred years earlier. That both such artistic works provided a path to religious education is also emphasized. A final point that tracks through this text is that the lines between confessional identities and sacred and secular concepts remain blurred throughout this period. Taken as a whole, these conversations prompt a realigning of our present understanding of sixteenth-century psalm motets.

CHAPTER 2: PSALMS FOR A CITY HALL

During the sixteenth century, the Augsburg city council received numerous petitions and offers of service from composers, publishers, and musicians, both local and abroad. Transcriptions of ten surviving documents plus two letters that are no longer extant are available in Hans Michael Schletterer's "Aktenmaterial aus dem städtischen Archiv zu Augsburg."⁹³ Five items, dated between 1565 and 1573, accompanied identifiable polyphonic repertoires. Taken together, the letters and associated motets illuminate the role of the council—a secular ruling body—in mediating sacred musical materials between both Catholic- and Protestant-leaning artists and a biconfessional populace. Briefly summarized and arranged by date, these are:

- Sept. 3, 1565: Gregor Wagener's petition for funds to support a print run of his *Acht deutsche Psalmen*
- Mar. 20, 1566: Jacob Haupt's request for employment, sent with an exemplar of his *Choralpassion und Auferstehungshistorie*
- Apr. 5, 1568: Friedrich Lindner's request for employment as a copyist, sent with an exemplar of Jacob Meiland's *Choralpassion* (in Lindner's hand)

⁹³ These "Musikakten" are included among twelve total items dated between 1540 and 1575 that are preserved in the Augsburg State Archive (D-As): Altbestände (Reichsstadt bis 1806): 1.1.1. Rat. Transcriptions are available in Hans Michael Schletterer, "Aktenmaterial aus dem städtischen Archiv zu Augsburg," *Monatshefte für Musik-Geschichte* 25, no. 1 (1893): 1–14. Schletterer includes two letters—one from the Augsburg *Meistersinger* (1562) and one from Melchior Neusiedler (c1568)—that no longer survive, but he omits an index of musical instruments owned by the city (1540) and a set of communications between the council and the neighboring Count Ludwig Casimir of Hohenlohe and Langenburg. Schletterer offers transcriptions of three additional documents, all dated c1600. Two of these were composed by Hans Leo Hassler.

- Sept. 14, 1569: Mathias Gastritz's petition for funds to support a print run of his *Novae harmonicae cantiones*
- July 18, 1573: Sophonias Paminger's petition for funds to support the publication of the second installment of his father's *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* (and subsequent volumes)

Each of these letters was accompanied by a musical opus or collection. Musically-set texts within these works are spiritually oriented, and most are derived from the Bible. The similarities end there, however. Four narratives emerge from close examination of these materials, which illuminate some of the many ways that sacred music—and particularly psalms—mediate discussions or concepts of theology and art. This chapter highlights the following analytical signifiers in our understanding of this mediation: numbering of psalms, alignment of texts with different versions of the Bible, alignment of texts with liturgical structures such as the Catholic liturgical calendar, close readings of texts, juxtaposition of text segments, analysis of omitted text segments, instances of riddle-cansons, and the presence of the Augsburg city council as an arbiter of sacred music.

Given the city of Augsburg's wealth and long history of music patronage, the composers discussed in this chapter had good cause to reach out to the councilmen for support. The unusual concentration of sacred materials composers chose to submit, however—works that might, previously, have been sent to powerful clerics—indicates a change in the mid-sixteenth century German music market. Where one might expect a stratification of patrons and composers of shared confessional identities to emerge, based on surviving evidence in Augsburg the opposite seems to have occurred: the confessionally and politically divisive culture prompted composers to court secular authorities as sponsors. Not only do the works these artists sent straddle the

realm of Catholic and Protestant theologies, but the involvement of the secular council, as a sponsor with the authority to confirm the use of such works in liturgical and otherwise sacrosanct spaces, further complicates our notions of what constitutes “sacred” and “secular” at this time. Augsburg’s and other bipartisan councils’ patronage of such works suggests that biconfessional groups were not resistant to Catholic or Protestant rhetoric or texts (Bible translations or settings that centonize Bible texts in a way that seems confessionally oriented). Based on these councils’ responses, where they are known, it would seem that the marketplace for sacred liturgical and nonliturgical compositions was not dependent on local stances toward confession. Diverse negotiating tactics demonstrated by Wagener, Haupt, Lindner, and Paminger indicate a degree of uncertainty within the mid-sixteenth century German music market which, no doubt, stems in part from the rapid diversification of personal, political, and/or confessional identities of this time. Given the variety of genres, texts and textual translations, and textual treatment that features in these works, I suggest that the sociocultural boundaries between Catholics and Protestants, and between sacred and secular spheres remained inchoate at this time.

2.1 GREGOR WAGENER, *ACHT DEUTZSCHE PSALMEN*

On August 18th, 1565, Gregor Wagener wrote to the city council of Regensburg, seeking monetary assistance for a print run of his German-texted psalm motets. Only sixteen days later, on September 3rd, he submitted the same petition to the city council of Augsburg. These two letters read almost identically. Addressing Augsburg, Wagener writes:

1565. 9./3.

Meine Willige Dienste Alzeit Zuvor Erbare Achbare Hochweyse vnnnd grosgunstige Herren, es leret der Heide *Plato*, das wir vnns selbst nicht geboren sein, Sondern vilmer allen vnsernn vleis dahin wenden sollen, das wir vnsernn Vatterlandt, elternn, freunden, vnnnd allen menschen dienen, den darumb sey der mensch vornemlich geboren; Gottes Wort aber die ewige

Warheit Leret vnns, das der mensch vornemlich vmb gottes darnach vmb der menschen willen geschaffen sey, Vmb gottes willen, das er seinen Namen Rumete vnnd preisete, vmb der menschen willen, das er denselbigen Nach seinen Vermögen dienete, Derwegen hab auch ich etzliche *Psalmen Davidis* des theuren propheten gottes vor mich genomen, vnnd dieselben mit vir vnnd funff stimmen Componiret, auff das gott dardurch geehret vnnd der Christenheit gedienet wurde. Dieselben aber vnter E. A. W. Namen in druck öffentlich gehen lassen, weil mir derselben geneigts gemut gegen dieser Loblichen vnnd gott wollgefelligen kunst woll bewusst. Vnder thenigts bittende E. A. W. Wollen ir diese meine Arme Arbeit gefallen lassen, thue hiermit E. A. W. den den hernn Christo beuehlen, Geben, Erffurt den 3 Septembris Im 1565. Jahr.

E. A. W.
Vntertheniger Gehorsamer
Gregorius Wagener *Musicus*.

[Envelope exterior]

Dem Erbarren Achbarnn vnnd Hochweysen Herrn
Burgermeisternn vnnd gantzen Rath der Stadt
Augsburgk meine grosgunstige Herren und
Forderernn.

Georg Wagner Componistn dediciert
Meinen Herren etliche gesang.

praes. 13. September 1565.⁹⁴

September 3rd, 1565

My continued, willing service at all times as previously, Respectable, Worthy, Highly Wise, and greatly favored Lords. As teaches the pagan, Plato, we ourselves are not only to be born but rather to turn our skills to service of our fatherland, parents, friends, and all people; that is why the most notable person was born of God's Word—to teach us the eternal truth, that this most notable person was created for the people's sake, by God's will, that his name be celebrated and glorified; [and] for the people's sake, that one minister the selfsame truth according to his assets. Therefore, I have taken before me several Psalms of David, that dear prophet of God, [and] I have composed four- and five-voice songs, to the glorification of God and to the service of Christendom. Let the same go publically to print, under [your] respectable, worthy, wise lords' name, because my mind is fully inclined toward this praiseworthy and God-pleasing art. With pleading respect to you respectable, worthy, wise lords, I ask that you tolerate my poor work. To you respectable, worthy, wise men in the command of Christ this [work of mine] is hereby given. Erfurt, September 3rd, 1565.

[To you] respectable, worthy, wise lords
[your] obedient subject
Gregor Wagener, musician.

⁹⁴ Musikakten 2, D-As: Altbestände (Reichsstadt bis 1806): 1.1.1. Rat. Transcription in Schletterer, "Aktenmaterial aus dem städtischen Archiv zu Augsburg," 3.

[Envelope exterior]

To the Respectable, Worthy, and Highly Wise
Lords Bürgermeisters and entire Council of the City
of Augsburg, my greatly favored Lords and Patrons.

Gregor Wagener, composer, dedicates
some songs to my Lords.

Presented September 13th, 1565.⁹⁵

With these letters, Wagener sent copies of his psalm motet collection, the *Acht deutsche Psalmen des Königlichen Propheten Davids*. This print stands as a unique example of a music book whose complete contents invite exegetical contemplation, and this hermeneutic activity is open to diversely literate users. Wagener's document further articulates the more general fluid religious and political identities that are reflected in many Tridentine and post-Tridentine sacred music publications.

In response to his petition to Regensburg, Wagener received four thalers; as to the reception of his request in the so-called Fuggerstadt, we can only speculate since no documentary evidence survives. What is important, though, is that within the narrow timeframe of one week, Wagener issued the same materials to two different cities with highly religious profiles. Among other critical differences, the Regensburg city council had embraced Protestantism in 1542 and was, by the mid-1560s, made up entirely of Protestant members. The Augsburg city council, on the other hand, remained confessionally divided. It was headed in the 1560s by a Catholic mayor, with Catholic patricians such as members of the Fugger family also holding positions of rank, but it was comprised of mostly Protestant artisans, effectively resulting in a balance of power and influence.

⁹⁵ Unless otherwise noted, all translations from this point forward are the author's. Translations of complete and unaltered Bible passages are generally taken from Michael Coogan et al., eds., *New Oxford Annotated Bible with Apocrypha: New Revised Standard Version*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Wagener's materials reflect, on the surface, a dynamic shift in the sacred music market following the Council of Trent—one that, at least in some areas, displaced religious authorities as patrons in favor of secular rulers. A resultant problem for composers is communicated through Wagener's somewhat inept courtship of the Regensburg and Augsburg councils for funds. His apparently Protestant faith did not limit his perceived options for patronage by Protestant or confessionally partisaned groups.

Very little is known of Wagener himself. In fact, his two letters present the only detailed testimony about his life. The composer identifies himself using the Latin word “musicus” (musician) of Erfurt, indicating that he held a position above that of a mere composer (Komponist) or music-maker (Musiker). Like Augsburg, Erfurt's religious culture was biconfessional from the beginning of the Reformation (c1530), though the city council ultimately embraced Protestantism. Martin Luther famously attended the University of Erfurt from 1501 to 1505. J. Rautenstrauch speculates that Wagener may have conducted the Erfurt boys' choir, which was established by at least 1563.⁹⁶ That Wagener had an education is suggested by the humanist language he employs, which I have illustrated as:

Plato, the pagan teaches (X);

But God's Word teaches (Y) and then (X), because . . .

Therefore, I have done (Y) and then (X).

This is most recognizable in view of the rhetorical strategy he employs throughout the main body of his text: Plato, the pagan, teaches X—that we are born to serve each other, but God's word teaches Y—that we are born to celebrate and glorify God first, and then each other. In so doing,

⁹⁶ Johannes Rautenstrauch, *Luther und die Pflege der kirchlichen Musik in Sachsen* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1906), 103, cited in Dehnhard, *Die deutsche Psalmmotette*, 274.

we ultimately accomplish both, since in serving God (implied) we are compelled to bring our greatest assets to bear. Notably, the argument integrates a reference to various Bible texts on the application of one's gifts. 1 Peter 4:10 reads, for example, "Like good stewards of the manifold grace of God, serve one another with whatever gift each of you has received." While various creative artists of this period speak of a divine impulse to write, compose, etc., Wagener's (Protestant) motivation is externally derived from close, careful reading and obedience to the scriptures. That the composer obtained a higher education is further corroborated by a published list of Wittenberg University attendees, where the name "Gregorius Vuagener Hecstensis" appears.⁹⁷ This Gregorius Vuagener was enrolled on March 13th, 1551, placing his birth year around 1530–1535. Wagener's presence at Wittenberg—the birthplace of the German reformation—might further explain the Protestant leanings evident in his compositional output.

While the contents of the letters speak to Wagener's humanist background, one gets a clearer sense of his confessional leanings from the print itself. The only complete copy is preserved in Regensburg, in the Proskeschen Music Collection of the Episcopal Library, bound together with other Protestant and Protestant-leaning musical materials.⁹⁸ The printer and print location are not given, though I agree with Otto Kade that the latter must be Erfurt.⁹⁹ The book is dedicated to the Regensburg city council (1565), supporting the notion that of the two governing bodies Wagener sought as patrons, Regensburg responded more favorably than Augsburg. If

⁹⁷ 'Hecstensis' could be a historical place name (Ekstensis, Ekstensi, Heiczstete, or Hettstedt). Dehnhard asserts that this is the only instance of such a name appearing in any extant lists of central German universities within the timeframe, 1550–1565. See Dehnhard, *Die deutsche Psalmmotette*, 273.

⁹⁸ A copy of the discantus part book is held in the Cathedral School Library in Güstrow.

⁹⁹ Otto Kade (1883), J. Benzing (1963), and Walther Dehnhard (1971) all consider the print location of Wagener's book. The collection may have been issued by Georg Baumann in Erfurt, as suggested by Kade, though a comparison of fonts would be required before either Erfurt or Augsburg could be securely identified/ruled out as possible print locations. Kade and Benzing's findings are summarized by Dehnhard, *Die deutsche Psalmmotette*, 120–21.

accurate, this indicates that the Augsburg city council was vigilant against works of art carrying overt Protestant rhetoric.

The print is issued in four partbooks—discantus, altus, tenor, and bassus—in oblong quarto format. Four of the eight included motets are composed for four voices, and four for five voices. Each “vagens” or quinta vox is presented in a different part book; so, for example, one piece has a second discantus, appearing on recto pages opposite the first discantus on versos; one piece has a second altus, the part for which is given in the altus part book, and so forth. This balance in the voicing of the five-part motets indicates an overarching scheme for the book’s organization, thereby inviting the user to search for a parallel overarching narrative. With one exception, each of the eight psalm motets sets a redacted version of a relatively lengthy psalm. Wagener uses a translation that closely parallels that of the Luther Bible of 1545, though deviations in spelling and the use of definite articles may be found.

Set against the main body of Augsburg-produced and D-As-held motet books from 1540 to 1585, the *Acht deutsche Psalmen* appears out of place. Though somewhat reductive, if I were to characterize this repertory, in brief, based on my study of more than 2,500 sacred motets and 800 psalm settings, I would emphasize the following characteristics: 1) as a whole, these works are predominantly Latin-texted; 2) the psalm motets normally set only one to three verses, and often incorporate textual local or structural repetition; 3) psalm motets are often based on the texts of liturgical chants; and centonate texts are almost exclusively liturgically derived; 4) nonliturgical settings normally use consecutive psalm verses; 5) if the first verse of a psalm is used in a nonconsecutive setting it normally appears at the end of the *secunda pars* or at the end of both the *prima* and *secunda partes*; this is typical for a responsory motet; and 6) a decreasing number of psalm motets of this period make use of psalm tones as *cantus firmi*. Considered

together, Wagener's compositions yield an entirely different profile. Now, granted, one does find a small selection of "Teutsche Lieder" volumes that may contain one or more psalm motets. A handful of books comprising exclusively psalm motets and settings also survive in Augsburg; these include Orlando di Lasso's and Alexander Utendal's *Penitential Psalms* publications, along with a manuscript containing *falsobordone*-style settings of vespers psalms. In all three cases, the texts that are presented are complete, in Latin, and grouped as a long-standing patristic or liturgical cycle. To the best of my knowledge, no sixteenth-century vernacular psalm motet collections besides Wagener's survive in Augsburg. In the words of Helmut Lautenwasser, Bavaria simply did not experience the "sudden rise in printing of German-texted motets" that one finds in Saxony and Thuringia, for example.¹⁰⁰

The liturgical viability of Wagener's works, even in German Protestant contexts, is disputed.¹⁰¹ His motets are not organized according to any liturgical scheme, nor do any of his redactions resemble specific liturgical texts. In order, Wagener sets the psalm texts,

Ps. 31(32): Wohl dem, dem die Übertretung vergeben sind (4 voices)

Verses: 1–3, 5, 1 (repeated)

Ps. 37(38): Ach, Herr, strafe mich nicht (4 voices)

Verses: 1–3 (1a *pars*); verses 15, 18, 21, 22 (2a *pars*)

Ps. 32(33): Freuet euch des Herren (5 voices)

Verses: 1, 2, 4, 6 (1a *pars*); verses 12, 18, 19, 22 (2a *pars*)

¹⁰⁰ ". . . eine auffällige Häufung von deutschsprachigen Psalmmotettendruckein." Helmut Lautenwasser identifies prints by Johann Reusch (Wittenberg, 1552), David Köler (Leipzig, 1554), Gallus Dreßler (Jena, 1562), Gregor Wagener (Erfurt?, 1565), Georg Weber (Mühlhausen, 1568 and 1569) and Joseph Schlegel (Mühlhausen, 1578) as contributing to this trend. He also points to a concentration of manuscript sources of German psalm settings from the years 1546–1550. See Helmut Lautenwasser, *Angst der Höllen und Friede der Seelen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999).

¹⁰¹ See Dehnhard, *Die deutsche Psalmmotette*, 88–111.

- Ps. 13(14): Die Toren sprechen in ihrem Herzen (5 voices)
Verses: 1–3 (1a *pars*); verses 7 (2a *pars*)
- Ps. 36(37): Erzürne dich nicht über die Bösen (4 voices)
Verses: 1–5 (1a *pars*); verses 25, 35–37, 39 (2a *pars*)
- Ps. 38(39): Ich habe mir vorgesetzt: ich will mich hüten (4 voices)
Verses: 1, 4 (1a *pars*); verses 5, 12 (2a *pars*)
- Ps. 50(51): Gott, sei mir gnädig (5 voices, with 2nd discantus)
Verses: 1–4 (1a *pars*); verses 9–11 (2a *pars*)
2nd discantus: “Erbarm dich” hymn, 1st stanza
- Ps. 99(100): Jauchzeit dem Herren, alle Welt (5 voices, with 2nd altus)
Verses: 1, 2, 5

Note that Wagener applies the Hebrew numbering of the psalms, which are given in parentheses. This, again, indicates use of either one of Luther’s Bible translations or a Protestant Bible closely aligned with Luther’s text.

I hold that the organization of Wagener’s volumes puts forward a particularly Lutheran concept of the sacrament of confession—a complex subject that received considerable attention at Trent. Sin and penitence feature as central themes in six of the eight motet texts that Wagener selects. While the collection’s opening with Pss. 31, 37, and 32 may prompt the user to infer that Wagener views the act of confession, in itself, as salutary, in the sudden shift to Ps. 13 for the fourth psalm motet in the collection, whose text treats the mortal evildoer as unredeemable by his own acts, one sees a clear, Protestant exegesis about salvation through grace.¹⁰² The nadir of Ps.

¹⁰² Luther’s translation of Luke, “. . . by grace *alone* we are saved,” may have provoked the single most contentious debate concerning his work. This line, with the added word “*solus*” (Latin) or “*allein*” (German), became a signifier of Protestant identity. See Luther, *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen*.

13 is followed by the teaching/moralizing Ps. 36, effectively prompting a time-out in the story for a moment of erudition. This organization suggests to me a teaching objective that possibly reflects Wagener's role as director of a boys' choir. Compositionally, all eight motets feature a narrow hexachord range per voice part. Counterpoint is introduced carefully, with imitation almost exclusively at the unison or octave. Note, too, that this psalm features as part of the readings for a traditional Passover Seder: an event that commemorates God's sparing of the children of the Hebrews when he sent the Angel of Death into Egypt. This context, again, brings to mind the idea that it is by God's will alone that people are saved. He spared the Hebrews not because of any particular redeeming act on their part, but simply because they were God's chosen. As an example, I will take a closer look at the *secunda pars* of Wagener's setting:

Psalm 37 (LXX: Ps. 36), *2a pars* (verses 25, 35–37, 39)

[25] Ich bin jung gewesen und alt worden,
 [Und] Ich hab noch nie gesehen den Gerechten verlassen,
 Oder seinen Samen nach Brot gehen.
[35] Ich habe gesehen ein Gottlosen: der war trötzig,
 Und breitet sich aus und grünet wie ein Lorbeerbaum.
[36] Da man vorüberging, siehe, da war er dahin,
 Ich fragete nach ihm, da ward er nirgend gefunden.
[37] Bleibe fromm, [und] halte dich recht,
 Denn solchen wirds zuletzt wohl gehen.
[39] Der Herr hilft den Gerechten,
 Der ist ihre Stärke in der Not.¹⁰³

Which translates as:

[25] I have been young, and now am old, yet I have not seen the righteous forsaken or their children begging bread.
[35] I have seen the wicked oppressing, and towering like a cedar of Lebanon.

¹⁰³ The numbering of verses follows Luther's translation of Ps. 37: "[25] I have been young, and now am old, yet I have not seen the righteous forsaken or his children begging for bread. [35] I have seen a wicked, ruthless man, spreading himself like a green laurel tree. [36] But he passed away, and behold, he was no more; though I sought him, he could not be found. [37] Mark the blameless and behold the upright, for there is a future for the man of peace. [39] The salvation of the righteous is from the Lord; he is there stronghold in the time of trouble."

[36] Again I passed by, and they were no more; though I sought them, they could not be found.
[37] Mark the blameless, and behold the upright, for there is posterity for the peaceable.
[39] The salvation of the righteous is from the Lord; he is their refuge in the time of trouble.¹⁰⁴

Interestingly, one finds a sort of bookending or framing technique in the body of this part that also maps onto the whole collection: here, one finds an opening statement about the righteous never being denied justice and a penultimate line asserting, quite clearly, that by God's help such is realized. Going back to the overarching structure, we see this same lopsided frame around the first and, actually, second psalm texts, and the penultimate Ps. 50 setting.¹⁰⁵ It is also worth highlighting those phrases that are omitted from Wagener's text, most notably verse 27: "Turn away from evil and do good; so shall you dwell forever." This would undermine the Protestant narrative of salvation through grace and not by good works, and it is significant that Wagener, or his textual compiler, left it out.¹⁰⁶

A closer look at the actual selections Wagener uses reveals what I see as user-oriented or "some assembly required"-type exegesis, which prefigures Roth's collection discussed in chapter 1. Most of Wagener's texts are taken from Davidian psalms in the 30s (Pss. 31, 37, 32, 36, and 38). Many reflect (nonchronological) events in David's life. Given the concentration of these 30s psalms, one may be inclined to view the motets on Pss. 13, 50, and 99 as outliers, though I argue that the closely related themes and shared penitential affect of Ps. 50 justifies grouping this motet with Pss. 36 and 38 in the second half of the book. Based on content and character, I see two

¹⁰⁴ Translation from the NRSV.

¹⁰⁵ Notably, this organizational strategy, in which the first and second-to-last materials somehow mirror each other, while the final text does something completely different, features in a good number of Davidian psalms. Ps. 68, for example, is made up of seven five-verse stanzas, the first and last of which constitute re-articulations of the same basic materials. The psalm then concludes with an "extra" line that crystalizes the psalm's central message.

¹⁰⁶ This caveat applies to all centonate psalm motet texts discussed herein which are not drawn from liturgical sources. The authorship of sacred motet texts is often indeterminate: these texts may or may not have been composed by the attributed musicians.

parallel groupings (3 + 1); that is, Pss. 31, 37, and 32, followed by the contrasting Ps. 13; and Pss. 36, 38, and 50, followed by the contrasting Ps. 99. These groupings are reinforced by the voicing: note that each group of four motets comprises two four-voice works followed by two five-voice works.

The opening Ps. 31 puts forward the idea that one can only achieve happiness through confession; Ps. 37 offers a plea to God and decries the suffering brought on by sin; Ps. 32 offers praise, celebrating God's qualities and lauding his ability and inclination to relieve mortals of the burden of sin; Ps. 13 offers the darkest elements, reflecting on the destruction of the temple of Solomon, and its central themes are condemnation and wrath; Ps. 36 features a strong justice motif, and is the most pedagogically-oriented of these eight texts; Ps. 38 returns to the opening themes of sin and suffering, though the tone of the speaker (David) is more humble as he begs to be heard by God, despite his self-understood insignificance; Ps. 50—the so-called “Miserere” in Latin—offers a plea to be cleansed, and the inscription for this psalm links the text to David's sin with Bathsheba—most Christian readings interpret the psalm as a poem of contrition regarding that specific act; lastly, Ps. 99's text praises God and thanks him for his enduring mercy. Like any good story, this organization provides a moment of crisis (Ps. 13), followed by a moment of reflection (Ps. 36, the moral of the tale), a humbling of the main character through recognition of guilt (Ps. 38), and a plea for forgiveness (Ps. 50), which God grants, resulting in the happy ending (Ps. 99).

Wagener's use of a German Protestant hymn—a Lutheran hymn, no less—in the penultimate psalm motet deserves special attention. Recalling that *cantus firmi* were used in Catholic liturgical music for centuries, Wagener's adaptation of this technique for a confessionally ambiguous and clearly nonliturgical work immediately demonstrates a fluid

religious as well as stylistic identity. Interestingly, because the first verse of the hymn glosses the opening lines of Ps. 50, one hears two versions of the same text through the end of the *prima pars*. These two texts are set side by side below, for further consideration:

Psalm 51 (LXX: Ps. 50), 1a *pars* (verses 1–4)¹⁰⁷

[1] Gott, sei mir gnädig, nach deiner Güte,
und tilge meine Sünde, nach deiner grossen
Barmherzigkeit.

[2] Wasche mich wohl von meinen
Missetatten, und reinige mich von meinen
Sünden.

[3] Denn ich erkenne meine Missetaten, und
meine Sünden sind täglich vor mir.

[4] Vor dir allein hab ich gesündigt, und
übel vor dir tan: auf dass du recht behaltest
in deinen Worten, und rein bleibest, wenn du
gerichtet wirst.

Psalm 51(50)-based hymn, cantus firmus
Erbarme dich, mein Herre Gott, nach deiner
grossen Barmherzigkeit.

Wasch ab, mach rein mein Missetat, ich
kenn mein Sünd und ist mir leid.

Allein ich dir gesündigt [e]t hab, das ist
wider mich stetiglich,

Das Bös vor dir mag nit bestahn, du bleibest
gerecht, ob du verurteilest mich.

The motet translates as:

[1] Have mercy on me, O God, according to your steadfast love; according to your abundant mercy blot out my transgressions.

[2] Wash me thoroughly from my iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin.

[3] For I know my transgressions, and my sin is ever before me.

[4] Against you, you alone, have I sinned, and done what is evil in your sight, so that you are justified in your sentence and blameless when you pass judgment.¹⁰⁸

The cantus firmus translates as:

Have mercy, my lord God, according to your great compassion.

Wash off, make clean my iniquity; I know my sin, and it is my sorrow.

I have sinned against you alone; that is constantly against me.

The wicked cannot exist before you. you remain equitable if you judge me.

¹⁰⁷ The numbering of verses follows Luther's translation of Ps. 51 (LXX: Ps. 50).

¹⁰⁸ Translation from the NRSV.

The hymn verse repeats in the *secunda pars*, leading Dehnhard to speculate that this is a print error. I argue, however, that this cyclic repetition reinforces God's agency in the act of forgiveness.

That composers such as Wagener, working in geographically distant parts of Germany, recognized Augsburg's secular ruling body as a viable sponsor is confirmed by the presence of three more missives similar to Wagener's that were sent to the city council between 1565 and 1569. The diverse contents of these documents, accompanying musical materials, and the unclear confessional identities of their authors affirms that the post-Tridentine marketplace for sacred music was not dependent on local stances toward faith.

2.2 JACOBUS HAUPT, *CHORALPASSION UND AUFERSTEHUNGSHISTORIE*;

FRIEDRICH LINDNER/JACOB MEILAND, *CHORALPASSION*

Although they did not send psalm motets, Jacobus Haupt and Friedrich Lindner's negotiations with and musical offerings to the Augsburg city council—both submitting German-texted choral Passions—speak to diverse mid-sixteenth-century conceptualizations of the relationships among sacred music, confessional identity, and language. Haupt and Lindner submitted manuscript exemplars of their works, both of which survive at the D-As, in the hopes of gaining employment. Given the similarities between their objectives, texts, and accompanying scores, their materials will be considered together.

Beginning with Haupt, the musician and priest wrote to the Augsburg city council on March 20th, 1566, in an effort to secure funds for future works and, perhaps, to obtain a position. A transcription and translation of his letter follow:

1566. 20./3.

Mein Andechtig Gebeth gegen Goth sampt wunschunge alles guetten, vnnd ganntz willigen Diensten mit treuhem vleiss zuuorn. Vorsichtige Erbare wolweise Achtbare vnnd Hochgelarthe Herren,

Weill goth die hohe Mayesteth, der himmlische Vather, vnns in seinem worth befohlen, Seinen lieben Sohn, An dem Ehr Ein hertzlich wolgefallen, zu hören, Viellmehr sindt das die rechtenn gottesdiennst, Das Leiden Sterben vnnd froliche Auferstehunng des herrenn Jhesu Christi, nach dem Predig Ampt, Durch Singen vnnd Christliche Betrachtung, treulich zu beherzigen, welche dankbarkeit der Vather vnnsers Herrenn Jesu Christi auch vonn vns foderth vnnd haben will, Wie denn auch Goth der heilige geist Durch den Kinniglichen Prophetenn Daud. Solch lob des Herrenn Christi auf mancherlei weise im 150 Psalm zu thuen vleissig beschreibeth. Ich aber als Churfürstlichenn Sechsischen Canntorei zu Dresden gewesener Notist vnnd Tenorist die Passion Im Chorall vnd figurall in Ein buch zu schreibenn erstlichen also erdacht vnnd erfunden, Vnnd vielen Kirchen vnnd Schulenn Hohes vnnd Niedrigs standes in deutzscher Nation hiemit gedieneth, welche alle solche gesenge mit grossem gefallenn anngenohmmenn.

Nachdem Ich aber befinde, Das Es alles zu lob Ehr vnnd Preiss vnnsers Einigen Heilandts Christi gereicht, Hab ich aus gehorsam, den Ich gott schuldig, Als Ein vnwürdiger diener seines worths nicht vntherlassen Khonnen, Euer V. E. W. W. vnndt A. Auch mit Einem Exemplar der Passion vnnd Auferstehung Christi zu verehrenn,

Gelangt demnach au Euer V. E. W. W. vnndt A. mein hochvleissig Bitten, Euer V. E. W. W. vnndt A. wolden Viell gedachte gesenng zu gunstigem gefallenn annehmenn, Vnndt dem Sohne Gottes zu Ehrenn vnnd dancksagung singen lassen,

Welchs dann ohne sunnderlichen Nutz bei den Geistlichen Zuhorern nicht abgehen wirdt, mit vleissiger Erpiettunge, Da Euern V. E. W. W. vnndt A. Kirchenn vnndt Schulen in grosserm vnndt mehrerm Ich dienen Khenndte, Das Ich mich willig wolt finnden lassen, Euer V. E. W. W. vnndt A. gunnstige Antworth schriefftlichen Bittende. Datum Im Bisthumb Zeitz denn 20 Martii des 1566 Jahrs.

Euer V. W. W. vnnd A. williger Diener
Jacobus Haupt Itzt Ein armer
Pfarher in gemelthem
Bisthumb.

[Envelope exterior]

Denn Vorsichtigenn, Erbarenn vnndt wolweissenn
Achtbarenn vnndt Hochgelarttenn Herrenn
Burgermeisternn vnndt ganntzem Rathe der
Kaiserlichen Reichstadt Augspurgk. Meinenn
grosgunstigenn vnndt gebietenden Herren.

Jacob Haupt, Pfarrer Im Bisthumb
Zeit z deduciert Himnen der Passion
gesangs weys.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ Musikakten 3, D-As: Altbestände (Reichsstadt bis 1806): 1.1.1. Rat. Transcription in Schletterer, "Aktenmaterial aus dem städtischen Archiv zu Augsburg," 3–4.

March 20th, 1566

My devout prayer to God together with all good wishes and very willing service, with true diligence as previously. Prudent, Respectable, Very Wise, Honorable, and Highly-Learned Lords,

Because God in his high majesty, the heavenly Father, commanded us in His Word to heed His beloved son, with whom He was heartily well pleased, it is, rather, the right worship that [we] truly take to heart the suffering, death, and joyful resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ after/according to the sermon. Through singing and Christian contemplation, which the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ would also have us truly heed, gratitude is enjoined in us, as God [enjoins] the Holy Spirit through the royal prophet David. How to do such praise of the Lord Christ is described in manifold ways in Psalm 150. I, however, then a scribe and tenor of the Electoral Saxon chantry in Dresden, thought and invented writing the Passion both as a choral and figural in a book, and herewith serving many churches and schools of high and low standing in the German Nation, all of which took up such songs with great pleasure.

After I realized, however, that all this serving the honor and praise of our dear Savior Christ, I have not been able to abstain through the obedience that I owe the Lord as an unworthy servant of His word to present you with an exemplar of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ. This most diligent plea may therefore reach you, prudent, respectable, very wise, and honorable lords that you would, with joyous pleasure accept the well-considered songs and let them be sung to honor and thank the Son of God.

Which, then, will not happen without special use by spiritual listeners, with diligent beseeching, because I could serve in your prudent, respectable, very wise, and honorable Lords' churches and schools and [with] more and bigger things, that I would willingly be found to receive your prudent, respectable, very wise, and honorable lords' favorable answer to my written petition. Dated in the bishopric of Zeitz on the 20th of March in the year 1566.

Your prudent, respectable, very wise, and honorable lords' willing servant,

Jacobus Haupt, now a poor priest
in said diocese.

[Envelope exterior]

To the Prudent, Respectable, and Very Wise
Worthy, and Highly-Learned Lords Bürgermeisters
and entire Council of the Imperial Free City of
Augsburg. My greatly favored and commanding
Lords.

Jacob Haupt, priest in the bishopric of
Zeitz dedicates hymns of the Passion
as songs.¹¹⁰

Haupt identifies himself as a priest of Zeitz; therefore, we can assume he was Catholic. The bishopric of Naumburg-Zeitz, with which he associates himself, was dissolved shortly after the

¹¹⁰ Thanks to Annegret Fauser for her assistance with this translation.

death of its last bishop, Julius von Pflug (1499–1564). This situation may explain Haupt’s interest in a position elsewhere. Significant encounters with Reformation theology and discourse in the region, as well as in Dresden where Haupt was formerly employed,¹¹¹ may account for Protestant-leaning elements of Haupt’s letter.¹¹² Most significantly, Haupt places a strong emphasis on the scripture, even paraphrasing Matt. 17:5 (“This is my son, the beloved; with him I am well pleased; listen to him”) in the opening line of his first paragraph. He describes himself as an “unworthy servant of [God’s] word.” He also draws an analogy between the direction or enjoinder of the Holy Spirit that is apparent in David’s psalms and the enjoinder of gratitude that comes from singing and contemplating the Passion. He draws attention to Ps. 150, the “Alleluia, Laudate Dominum,” for its instruction on how to praise God—with instruments and by voice—and urges that “right worship” (rechte Gottesdienst) involves singing and “Christian contemplation” (Christliche Betrachtung) after or according to the sermon.

Haupt’s confessional language is also quite diffuse. He encourages the use of his Passion in “many churches and schools,” but he in no way indicates that these be Catholic or Protestant. In fact, he seems to view wealth/power and lowliness as more critical distinguishing features of such institutions (“of high and low standing”), though he welcomes the use of his work in both. He further entreats “spiritual listeners”—a decidedly vague notion—to take up his work. Finally,

¹¹¹ Haupt served as one of five tenors in the Dresden court chapel from 1548. His name is included in the founding directory of that same year. See Matthias Herrmann, “Bemerkung zur Schütz-Rezeption im 17. Jahrhundert am Beispiel der ‘Breslauer Varianten’ der Auferstehungshistorie SWV 50,” *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 12, (1990): 105.

¹¹² These encounters may well have provided the impulse for Bishop Pflug’s active involvement in the religious debates at Augsburg (1530), Regensburg (1541), and Trent (1551–1552), among other gatherings. Indeed, after a period of exile from Zeitz (1542–1547), Pflug resumed the episcopal throne over a Lutheran-majority populace. Most of the priests in that area had married and were accustomed to receiving communion in both kinds. Pflug did not recognize these activities as heretical. Seeing himself as a mediator between confessions, he petitioned the pope to extend the Ketzerrechte to Catholics, though his request was denied. See *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, s.v. “Pflug, Julius von” by Adolf Brecher, accessed February 1, 2016, <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118714082.html?anchor=adb>.

he offers his services in Augsburg's "churches and schools," these being, again, denominationally unspecified. Like Wagener, Haupt discloses an impulse to compose. His statement, "I have not been able to abstain [from this work]" suggests more of an inborn or even divinely inspired motivation than Wagener articulates, however. Wagener's obligation to "serve God according to [his] assets" is more externally motivated, deriving, as he states, from scriptural command. Though subtle, Haupt's assertion aligns his thinking with that of Christian and, especially, Catholic mystics. Catholic theologians and humanists of the medieval and early modern periods, such as Johann Reuchlin (1455–1552), interpreted certain creative works as products of a divine union between God and the artist.

Haupt's *Choralpassion* is arranged in two parts, the first dealing with Jesus's Passion and the second, his resurrection. Part one is based entirely on the Gospel of Matthew, chapters 26–27, while part two blends textual elements from the final or penultimate chapters of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. According to musicologist Friedhelm Brusniak, the *Choralpassion* is modeled on, or at the very least inspired by, Walter's Passion setting. Indeed, the two works are quite closely connected.¹¹³ Although Haupt's version was only issued in 1566, per his comment in the letter it was probably composed during his tenure in Dresden. The composer left the city for the parish office of Zeitz around 1560, indicating that the work was composed in the mid- to late-1550s. The Passion does not appear to have been printed; only one manuscript version survives at the Augsburg D-As. No in-depth study of this composition has yet been produced,

¹¹³ Walter may have composed responsorial Passions of both SS. Matthew and John. See Friedhelm Brusniak, *Johann-Walter-Studien: Tagungsbericht Torgau 1996* (Tutzing, Germany: H. Schneider, 1998), 43–44. See also Carl Gerhardt, *Die Torgauer Walter-Handschriften. Eine Studie zur Quellenkunde der Musikgeschichte der deutschen Reformationszeit* (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1949), 60–62 cited in Wolfram Steude, *Annäherung durch Distanz: Texte zur Älteren Mitteldeutschen Musik und Musikgeschichte*, edited by Matthias Herrmann (Altenburg, Germany: Kamprad, 2001), 74. Additional material on early passions may be found in Wolfram Steude, "Die Markuspassion in der Leipziger Passionen-Handschrift des Johann Zacharias Grundig," *Deutsches Jahrbuch der Musikwissenschaft* 14 (1969): 96–116.

though musicologist Wolfram Steude contextualizes the work relative to other central German Passion settings,¹¹⁴ and Clytus Gottwald gives a physical description of the exemplar and an account of its notational aspects. At 49.5 centimeters in height and 37 centimeters in width, and with enlarged music and text for choral sections, this single volume could be read by a small choir from a lectern. Choral passages are given in mensural white notation whereas figural sections are given in German Hufnagel (gothic) notation. This suggests more of a freestyle delivery of the monophonic sections than the *falsobordone*-style choral parts. A transcription of Haupt's letter is included near the front of the manuscript in the position of a dedication.¹¹⁵ Though no written record of the council's response to Haupt survives, evidence of wear on the surviving copy in Augsburg suggests this piece was accepted and used.

The Passion and Resurrection sections of Haupt's setting are clearly demarcated, the first part opening with the title, "Das Leiden Unsers Herrn Jhesu Christi, wie es beschreibt der Heilige Evangelist Matheus" (The suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ, as describes the holy evangelist Matthew). The text, as stated, follows Matt. 26–27 with minimal abbreviations or revisions. The second part, which is titled "Die aufferstehung Unsers Herren Jhesu Christi, wie uns die von den Vier Evangelisten beschrieben wirdt" (The resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, as is described to us by the four evangelists), centonizes material from Matt. 28, Mark 16, Luke 24, and John 20. Though the German texts of these two sections parallel Luther's 1545 Bible translation quite closely, minor differences in spelling and word choice suggest that Haupt relied on a different German Bible source. Although I was unable to identify the exact Bible translation

¹¹⁴ Steude's work focuses more generally on the development of central German Passion settings. See Steude, *Annäherung durch Distanz*, esp. 166–183.

¹¹⁵ Clytus Gottwald, *Die Musikhandschriften der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg* (Wiesbaden, Germany: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974), 107–8.

Haupt used as the textual basis for his work, Johann Dietenberger's *Biblia, beider Allt unnd Newen Testamenten*—the so-called *Catholic Bible* of the German Renaissance—applies the most common language.¹¹⁶ By the mid-sixteenth century, a considerable volume of German Bible translations were in circulation. Several of these, including the Catholic theologian Johannes Eck's German Bible of 1537 and Luther's translations of 1522 (the New Testament), 1534, and 1545 (both the complete Bible), were published in Augsburg. Other influential versions of the mid-sixteenth century include the Zurich Bible of 1529, translated by Huldrych Zwingli and Leo Jud, and various Catholic "corrected" Bibles (*Korrekturbibeln*) such as Hieronymus Emser's translation of 1527 (the New Testament), Dietenberger's translation of 1534 (the complete Bible), and Eck's translation of 1537. These texts are deeply interdependent. Zwingli and Jud relied heavily on Luther's New Testament of 1522 in producing the Zurich Bible; Emser's New Testament was so similar to Luther's that Luther accused Emser of plagiarism; and Dietenberger's translation derives, at least in part, from Luther's publication as well as from the Zurich translation.¹¹⁷ In brief, on account of the shared influence and considerable overlap between these German Bibles, among many others from the same period, biblical source texts for German vernacular motets and other sacred works cannot be seen as indicative of Catholic or Protestant belief. Haupt's potential use of a Catholic Bible translation such as Dietenberger's did

¹¹⁶ Key points of distinction between this text and Luther's include deviant spellings, differences in word choice, and differences in the organization of phrases. Haupt and Dietenberger both use "th" instead of "t" in certain words, such as "gethan" and "Orth"; both use of double consonances in words like "zwölff" and "gehem"; and both combine verbs and nouns as "seistu" and "hastu." These spellings do not feature regularly in Luther's Bible translations. Haupt and Dietenberger's word choice also differs subtly from Luther's, for example where they use "genug Geld" instead of "viel Geld" and "Hüttern" instead of "Wache." Certain spellings, word choice, and phrases in Haupt's text do not align with any of the translations by Luther (1534, 1545), Emser (1527), Dietenberger (1534), or Eck (1539), however. See Johann Dietenberger, *Biblia, beider Allt unnd Newen Testamenten* (Cologne: Quentel, 1534).

¹¹⁷ The term "corrected" is somewhat misleading. The differences between Luther's Bible translations and Catholic "corrected" texts relate more significantly to dialect than theology. See Stefan Sonderegger, "Geschichte deutschsprachiger Bibelübersetzungen in Grundzügen," in *Sprachgeschichte: ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und ihrer Erforschung*, ed. Werner Besch (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998), 229–84.

not limit his perceived options for patronage by Protestants or by confessionally bipartisan councilmen.

Friedrich Lindner petitioned the Augsburg city council for employment as a copyist on April 5th, 1568. He did not submit his own compositions for consideration, but instead offered an exemplar of his older colleague, Jacob Meiland's *Choralpassion*, which Lindner had copied out. A transcription and translation of Lindner's text follows:

1568. 5./4.

Gnad vnd fried durch Christum vnsern
einigen Heiland.

Edle Ehrnueste, Achtbare, Fürsichtige hoch vnd wolweise grossgünstige Herren, Demnach für kurtzer Zeitt *Jacobus Mailandus* fürstlicher Cappellmaister alhier, die Passion oder die wort vom Leiden vnd sterben vnser Herren Jesu Christi, wie solche der H. Euangelist *Johannes* beschrieben zu deutsch gantz artlich vnd kunstreich in gesangsweis gesetzt vnd Componiret. Vnd aber itzo die Zeit vorhanden, zu welcher in den kirchen mher dan sonst im Jar vom Leiden vnd Sterben Christi (wiewol solches für und für zu allen Zeitten alle Christliche hertzen vleissig betrachten vnd zu gemüth füren sollen) pflegt gehandelt zewerden.

Als hab Ich dieselben für mich genommen, E. E. A. hochw. zu Ehren vnd derselben kirchen zu gutt, aufs best so Ich kont vnd vf form vnd weis, so zu singen am bequemsten vnd leichtesten Ingrossiert vnd abgeschrieben. Solchs Libell Ich nhim E. E. A. hochw. auf itzo bey eigner botschafft vnderthenig vbersende. Vnd ob wol mir nicht zweifelt E. E. A. hochw. (als die sonsten sonderliche lust vnd liebe zu der löblichen Music tragen) werden ob anhörung solches gesangs auch ein günstig vnd hertzlichs wolgefallen haben. Idoch so geraicht hiemit an E. E. A. hochw. mein vnderthenig vleissig bitt, Die wolten Ihnen solche meine (ob wol geringe) mühe, vleiss vnd arbeit so zu befüderung Christliches Gottesdienstes gehörig, günstig gefallen lassen, vnd in derselben kirchen neben andern Christlichen gesängen auf gegenwertige Fastenzeit gehörig, auch solche Passion, durch Ihre schuel vnd kirchendiener anzurichten bedacht seien.

Hiran wirt sonder Zweifel, Got der Almechtig ein wolgefallen haben, Vnd Ich erkenne mich dofür E. E. A. hochw. vnderthenig zedancken schuldig vnd willig.

Vnd do Ich spüren vnd vermercken werde, das E. E. A. hochw. Dis mein gering geschenklin für gut aufgenommen vnd derselben kirchen darmit gedienet worden, Werd Ich, vf ein ander Zeit (vermittelst götlicher verleihung) denselben Ichtwas bessers vnd mherers mitzetheilen verursacht werden.

Thue hirvf E. E. A. hochw. in den schutz des allerhöchsten, vnd mich denselben zu gnaden vnd günstiger antwort bey Zeigern entvhelten. Geben Onoltzbach den 5. Aprilis Im Jar Nach Christi geburth 1568.

E. E. A. hochw. vndertheniger
Fridrich Lindtner
Marggräuisch, Brandenburgischer
Musicus vnd Tenorist doselbst.

[Envelope exterior]

Den Edlen vnd Ehrnuesten Achtbarn Fürchtigen
Hoch und Wolweisenn Herrn N. N. Seniorn
Bürgermaistern vnd Ratmannen der Keiserlichenn
vnd Löblichen Reichstadt Augspurg meinen
Insonder grossgünstigen Herrn.

Fridrich Lintner Musici über
der Passional gesangweis.

praes. 8. Aprilis ao. 1568.¹¹⁸

April 5th, 1568

Grace and peace of Christ our
dear savior.

Noble, Honorable, Worthy, Prudent, high, and Very Wise, Greatly Favorable Lords, Accordingly, a short time ago, Jakobus Mailandus, local court Kapellmeister, gallantly and artfully set for voices the Passion or the Word of the suffering and death of our Lord Jesus Christ, as the Holy Evangelist John described. And now it is the time of year that, more than usual, in the churches one confronts the Passion and the suffering death of Christ (although from age to age, and at all times, Christian hearts should consider and keep the result in mind).

I, myself, have taken the same [into consideration], noble, honorable, worthy, and highly wise lords, and the same [for the] goodness of the church, as best as I could, by shaping and vocally orienting songs most convenient to sing, and written in large, thick font. I take such a polemic, noble, honorable, worthy, and highly exemplary lords from now on as its own message, [which I] obediently transmit. And I wonder if I do not doubt, noble, honorable, worthy, and highly wise lords, whether a favorable, cordial, and good pleasure be had in hearing such singing (as the otherwise very pleasurable contributions of laudable Music). However, such is forwarded to you noble, honorable, worthy, and highly wise lords with my obedient, industrious request, that you should want to find favorable my (however modest) efforts, diligence, and works, belonging to the promotion of Christian worship, and in the same churches, alongside other Christian songs belonging to the current Lenten season, [may] such a passion [also] be prepared by your school and church servants.

Hereto will, doubtless, the God almighty take good pleasure. And to you noble, honorable, worthy, and gracious, highly wise lords I recognize in return [that] obedience and willingness are owed.

And if I note, most noble, honorable, worthy, and highly wise lords, that you received this gift of my meagre skills, and I sense that you accepted it positively, and it also served the church, I will (with godly help) bring about something more and bigger.

¹¹⁸ Musikakten 5,D-As: Altbestände (Reichsstadt bis 1806): 1.1.1. Rat. Transcription in Schletterer, "Aktenmaterial aus dem städtischen Archiv zu Augsburg," 6.

To you noble, honorable, worthy, and thereto highly wise lords in the protection of the Most High, and to me the same by grace and [by] the halting of clock hands on a favorable response. Given from Onolzbach on the 5th of April in the 1568th year after Christ's birth.

[To you] noble, honorable, worthy, and highly wise lords, your obedient

Friedrich Lindner
Margravian, Brandenburgian
Musician and tenor there.

[Envelope exterior]

To the Noble and Honorable, Worthy, Prudent,
High, and very wise Lords N. N. Elders,
Bürgermeisters, and Councilmen of the Imperial
and Laudable Free City of Augsburg, my especially
greatly favorable Lords.

Fridrich Lintner musician overseeing
the vocal Passion.

Presented April 8th, 1568.

Several aspects of this text deserve attention. For one, Lindner's Protestant or at least Protestant-leaning identity could be inferred based on his polemic that Christians constantly bear in mind the suffering and death of Christ. This singular focus on Christ, which the author argues Christians should maintain "from age to age, and at all times" strikes me as fundamentally different from a Catholic view that would insist on honoring saints' days, Marian feast days, etc., rather than treating Eastertide with exclusive import.

In 1568, Easter took place on April 18th, meaning that Meiland's Passion might have been produced as part of the Easter festivities. Lindner clearly desires as much, for he stresses the ease with which his music could be read and sung, as well as both the pleasure ("hertzlich wolgefallen haben") and the advancement of the service ("zu befüderung Christliches Gottesdienstes") that would be derived from such a performance. Given that the Passion ends with the burial of Christ, it would not have made sense for it to be produced on Easter, making Good Friday (April 16th) the most logical date. A demand for publically produced sacred music

is indicated by the frequent organization of processions by the Church of S. Moritz, and from the later success of the Jesuits in staging Passion play in Augsburg; given that Meiland's work was presented to the city council a week earlier, such a production in Augsburg in 1568 seems quite likely.

Like Wagener, Lindner identifies his gift as divinely bestowed (“vermittelst göttlicher verleihung”). On the surface, this reflects a concept of divine union that is more typical of Catholic mysticism. On the other hand, humanist thinkers in Germany and Italy tended to uphold innate or inborn talent as divine.¹¹⁹ A specifically German Protestant take on this idea prompted composers especially to express a compulsion toward printing and disseminating their works, as discussed by Stephen Rose.¹²⁰ A humanist argument is also built into Lindner's rhetoric where he proposes that singing—an act that produces pleasure—be used to advance the worship service. The final paragraph, in which Lindner implies that the Augsburg city council possesses some sort of intermediary authority, directing to Meiland the protection of the Most High by way of their favor, blurs the situation slightly, as this sentence suggests (albeit in vague terms) a Catholic concept.

Considerably more is known about both Meiland and Lindner, their biographies being better documented than either Wagener or Haupt. Meiland was born in Senftenberg, Lower Lusatia (roughly 60 km north of Dresden), in 1542. From approximately 1550 he served as a choirboy at the Dresden Hofkapelle, where he would have been a pupil of Johann Walter (a German composer who was closely acquainted to Martin Luther) as well as Matthaues Le

¹¹⁹ Edward E. Lowinsky, “Musical Genius—Evolution and Origins of a Concept—II,” *Musical Quarterly* 50, no. 4 (1964): 476–95.

¹²⁰ Stephen Rose, “Publication and the Anxiety of Judgment in German Musical Life of the Seventeenth Century,” *Music and Letters* 95, no. 1 (2004): 22–40.

Maistre (a Flemish composer who converted to Lutheranism and whose compositional style closely resembles Walter's). He entered Leipzig University in 1558, where he pursued a humanist education, and it was also in Leipzig that Meiland directed his first ensemble—the Kantorei of the Protestant Margrave Georg Friedrich von Brandenburg-Ansbach. Perhaps through this connection Meiland secured a post as director of the new Hofkapelle in Ansbach (just over 40 km southwest of Nuremberg) which he retained from 1565 to 1572. Meiland's departure was most likely prompted by ill health; he died in Hechingen, where he held a final post as Kapellmeister, in 1577. Latin motets make up the greater part of Meiland's surviving oeuvre, though the composer did write three German Passions in the tradition of Walter, as well as two collections of German secular songs. The most noteworthy aspect of his Passions, according to musicologist Walter Blankenburg, is that he “[broke] with the customary use in the *turbae* [choral sections] of *fauxbourdon* deriving from the liturgical Passion tone,” thereby increasing the form's dramatic potential.¹²¹

Friedrich Lindner's biography reads as somewhat similar. Born in Legnica in 1542, the same year as Meiland, he too began his career as a choirboy at the Dresden Hofkapelle and studied at Leipzig University. Meiland and Lindner knew each other, therefore, long before the former engaged the latter as a tenor at Ansbach. Lindner ultimately succeeded Meiland in that position, although he was less prolific as a composer. Among Lindner's most significant surviving works are the choirbooks and anthologies he produced between the 1573 and 1595. Lindner wrote out some 25 choirbooks containing 426 discrete works—a “Lutheran repertory,” according to musicologist Franz Krautwurst's description, that is “comprehensive” and was

¹²¹ NG(2), s.v. “Meiland, Jacob,” by Walter Blankenburg.

“unparalleled” in its day. Lindner also copied and sent various hymnals and passions, including the S. John Passion of Meiland.¹²²

Lindner’s identity as a Protestant Lutheran composer comes into question when one considers that the most well-represented composer in the choir book collection is Lasso (with 118 works). After the Italian Protestant Teodore Riccio (with 26 works), Catholics Blasius Ammon (with 21 works) and Giovanni Contino (with 19 works) are also significantly featured.¹²³ Eight more anthologies assembled and edited by Lindner from 1585 also feature the oeuvre of Catholic Italian artists, including Alfonso Ferrabosco, Fernando de las Infantas, Claudio Merulo, and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina. Notably the first of these anthologies—the *Sacrae cantiones* of 1585—which contains the greatest concentration of Italian works is the only Lindner source to survive in Augsburg. Based on extant materials in the Schletterer collection, Italian musical sources seem to have been much sought after during the 1580s. Considering sources preserved at the Augsburg State and City Library with print dates ranging from 1580 to 1585 alone, twenty-one out of twenty-six feature exclusively Italian secular texts and twenty-four were produced in Venice.

Despite Lindner’s apparent predilection for Italian and Italianate styles, his and Meiland’s close contact with Protestant composers and potential patrons, coupled with their involvement with a wide gamut of Lutheran church and secular authorities (Johann Walter, Margrave Georg Friedrich, etc.) suggests that reading Meiland’s Passion as a Protestant work need not be questioned. Unlike Haupt, however, whose Resurrection setting assembles excerpts from all four Gospel texts and even includes a few nonbiblical phrases as transitions, and unlike Wagener’s

¹²² NG(2), s.v., “Lindner, Friedrich,” by Franz Krautwurst.

¹²³ Ibid.

psalm motets, which feature selected texts organized in an exegetically meaningful way, Meiland's S. John Passion follows Luther's Bible translation almost verbatim. (Again, this does not attest to Meiland's use of that source). By comparison to these other works, Meiland appears to distance himself from the act of ministry as, in Lutheran conceptualization, something individualized and interpretive.¹²⁴

The *Choralpassion* is preserved in manuscript at the Augsburg D-As.¹²⁵ Clytus Gottwald summarizes the manuscript's physical properties and notational aspects as follows: the book measures 59.5 cm tall and 42 cm wide, with large enough notation for the choral sections to be read from a lectern. "Augsburg" and "1568" are both transcribed on the first page, in Lindner's hand, confirming that this is indeed the exemplar he sent. White mensural notation is used for the choral sections, while the figural parts are transcribed in Hufnagel (gothic) notation. Voice specifications and personal names are given in red throughout, and decorative initials are given in red and black with floral ornamentations. The original cover has been reinforced with cardboard and covered with paper. The first page, verso includes an abbreviated form of Lindner/Meiland's address:

Passio secundum Johannem. To the Noble, Honorable, Worthy, Prudent, High, and Very Wise Lords, Elders, City Bürgermeisters and Councilmen of the Imperial and laudable Free City of Augsburg, Friedrich Lindner, Margravian musician and tenor of Brandenburg Dedicates and gives this book. In the year 1568.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ See, for example, Martin Luther, *Weimar Ausgabe*, vol. 6, 407 (lines 19–25) quoted in Timothy Wengert, "The Priesthood of All Believers and Other Pious Myths," in *Priesthood, Pastors, Bishops: Public Ministry for the Reformation and Today* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2008), 12; and *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium*, *Weimar Ausgabe* vol. 6, 564 (lines 6–14) quoted in Norman Nagel, "Luther and the Priesthood of All Believers," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 61, no. 4 (1997): 283–84.

¹²⁵ Tonk Schl 16.

¹²⁶ Passio secundum Johannem. Den Edlen Ehrvesten Achtbarn Fursichtigen Hoch und wolweisen Herren Senioren Burgermaistern und Rhatmannen der Keiserlichen und Löblichen Reichsstadt Augspurg Dedicirt und schenckt dies Libel Friderich Lindtner Marggrevischer Brandenburgischer Musicus und Tenorist. Anno 1568.

Meiland's Passion sets complete chapters of John 18–19. Comparing Meiland's text to Luther's, one finds a considerable degree of variation, though most differences are minor.¹²⁷ This reflects the monumental influence of Luther's text, on the one hand, but suggests Meiland was working with a different source on the other. The Bavarian dialect that features in his text suggests his source may have stemmed from the Catholic theologian, Johann Eck's, Bible translation. There are no significant theological differences between Luther's translation and Meiland's source, though on a few occasions differing word choice results in a slightly different effect. For example, in John 18:23 Meiland gives "Habe Ich ubel gered so beweise es das unrecht sei" (Had I spoken ill, bear witness that it was wrong) whereas Luther translates "Habe ich übel geredet, so beweise es, daß es böse sei" (Had I spoken ill, bear witness that it was evil). On a similarly subtle vein, Meiland gives "Und die krigsknechte flochten eine Krone von Dornen und fausten sie auf sein heubt" (And the soldiers wove a crown of thorns and thrust¹²⁸ it on his head) Luther writes "Und die Kriegsknechte flochten eine Krone von Dornen und setzten sie auf sein Haupt" (And the soldiers wove a crown of thorns and set it on his head). Most significantly, the phrase "Da kam er und nahm den Leichnam Jesu herab" (So he came and took the body of Jesus), from John 19:38, is eliminated entirely in Meiland's setting. Meiland also uses the Latin conjugation of Barabbas's name in John 18:40, "Nicht diesen, sondern Barrabam" (Not this man, but Barabbas), whereas Luther treats this as a German name, leaving it in its nominative form.

In summary, Meiland's source is generally more aligned with Catholic Bible translations such as Dietenberger's and Eck's. The notion that the Protestant-leaning Meiland and his

¹²⁷ Like Haupt, Meiland's text contracts verbs and nouns, as in "hastu." Certain words and spellings also differ, e.g. thuren vs. dürfen and Schwaher vs. Schwiegervater. Prepositions and replacements of formal names with pronouns also distinguish between Meiland's text and the Luther Bible of 1545, e.g., vor vs. für; hin vs. ab; auf vs. in; and Jesus vs. er or ihn.

¹²⁸ "Fausten," literally means "to hit with the fists" or "to punch."

copyist, Lindner, may have used a Catholic source as a basis for the Passion further affirms that neither language nor dialect can be considered confessionally significant at this time.

2.3 MATHIAS GASTRITZ, *NOVAE HARMONICAE CANTIONES*

Like Wagener, Mathias Gastritz wrote to the Augsburg city council petitioning for funds to support a print run. Though he offered to submit an exemplar of his collection, *Novae harmonicae cantiones* (Nuremberg: Neuber, 1569), the copy, if sent, is no longer extant. (A surviving copy was consulted at the D-Mbs). Gastritz's letter is dated September 14th, 1569, and reads as follows:

1569. 14./9.

Erbare Ehrenueste Hochachbare weissgönstige vnnd gepittende Herrnn E. E. H. W. seint meine gantz dinst mit fleis zuuor, vnd nach dem Ehrnveste Hochachbare weissgönstige gepittende Herrnn, an etlichenn orten seltzamer Zwitteracht vnnd spän der Religionssachenn einfallen, vnnd nicht allein Gottes wort zw vntherdruckung desselbenn, bey etlichenn Secten verwüestet vnnd zw nicht Bracht werde, Sondern auch dy guttenn, von Got gegebenen freien Künste als die Edle Musika (welche Doctor Luther seliger, vnter allen Künsten nach dem Predigt Ampt die Negst geschetz vnnd vergleicht hat) itzt gantz herhinter geschlagenn, vnnd von Inen Inn Zertrümmung khommen. wiewol nach Fürsten vnnd Herrnn, vnd ander Herliche Personen mehr befunden, welche Steif ob gedachter Kunst der Musicen. Neben dem Liben Euangelio hallten, die Inn Irenn Kirchen vnnd Schulen zum Lobe Gottes tractirenn, Singen vnnd handeln lassen; vnnd demnach ich den Durchlauchtigen Hochgeborenenn Fürsten vnd Herrn *Reicharten* Pfaltz Grauen bey Rein, als einem Christlichenn Euangelischen Fürsten zw vntherthenigem gefallen 27 Stück mit 5 Stimmen componirt vnd In druck geben, vnnd offentlich das alda bey E. E. H. W. vnnd Inn derselben Stadt Augspurg gutte ordnung mit treflichenn Predicanten Reiner Lehr, Kirchenn vnnd Schul Dinern Ceremonien Singen Got dardurch zu loben auch gehalten wirdt, wy dann ein Ehrnuester Hochachbar vnnd weiser Radt sonderlichenn himit vorrumbt seindt. hab ich auss Bedenckunge etlicher Herrnn vnd gutter freundt Radt E. E. H. W. ein Exemplar zusenden sollen, Bit E. E. H. W. gantz demüttiglich, wöllen dise meine einfaltige Arbeit so geringe di Ist, gern Entpfahen an vnd vf nemen, vnd meine Gönstige vnnd gepittende Herrnn sein vnd Bleiben. Datum Amberg den 14. September ao. 1569.

E. E. H. W. alzeit dinstwilliger vnd gehorsamer

Mathias Gastritz
Musicus.

[Envelope exterior]

Den Erbarn Ehrnuesten Hochachbarn vnnd
wolweisen Bürgermeistern vnndt Radt der Reichs
Stadt Augspurg meinen gönstigen vnnd gepittenden
Herrnn.

Mathias Gastritz componist deduciert
einem ersamen Rat etliche gesänge.

präes. 17. Sept. ao. 69.¹²⁹

September 14th, 1569

Respectable, Honorable, Highly Worthy, wisely favorable, and commanding Lords, [To you] respectable, honorable, highly worthy, wisely favorable, lords are all my services, with diligence as previously; and according to the honorable, highly worthy, wisely favorable, commanding Lords, at several locations discord and disunity of religious matters [have] set in, and not only [is] God's word to suppress the same wasted on some sects, and [is] brought to nothing, but rather also the goodness of God-given liberal arts such as the honorable Music (which the blessed Doctor Luther valued above all the arts after the sermon and most closely likened [to the sermon]) is completely beaten down [in these places], and is coming to you in ruins—although Princes and Lords and other Lordly Persons mostly find that art of music [to be] strong/upright if artificial. Alongside keeping to the dear Gospel, which in your churches and schools singing and handling [handlen; of the sermon?] are offered [traktieren . . . lassen] in great abundance to praise God; and therefore, in order to humbly please the Serene Highness, Highborn Prince and Lord Reichard, Count Palatine of the Rhine, as a Christian Protestant prince, I composed 27 pieces with 5 voices; and [I] would give them publicly and in print through [you] respectable, honorable, highly worthy, wisely favorable lords, through which to praise God and to be kept in the same city of Augsburg [in] good order with excellent preachers of pure doctrine, churches and school servants [through the] singing of ceremonies, by an honorable, highly worthy, and wise Council [such] as this hereby forum is, especially. I want to send an exemplar, for the consideration of several Lords and good friend[s] [of the] Council, [You] respectable, honorable, highly worthy, wisely favorable lords; [with the] completely humble plea [that you] respectable, honorable, highly worthy, wisely favorable lords, would like to receive and take up this [exemplar] of my simple work, so modest as it is, and [that] you be and remain my favorable and commanding Lords. Dated [in] Amberg, on the 14th of September, 1569.

[Your] respectable, honorable, highly worthy, wisely favorable
lords', ever willing and obedient,

Mathias Gastritz
Musician.

[Envelope exterior]

To the Respectable, Honorable, Highly Worthy, and
very wise Bürgermeisters and Council of the

¹²⁹ Musikakten 6, D-As: Altbestände (Reichsstadt bis 1806): 1.1.1. Rat. Transcription in Schletterer, "Aktenmaterial aus dem städtischen Archiv zu Augsburg," 7–8.

Imperial City of Augsburg, my favorable and
commanding Lords.

Mathias Gastritz, composer, dedicates
several songs [to] an Honorable Council.

Presented September 17th, 1569.

Unlike Wagener, Gastritz's language is overtly and, at times, even aggressively Protestant. He begins with a dramatic appraisal of the present situation (in Bavaria) as one of "discord and disunity of religious matters." He attributes the problem to the failure of "some sects"—possibly Catholic, but more probably Calvinist¹³⁰—to abide by God's word and to bring forth that word through sermons and through music. Given Protestant and especially Lutheran adherence to the principle of *sola scriptura*, it is not difficult to recognize this rhetoric as staunchly Lutheran. Gastritz cites Luther's appreciation for music, as well as his assertion that "above all the arts," music is "most closely likened" to the sermon, as justification for undertaking the composition of the *Novae harmonicae cantiones*. He also identifies the dedicatee of this volume, Reichard, Count Palatine of the Rhine (1521–1598), as a "Christian Protestant prince." Reichard converted to Lutheranism around 1543, and played a key role in resisting and suppressing Calvinism in his territories.¹³¹ Finally, Lutheran teachings are clearly understood in the reference to Augsburg's "excellent preachers of pure doctrine." The phrase, "reine Lehre" (pure doctrine) consistently indicates Lutheran teachings at this time.

A strong humanist element also features in the letter. Gastritz refers to music as a liberal art, for example, reminding the reader (albeit indirectly) of its place among fields of higher

¹³⁰ During the mid-sixteenth century the city of Amberg, where Gastritz was employed, hosted both Lutheran and Calvinist communities. The city's religious and political history is, therefore, significantly shaped by negotiations and conflicts between these two groups and, in particular, between Lutheran citizens and Calvinist princes. See Helmut Schwämmlein, "Mathias Gastritz, ein Komponist der 'Oberen Pfalz' im 16. Jahrhundert—Leben und Werk" (PhD dissertation, University of Regensburg, 1985), 16–17.

¹³¹ *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, s.v. "Reichard," by Peter Fuchs, accessed February 1, 2016, <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd119204150.html>.

learning in classical antiquity. His description of music as God-given may constitute an allusion to the popular Latin proverb, “Musica Dei donum optimi” (Music, gift of God most high), which was set to music numerous times in the sixteenth century.¹³² Gastritz also spells “music” with an “a” (“Musika”), suggesting the Latin form of the word. The only other Latin words Gastritz employs are “Evangelio” (referring to the Gospel) and “musicus” (his own title). A connection between music and the scripture is, thereby, also intimated. This connection, made by Luther and rearticulated by Gastritz, may echo the idea—or, rather, the ideal—of “poetic music” (*musica poetica*), a term borrowed from Aristotle and applied extensively by German and Italian theorists.¹³³ According to these authors’ usage, the “poetic music” is textually sensitive, and is based on musical forms and ideas that are rhetorically inspired. In Dietrich Bartel’s words, the “poetic opus” may be understood as a work whose text is presented “in the form of a musical oration.”¹³⁴

Despite his derision for “other sects,” Gastritz seems either unaware of the fact that his letter would be received by a biconfessional council, or confident in the notion that “other sects” would be understood by this council as Calvinists, Zwinglians, and Anabaptists. Lutheranism was the only Protestant sect that was legalized in Augsburg from 1555, and the Augsburg city council actively worked to prevent the formation of a third group.¹³⁵ Gastritz was presumably aware of these conditions, and he may therefore have felt secure in using a language that

¹³² Settings were composed by Antonius Galli, Rogier Pathie?, Jean Louys, Jacobus Vaet, Tylman Susato, and Orlando di Lasso, among others.

¹³³ This includes Nikolaus Listenius (*Musica*, 1537); Adrianus Petit Coclico (*Compendium musices*, 1552); and Nicola Vicentino (*L’antica musica*, 1555).

¹³⁴ Dietrich Bartel, *Musica Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 19.

¹³⁵ Roeck, *Geschichte Augsburgs*, 111 and 119.

criticized Protestant denominations other than Lutheranism, perhaps believing his views would align with those of the councilmen. Indeed, he implies a familiarity with Augsburg's culture, indicating at the opening of his letter that he has addressed the council before, referring to the councilmen as "friends," and commenting on Augsburg's "excellent preachers . . . churches and school servants, and ceremonial singing." Though only Protestant religious and political authorities are mentioned (Luther and Reichard), and the allusion to "reine Lehre" almost always refers to Lutheran teaching, Gastritz does not specify that the churches and schools who might make use *Novae harmonicae cantiones* be Lutheran. If Gastritz was attempting to form an "us versus them" narrative, which included Catholics and Lutherans on one side and Calvinists, Zwinglians, and Anabaptists on the other, then "reine Lehre" might be extended to include Catholic doctrine. By grouping Catholics and Lutherans together, Gastritz's letter speaks to widely disparate interpretations and understandings of confessional boundaries at this time.

Helmut Schwämmlein's doctoral dissertation of 1985 remains the most significant scholarly publication on Gastritz's life and works. As Schwämmlein writes, he is challenged by the fact that almost no written accounts of the composer's personal life and character remain extant. Gastritz's letter to Augsburg stands as one of only a few documents that attest to his Lutheran beliefs, for instance. Additional details may be surmised from invoices, petitions, and litigation documents (Gastritz was involved in several lawsuits). Both of the composer's surviving publications—his *Novae harmonicae cantiones* motets and his *Kurtze und sonderliche neue Symbola* songs and Lieder (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1571)—date from his tenure as city organist of Amberg (1561–1589). He completed the *Cantiones* in 1568 and on March 9, 1569, he petitioned the Amberg city council for funds to support the publication. In response, he received

nine thalers. In addition to offering a copy of the *Cantiones* to Augsburg, Gastritz also sent partbooks to Hirschau, for which he received compensation.¹³⁶

Paratexts of the *Novae harmonicae cantiones* further demonstrate Gastritz's Lutheran perspective. Note, for example, the nonbiblical blessing/directive that is given on the title page:

May the word of Christ dwell in you most richly, [and] with all wisdom; teach and move one another [with] songs and praises and spiritual music, and [by] singing to the Lord with grace.¹³⁷

The text emphasizes primacy of the God's word and stresses the importance of teaching. Moreover, it assumes that the user has the authority to "teach and move" others, thereby acting in the role of a sermonist. This could be interpreted as an articulation of the "priesthood of all believers" concept. A quotation from Ps. 150 that appears immediately beneath this text illustrates one of the many ways that psalms mediate between discussions or concepts of theology and art. Psalm verses appear, consequently, more often than any other Bible quotations or references as paratexts in D-As-held volumes. Verse hemistiches may be found on the title pages of the *Bergkreyen* bicinia and the *Patrocinium musices* series, and various dedications include quotations from or allusions to the Psalter. The Ps. 150 quote on the cover of the *Novae harmonicae cantiones* presents the complete verse 4: "Praise him with tambourine and choir; praise him with strings and pipe."¹³⁸ The consecutive presentation of the nonbiblical blessing/directive and the psalm verse encourages a reading of these two as echoes of the same thought. The biblical authority of the psalm text, whose instruction to praise God with

¹³⁶ Schwämmlein, "Mathias Gastritz, ein Komponist der 'Oberen'," 35–57, esp. 44–45.

¹³⁷ Original: "Sermo Christi inhabitet in vobis opulenter cum omni sapientia. Docete et commovete vos invicem cantionibus et laudibus, et cantilenis spiritualibus cum gratia canentes Domino."

¹³⁸ "Laudate eum in Tympano, et Choro, laudate eum in Chordis et Organo."

instruments and voices, subtly endorses the more specific Lutheran imperative to “teach and move.”

Gastritz indicates in his letter as well as his dedication that the motets of the *Novae harmonicae cantiones* may be used in church—and, indeed, all but one of the works enclosed employ sacred Latin texts. The collection is nevertheless dedicated to a secular authority and includes a lengthy panegyric to the nine muses (Urania, Euterpe, Erato, Thalia, Melpomene, Clio, Polyhymnia, Terpsichore, and Calliope). Gastritz stresses the connection between “music” and “muses” and idolizes “Musica” as a figure through a brief laudatory poem. Gastritz’s manner changes about halfway through the dedication, at which point he reorients himself to a more ecclesiastically-focused argument. This tactic affords a smoother transition into the first of two longer quotations Gastritz chooses to include, namely Martin Luther’s letter to Ludwig Senfl (1530).¹³⁹ Luther begins this epistle by expressing concern that his text will be intercepted. He then expounds on the divinity and power of music, which has helped him to conquer his fears. He also praises the Dukes of Bavaria for their appreciation for the musical arts. The letter justifies Gastritz’s dedication of a collection of sacred songs to a secular prince on account of such authorities’ ability to recognize music as a divine art. Note that Gastritz offers a parallel thought in his letter to Augsburg, where he asserts that “princes and lords and other lordly persons mostly find that art of music [to be] strong/upright.” While Gastritz’s selection of a text by Luther seems to confirm the composer’s identity as a Lutheran, his inclusion of a second text by the Catholic scientist and scholar, Georg Agricola calls this into question. Agricola’s poem evinces more of a humanist than Catholic/Counter-Reformation orientation, however, and presents yet another encomium to the “musica” embodied.

¹³⁹ For a translation, see Robin A. Leaver, “Luther on Music,” in *The Pastoral Luther: Essays on Martin Luther’s Practical Theology*, ed. Timothy J. Wengert (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2009), 287–88.

An organizational schema for the *Novae harmonicae cantiones* is difficult to assay. The twenty-seven included works are not arranged calendrically or by pitch/mode. A concentration of motets for paired voices (*voci pari*; having voice parts of approximately the same range) do appear at the beginning and the end of the volume, however.¹⁴⁰ A significant percentage of the enclosed works also follow liturgical texts associated with Ordinary Time or general texts for feasts for martyrs and virgins. Only three of the contained compositions are completely nonbiblical and nonliturgical. The first of these is actually construed as a psalm motet, since it is based on the *Marian Psalter* of S. Bonaventure. As for the remaining two, the “Sperandum est” distich appears to be associated with the printer Raphael Hofhalter in Vienna, since the short poem surrounds Hofhalter’s emblem in several of his publications.¹⁴¹ This is, consequently, the only completely secular text to be set in the collection.¹⁴² Though sacred, the “Concinimus Domino” does not appear to derive from any known biblical or liturgical source. It begins with an allusion to Matt. 14:13–21 (the story of Jesus’ feeding of the five thousand), praising God’s gifts of the body and the mind. It then concludes in the manner of a doxology, in which the listener or the reader is urged to “sing praises” to God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit. Given a flexible liturgy, the piece could have been used to solemnize Trinity Sunday or whichever Sunday featured the reading from Matthew’s Gospel (both of Ordinary Time).

All twenty-seven motets of the *Novae harmonicae cantiones* are composed for five voices, and all are in Latin. Twenty-two use Bible quotations or paraphrases as a basis for their texts, and at least fourteen appear liturgically based. Additional settings of single-source Bible

¹⁴⁰ These are the “Benedictus es,” “Dico vobis,” and “Emitte Domine” (items 3–4, and 6) and the “Confitebor,” “Repleatur,” “In me transierunt,” and “Propter veritatem” (items 24–27).

¹⁴¹ See, for example, Georg Eder’s *Catalogus rectorum* (1559) and Jonas Hermann’s *Historia Goliathi* (1560), both issued by the Hofhalter firm.

¹⁴² An allusion to astrology is made in the opening line, “meliora ferentibus astris.”

quotations may also have been written with a specific liturgical context in mind. Gastritz's style, which is typical for mid-sixteenth-century Bavaria, is largely homophonic but often features imitative entrances. As August Scharnagl notes in his *NG(2)* article, the voices are "sometimes divided into upper and lower groups, giving an impression of *cori spezzati* writing."¹⁴³ The compositions are generally short, with only seven multi-sectioned works. If they were employed in liturgical contexts, therefore, the concise compositions would be well suited for use as offertories.

One curious aspect of the collection is that it includes two Marian devotional motets. Marian piety among Protestants was not uncommon, however, and the presence of these works supports my argument that Gastritz interpreted Catholic and Lutheran ideologies as more alike than different. The "Contristatus sum," based on S. Bonaventure's Marian paraphrase of Ps. 54, is discussed in chapter three. The "Propter veritatem," which appears as the last motet in the volume, follows respond and verse texts for the Feast of the Assumption of Mary. While Protestants of various sects continued to observe Marian feasts throughout the sixteenth century, certain ceremonies, such as the Assumption and Immaculate Conception, were more controversial. Luther and other Protestant theologians challenged the doctrine of these feasts; therefore, while both are recognized in a selection of mid-sixteenth-century liturgical books and calendars, as well as collections of ecclesiastic songs, their inclusion becomes increasingly rare.¹⁴⁴ The text of the "Propter veritatem" is especially problematic given its reference to a

¹⁴³ An example may be seen at the opening of the psalm motet, "Deduc me, Domine." See *NG(2)*, s.v., "Gastritz, Mathias," by August Scharnagl.

¹⁴⁴ Certain publications that include references to the Assumption or the Immaculate Conception also downplay their significance. For example, the Protestant theologian and author of the *Calendarium Sanctorum et Historiarum*, Andreas Hondorf, clearly identifies August 15th as the day of Mary's assumption into heaven, but the article he provides for this date focuses, instead, on events of Jesus's life. See Andreas Hondorf, *Calendarium Sanctorum et Historiarum* (Frankfurt: Basseus, 1587), 463–66.

queen clad in gilded clothes (“vestitu deaurato”) and standing at God’s right hand (“a dextris tuis”). Mary’s name is not mentioned, though given the number of well-known texts that refer to her in this manner (the “Ave Regina coelorum” and “Salve Regina” antiphons, the Litany of Loreto, etc.), her identity as the subject of this poem would be understood. The text further includes a petition that the speaker be led in the way of the subject’s (Mary’s) truth and humility (“Propter veritatem et mansuetudinem deducet me”). The complete motet is adapted from Ps. 44:5,10,5, with the last iteration of verse five being abbreviated. In the context of the Psalter, the epithalamium is addressed to one of the Davidian kings—possibly Solomon—and was taken up by Christian exegetes as a messianic prophecy. Some interpreted the text as foretelling the union of Christ and his church; some, the union of Christ and the individual soul; and some, the divine relationship between Jesus and Mary as the Theotokos (mother of God).

Eleven psalm motets, including the “Contristatus sum” and the “Propter veritatem,” count among the *Novae harmonicae cantiones* collection. In other words, more than a third of the book’s contents are psalm-based. Most of these are straight settings of only one or two psalm verses.¹⁴⁵ Two works use nonconsecutive verses from the same psalm, though one—a setting of Ps. 70:8,23 (adapt.)—merely follows the text of a ferial responsory. The *prima pars* of the “Iustus non conturbabitur,” on the other hand, begins with an adaptation of Ps. 36:24, then follows verse 26 of the same psalm verbatim and concludes with a fragmentary excerpt of verse 28. The composition is arranged as a responsory motet, such that the *secunda pars*, which begins with Ps. 36:1, concludes with material from the *prima pars*—essentially, the second half of Ps. 36:24 onwards. The complete text reads as follows:

¹⁴⁵ This includes Pss. 58:17, 42:3, 42:1–2, 85:11, 59:13–14, 9:2–3. The Ps. 58 setting is arranged as a responsory motet, with the respond phrase appearing at the end of the *prima* and *secunda partes*.

Gastritz, “Iustus non conturbabitur”

Prima pars

Iustus non conturbabitur, quia Dominus firmat manum eius;	} Ps. 36:24 (adapt.)
Tota die miseretur et commodat, et semen eius in benedictione erit in aeternum,	} Ps. 36:26
conservabitur in aeternum,	} Ps. 36:28 (frag.)

Secunda pars

Noli aemulari in malignantibus neque celaveris facientes iniquitatem,	} Ps. 36:1
quia Dominus firmat manum eius;	} Ps. 36:24 (adapt.)
Tota die miseretur et commodat, et semen eius in benedictione erit in aeternum,	} Ps. 36:26
conservabitur in aeternum.	} Ps. 36:28 (frag.)

Which translates as:

Prima pars

The just person is not troubled, for the Lord holds him by the hand; he is ever merciful and giving; and his seed become a blessing forever, preserved forever.

Secunda pars

Do not fret because of the wicked, nor hide from wrongdoers, [you who] the Lord holds by the hand; he is ever merciful and giving; and his seed become a blessing forever, preserved forever.¹⁴⁶

The parsing shown above illustrates elements of Ps. 36 that make up the “Iustus non conturbabitur” text, though it does not reflect the actual articulation of this material. The first cadence occurs on the word “commodat,” breaking up the verse 26 hemistiches and treating the first hemistich as a continuation of verse 24. Another cadence follows the phrase, “et semen eius.” The remainder of the *prima pars* features elided or evaded cadences through the end of the phrase, “conservabitur in aeternum,” all of which text—from “et semen”—then repeats. Textual underlay of the *secunda pars* differs in that the verse 24 fragment is not integrated into the opening verse 1. Instead, a clear cadence falls on “iniquitatem.” From that point onwards, the

¹⁴⁶ Author’s translation, adapted from the NRSV.

text is parsed much like in the *prima pars*. The only other significant difference is that a shorter portion of the final phrase repeats, this time from “in benedictione erit.”

The synthesis of verse hemistiches and fragments into longer lines of text suggests a very different reading of the Ps. 36 elements than would otherwise be implied. I suggest that Gastritz’s selection and centonization of these phrases affects a form of synopsis of the complete psalm text. The approach is not entirely dissimilar from Wagener’s—although Gastritz focuses on a selection of verses from two middle stanzas, rather than concentrating on material from the opening and closing segments of a longer psalm, and he repeats a substantial body of text where Wagener would more likely incorporate more verses. Despite his use of fewer, more concentrated elements of the psalm, Ps. 36’s central theme—that the reader should not envy evildoers, nor seek to emulate them as their prosperity is short-lived—remains intact.

Notably, the stanza from which the majority of Gastritz’s lines are drawn features the most prophetic message: that the children of God will live in eternal blessing, and will be “kept safe forever” (*conservabitur in aeternum*). Special emphasis is given these lines of promise, which are repeated four times between the *prima* and *secunda partes*. Gastritz’s omissions also merit some attention, in particular Ps. 36:27: “Depart from evil, and do good; so you shall abide forever.” The verse implies that salvation may be earned through good works. Given the Lutheran adherence to the principles of *sola fide* and *sola gratia*—articulated in Eph. 2:8 as “for by grace [alone] you have been saved through faith”—this psalm verse may have felt problematic to Gastritz. He also avoids Ps. 36:25: “I have been young, and now am old, yet I have never seen the righteous forsaken or their children begging bread.” Taken out of context, the verse might be interpreted to indicate that wealth bespeaks uprightness and poverty, fault. One of the most significant impacts of the Reformation was the reshaping of attitudes toward the

poor. *Sola fide* confirms that no individual is somehow more or less deserving of salvation. In brief, Gastritz’s “Iustus non conturbabitur” could be read as a Lutheran oriented abridgment of the Ps. 36 text.

Only one motet among the *Novae harmonicae cantiones* centonizes material from two different psalms. The “In me transierunt” begins with Ps. 87:17, then continues with a selection of verses from the penitential Ps. 37:11, 18, and 22. Though the centonate does not appear to be liturgically derived, both Orlando di Lasso and Leonhard Lechner set the exact same materials.¹⁴⁷ The motet reads as follows:

Gastritz, “In me transierunt”

In me transierunt irae tuae, et terrores tui conturbaverunt me;	} Ps. 87:17
Cor meum conturbatum est dereliquit virtus mea;	} Ps. 37:11
dolor meus in conspectu meo semper;	} Ps. 37:18
Ne derelinquas me, Domine Deus meus, ne discesseris a me.	} Ps. 37:22

Which translates as:

Your wrath has swept over me; your dread assaults destroy me; my heart throbs; my strength fails me; my pain is ever with me. Do not forsake me, O Lord; O my God; do not be far from me.¹⁴⁸

Given the similar themes and like tone of the two psalms, Pss. 87 and 37, the text comes across as quite cohesive. Note that the second and third lines quote only the second hemistiches of their respective verses, 11 and 18. Together, they form a new complete verse, as indicated in the

¹⁴⁷ The first print version of Lasso’s “In me transierunt” appeared in his *Sacrae cantiones* (Nuremberg, 1562). See Lasso, *Complete Motets*, vol. 3. The motet was reissued in several subsequent publications, and was famously analyzed by the German theorist, Joachim Burmeister, in 1606. See Burmeister, *Musical Poetics*, trans. Benito Rivera, ed. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 205–7; see also Todd Borgerding, “Preachers, ‘Pronunciatio,’ and Music: Hearing Rhetoric in Renaissance Sacred Polyphony,” *Musical Quarterly* 82, no. 3/4 (1998): 586–98. Lechner’s motet is included among his *Motectae sacrae* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1576).

¹⁴⁸ Lines translated per the NRSV.

transcription. The overall textual structure is, therefore, presented as a highly compact psalm, with two parallel lines (“In me” and “Cor meum”) followed by a summary (“Ne derelinquas”). An evaded cadence at the end of the “Cor meum” phrase, leading into “dolor meus,” reinforces the notion that these two lines, “Cor meum” and “dolor meus,” constitute a complete thought. An elided cadence on “semper,” which leads directly into the plea, “Ne derelinquas me, Domine,” implies a sense of urgency. “Deus meus” is treated more expansively, and the final phrase, “ne discesseris a me,” repeats several times in each voice part through the end of the piece. Though the complete work features moments of homophony, it counts among the most contrapuntal compositions of the *Novae harmonicae cantiones*. Extended imitative entrances per section of text produce a complex or difficult sound which may have been interpreted as reflecting the textual content of the work.

While knowledge of the surrounding contexts of Pss. 87 and 37 is not necessary for a hermeneutic reading of the “In me transierunt,” it potentially enriches the reader’s experience. Both psalms focus on themes of alienation. In the case of the former, the psalmist bemoans his separation from God and likens his situation to a living death. In the Davidian Ps. 37, on the other hand, David complains of festering wounds and sickness that have caused him to be shunned. He acknowledges his condition to be a physical manifestation of his sin and recognizes that only God can restore him to health. The complete Ps. 37 text could be seen as offering an explanation for the Ps. 87 psalmist’s predicament: sin has separated him from God and caused all his woes.

2.4 SOPHONIAS PAMINGER/LEONHARD PAMINGER, *ECCLESIASTICAE*

CANTIONES 2

On July 18, 1573, Sophonias Paminger (1526–1603), son of the Austrian-born composer Leonhard Paminger (1495–1567), wrote to the council requesting funds to support a print run of the second installment (and, perhaps, subsequent publications) of his father's *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1573). An exemplar of the *Cantiones* was sent with the letter, a transcription and translation of which follow:

1573. 18./7.

Gottes gnad vnnndt segen durch Christum vnnsern lieben Herrn vnnndt Ainigen Hailland, mit Erbieten meiner wiewol geringen diensten zuvor, Edle, Ehrnveste, Fürsichtige, Weise, Günstige liebe Herrn. Nachdem Ich E. E. F. W. vmb negst Weynachten ein Exempla des Ersten Tomi oder teills, meines lieben Vatter *Lorentz Päminger* (seligen) Christlichen Khirchen Gesang verehrt, vnnndt das diselben an solcher Verehrung ein günstig guetes wolgefallen gehabt, verstanden, Jetzt aber auch der Andere Tomum, durch Gottes gnad (vngespart aller mhue vnnnd vncostens, welchen die Edition eines solchen werkhs ervordert) In öffentlichen Trugk verfertigt vnd hat I. E. E. F. W. angeregeten Andern Tomi oder Taills hiemit auch ein Exemplar vbersenden, werde verehren wollen. Der guethlichen Hoffnung vnnnd Zuversicht, dieselben werden solch meines gemachten gantz dienstlichen Willens Erweysung günstiger gueter Meinung von Mir vff vnnndt annemen, daneben auch die übrigen vngetrukhten Taill solchen Christlichen Werkhs, Zw Gottes vnnndt seiner lieben Khirchen Ehre, nach derselben gelegenheit vnnndt vermögen, neben Andern Christlichen Oberkheiten (ohn welcher hilff vnnnd förderung Mir ain so grosses Opus Zuverfertigen vnmöglich) günstiglich befördern. Thue hiemit E. E. F. W. sament vnnndt sunderlich Gottes gnedigem segen, schutz vnnndt schirm sambt derselben guethen Stat vnnndt Gemain bevelchen, vnnndt bey disem Boten günstigen Bescheidts gewarten.

Datum Oting Im Riess den 18. Tag Juli Anno 1573.

E. E. F. W.

Dienstwilliger
Sophonias Päminger
der Evangelisch Lateinischen Schull
dasselbs Rector.

[Envelope exterior]

Vnnnter E. E. F. W. Namen vnnndt patrocínio wer Ich den Christlichen Werkhen auch ein Tomium oder mer, In öffentlichen Trukh aussgeen zelassen, vnnndt der lieben posteritet Zuconsecriren, gedacht, wollt derhalben was hierin derselben gelegenheit günstige will vnnndt Meinung wer oder sein mocht gern wissen, vnnndt verstenndigt werden.

Den Edlen Ehrnvesten, Fürsichtigen vnnndt Weysen
Bürgermeister vnnndt Rathe des heyligen Römischen

Reichs Stat Augspurg, Meinen günstigen lieben
Herrn vnnndt Förderern Augspurg.

Sophonias Päminger überschickht
Meinen Herrn etliche gesang.¹⁴⁹

July 18th, 1573

God's grace and blessings through Christ our dear lord and one savior, with an offer of my services, however humble as they were previously, noble, honorable, prudent, wise, favorable dear Lords. Since I honored [you] noble, honorable, prudent, wise lords around last Christmas [with] an copy of the first tome or part of my dear father, Lorentz Päminger's ([of] blessed [memory]) Christian church songs, and that same work of such reverence was accepted as favorable, beneficial, and pleasing, the other tome [could also be] manufactured, through God's grace (spared of no effort or costs, which the edition of such a work requires) as a published print; and had you the wish [that this] other valued tome or part be so honored, a copy is also herewith transmitted. [It is with] the amicable hope and confidence [that] the rendering of these same [works], such as I have made, be completely and professionally prepared, [and be] received and accepted [with] a good and favorable opinion of me; and also [that] the remaining unprinted part of such Christian works be able to honor God and his dear churches according to the same opportunity, and to be favorably promoted by other Christian authorities (without whose help and advancement the manufacturing of such a large opus would be impossible for me). [To] you hereby [named] noble, honorable, prudent, wise lords, altogether, everyone, without exception graced by God's blessings, protection and shield [in] command this same good city and community, by this messenger I await [your] favorable response.

Dated: Oettingen on the 18th day of July, 1573.

[Your] noble, honorable, prudent, wise lords'
willing servant
Sophonias Päminger
of the Protestant Latin school
a rector there.

[Envelope exterior]

Under [your] noble, honorable, prudent, wise names and patronage, I had thought to allow these Christian works to go out in public print as one book or more, and to consecrate [them] to dear posterity; [I] wanted, therefore, to know [what the] desire and opinion would be or is [given] what lies herein [for] that same favorable opportunity, and to be notified.

To the noble, honorable, prudent, and wise
Bürgermeisters and Councilmen of the Holy Roman
Imperial City of Augsburg, my favorable dear Lords
and sponsors of Augsburg.

Sophonias Päminger sends over
some songs [to] My Lords.

¹⁴⁹ Musikakten 8, D-As: Altbestände (Reichsstadt bis 1806): 1.1.1. Rat. Transcription in Schletterer, "Aktenmaterial aus dem städtischen Archiv zu Augsburg," 9.

This was not the first time Sophonias had contacted the council with such a request. As he indicates, he previously submitted a copy of the first volume of the *Ecclesiasticae cantiones*, which were “accepted as favorable, beneficial, and pleasing.” Though neither the letter of petition that would have accompanied this first volume to Augsburg nor written evidence of the council’s response survives, based on Sophonias’s text we can expect that the response was, indeed, generous.

Though a Lutheran, Sophonias’s letter lacks the overt references to Reformation exponents, such as Luther and Melancthon, and to Lutheran dogma that are clearly present in Gastritz’s text. Instead, Sophonias’s language is quite open. The contents of the *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* are described only as “Christian works” on the letter’s exterior, and as “Christian church songs” that will be “completely and professionally prepared” in the body of his text. Sophonias uses the word “dienstlich” in this context, meaning “professional” or “official.” A connection to the ministry is implied (i.e., “official, in accordance to the ministry”), but no specific ministry or liturgy—Catholic or Lutheran—is indicated. Similarly, he expresses the wish that his father’s works “honor God and his dear churches,” but he does not stipulate that these churches be Protestant. He hopes that “Christian authorities,” unnamed and of undetermined confessional alignment, will promote the collection. Finally, though based on a stock idiom (“samt und sonders”), Sophonias’s phrase, “sament vndt sunderlich Gottes gnedigem segem” meaning “altogether, everyone, without exception graced by God’s blessings” is decidedly inclusive.¹⁵⁰

Sophonias’s rhetoric is less spiritually oriented than either Gastritz or Wagener, and he is also more humble. He makes no claims that the compositions he wishes to print were inspired by

¹⁵⁰ Thanks to Adam Oberlin for his assistance in translating this passage.

God, and he defers agency in honoring God to the works themselves, and to the councilmen who might enable their publication. His letter is concise and to the point: he does not seek to establish his erudition by way of Bible references or allusions to classical literature (at least not here), nor does he expect the reader to negotiate a complex argument. His goal, simply stated on the letter's exterior, is that his deceased father's oeuvre be "consecrate[d] to dear posterity." Though a common formula, the idea of these works being "consecrated" (zuconsecriren) by the authority of a secular council is remarkable given that it extends to the Augsburg councilmen the power of priests. This, again, reflects a liminal boundary between sacred and secular concepts at this time.

A diversity of experiences with Catholic and Protestant ideas, individuals, and communities feature in both Sophonias's and his father, Leonhard's, biographies. Leonhard spent most of his life in Passau, which was governed throughout the Renaissance by prince-bishops. While Bishop Wolfgang Graf von Salm (r. 1541–1555) sought to alleviate tensions between Catholics and Protestants in his diocese through peaceful talks, Bishop Urban von Trennbach (r. 1561–1598) took a less compromising stance. He was also responsible for the publication and promulgation of Tridentine decrees in the region. In this context, Leonhard, who was employed as a teacher and, eventually, a rector at the School of S. Nikola, composed mostly Latin sacred works. He apparently lost his position as rector on account of his Lutheran beliefs.¹⁵¹ Leonhard was close to Luther and Melanchthon, as demonstrated by Luther's dedication of a larger commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (1538) to Leonhard.¹⁵² Also, Leonhard sent

¹⁵¹ NG(2), s.v., "Paminger, Leonhard," by Othmar Wessely and Walter Kreyszig.

¹⁵² The dedication is, consequently, a comment on Ps. 26:14: "Expect the Lord, do manfully, and let thy heart take courage, and wait thou for the Lord." See Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2007), 49.

Sophonias to study with Melanchthon in Wittenberg (1544), and dedicated at least two pieces to Melanchthon, which are included among the *Ecclesiasticae cantiones*.

Sophonias was unable to complete his studies in Wittenberg due to the Schmalkaldic War, and though he enrolled at the University of Ingolstadt, whether or not he attended is unknown. He moved numerous times between 1549 and 1567, holding positions as a teacher, rector, or private tutor in Passau (S. Nikola), Deggendorf, Straubing, Regensburg, and several other cities. He settled in Oettingen after his father's death, where he began to publish Leonhard's works.¹⁵³ After only six years of residency, however, he moved again to Nördlingen and then to Nuremberg. The religious and political climates of these cities were quite diverse. From the late-1550s, the city of Passau became increasingly hostile toward Protestants, and developed a staunchly Counter-Reformation culture. The city councils of Nuremberg and Regensburg, on the other hand, had declared for Protestantism in 1525 and 1542, respectively. Oettingen's religious history is divided: the Oettingen court was created as a partition from Oettingen-Wallerstein in 1557, the Oettingen branch having accepted Protestantism while the Wallerstein branch remained Catholic.

Given the conditions of his tenure in Passau, it is not surprising that the content of Leonhard Paminger's sacred music is largely interconfessional. Sophonias augments the Protestant character of the publications through dedications to Protestant rulers, references to Protestant theologians and important events in the history of the Reformation, and an emphasis on Protestant doctrine in his dedicatory texts.¹⁵⁴ He also secularizes the collection to an extent by

¹⁵³ Heinz-Walter Schmitz, *Die Paminger—Eine Familie im Spannungsfeld der Konfessionalisierung*, Ostbairische Lebensbilder, vol. 1 (Passau: Dietmar Klinger Verlag, 2004), 59–78.

¹⁵⁴ Books 1 and 2 are both dedicated to the Protestant counts Gottfried von Oettingen and barons? Christoph and Friedrich (Schenk) von Limpurg; Luther and Melanchthon are both mentioned in the dedication to book 1; and Nuremberg's "conversion" to Protestantism is referenced in book 3, for example.

adding Greek quotations from Homer's *Iliad*, drawing parallels between Bible stories and Greek mythology, and engaging in discussions that rely on the authorities of Greek philosophers as well as biblical figures. Ignoring these dedications, Leonhard's musical materials could be used in both Catholic and Protestant liturgical contexts.

A unique aspect of the *Ecclesiasticae cantiones*, as a collection sent to the Augsburg city council, is that its intended function is, indeed, liturgical.¹⁵⁵ Though Wagener, Haupt, Lindner, and Gastritz all sent sacred works to Augsburg, Paminger's is the only surviving mid-sixteenth-century source of music the council received that is organized according to the church year, and includes sufficient materials to solemnize the most significant, long-standing feasts of the temporale and sanctorale. A vast repertory of items for the first, second, and third large-scale divisions of the church year (the Christmas and Easter cycles and Ordinary Time) are presented with minimal overlap in volumes one, two, and three. These three volumes are, consequently, the only installments of the series to be held at the D-As. Feasts of the temporale and sanctorale are fully integrated in these books, whose contents are arranged as follows:

¹⁵⁵ The liturgical viability of Leonhard Paminger's output is attested, at least among Lutherans, by the fact that several of his works survive in prints and manuscripts produced for Lutheran church use. These include his "Dixit Dominus Domino meo" introit and his "Si Deus pro nobis" setting, copied out in the Erlangen choirbook, ms. 473/3 (University Library of Erlangen-Nuremberg). Two of his works are also included in the Regensburg manuscripts, A. R. 875-77, and seven more are in the manuscripts A. R. 855-56 (both: Episcopal Central Library of Regensburg). Prints containing his music include Formschneider's (ed.) *Novum et insigne opus musicum* 1 and 2 (Nuremberg, 1537 and 1538) and Petrieus's (ed.) *Psalmorum selectorum* 1 and 2 (Nuremberg, 1538 and 1542). See John Ernfrid Windh, "Early Lutheran Masses," (DMA diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1971). Instructions such as "Reliqua petantur ex Communi Apostolorum" (the rest can be done from the Common of Apostles) and "Antiphona ad Magnificat, Ecce ego mitto vos etc. habetur in primo Tomo de S. Matthia Apostolo" (the antiphon to the Magnificat, 'Ecce ego mitto vos, etc.' is in the first book [among works for] S. Matthias the Apostle) also facilitate the liturgical use of the *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* series.

Table 2.1: Arrangement of Works in Sophonias Paminger’s *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* 1–3

Vol.	Organization	Items for
Book 1	by feast	Advent, S. Andrew, S. Barbara, S. Nicholas, S. Thomas, Christmas Eve, Christmas Day, S. Stephan, S. John, S. Innocent, the Circumcision, Epiphany, S. Sebastian, S. Agnes, the Conversion of Paul, the Purification of Mary, S. Agatha, S. Dorothea, S. Matthias, 1st–3rd Sundays of Lent, the Annunciation of Mary
Book 2	by feast	Passiontide, Easter (Vigil, Matins, Feast of, Octave of), Sundays between Easter and the Ascension, S. Mark, SS. Philip and James (“the Lesser”), the Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday
Book 3	1st part: by genre	Antiphons (for the 27 Sundays of Ordinary Time), Responsories (for the 27 Sundays of Ordinary Time), Hymns (of the temporale), Hymns (unassigned)
	2nd part: by feast	S. John the Baptist, SS. John and Paul, SS. Peter and Paul, the Visitation of Mary, S. Margaret, S. Mary Magdalene, S. James (“the Greater”), S. Anne, S. Pantaleon, S. Martha, S. Lawrence, S. Bartholomew, S. Augustine, the Nativity of Mary, S. Matthew, S. Michael, S. Luke, S. Ursula, S. Leopold, SS. Simon and Jude, All Saints, S. Martin, S. Catherine
	3rd part: general items for feasts of the sanctorale; misc.	Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs; Dedication of a Church, Song of Songs fragments

In offering the council such a collection, Sophonias again situates the councilmen in an office of the priesthood. By sponsoring the publication, the councilmen would validate the assignments of compositions per feast day, whether or not these aligned with local liturgies (Catholic or Protestant). Sophonias also implies, in sending these works to a confessionally bipartisan council, that the liturgy presented in the *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* is itself biconfessional.

A number of elements speak to the confessional universality of the *Ecclesiasticae cantiones*. First, as previously implied, almost all of the works contained in the published volumes are Latin-texted. Four pieces in book 1 use alternating German and Latin lines; both German and Latin texts are underlaid, as dual options for singing, in two pieces of book 1 and

two pieces of book 2; and one piece in book 2, along with four pieces in book 3, are German-texted only.¹⁵⁶ Second, though music is provided for numerous saints' days, all of the saints so honored are either biblical figures or early church fathers, martyrs, and virgins from the first through the fifth centuries. The only exception is S. Leopold (1073–1136), patron saint of Austria, who was born in Passau. No invocations or petitions to saints feature in any of the musically set texts. Third, although music is provided for several Marian feasts, no materials are given for the more controversial feasts of the Assumption or the Immaculate Conception. Similarly, no materials for Eucharistic feast of Corpus Christi are present.

None of these factors would encourage or prevent usage by Catholics or Protestants. On a more subtle level, however, some confessional indicators are present. Several of the Latin hymns included in book 3 were composed by Protestant humanists (Melanchthon) and sympathizers (Johann Stigel, Joachim Camerarius). Two works—the “Ecce ego mitto vos” of book 1 and the “Philippe qui videt me” of book 2—are also dedicated to Melanchthon. Among the marginalia Sophonias provides are numerous references to Bible texts. Several psalms are identified as the textual bases of motets in book 3. For the most part, Sophonias uses the Greek Septuagint (LXX) numbering of the psalms in referencing these sources, with two exceptions: both motets setting texts from the Vulgate Ps. 109 (“Dixit Dominus Domino meo”) are identified according to the Hebrew numbering system as Ps. 110.¹⁵⁷ This psalm was used in Catholic and Protestant vespers services: Sophonias may have identified the text from memory, therefore, if he was accustomed to attending such services in German.

¹⁵⁶ All five German-texted works are, notably, attributed to Leonhard's sons, Balthasar, Sophonias, and Sigismund.

¹⁵⁷ As a reminder, this system was used by both Jews and Protestants. “Psal. 110” appears in the margins of both antiphons, “Iuravit Dominus” (this follows LXX Ps. 109:4) and “Virgam virtutis tuae” (this uses elements of LXX Ps. 109:2–3). They are included among general items for feasts of the sanctorale (apostles and martyrs, respectively).

On the other hand, ten works grouped as “*fragmenta ex canticis canticorum*” (fragments of the Song of Songs) at the end of book 3 set texts which are all associated with the Feast of the Assumption of Mary. These are the “*Sicut liliū inter spinas,*” “*Quae es ista quae progreditur,*” “*Tota pulchra es amica mea*” (two settings), “*Anima mea liquefacta est,*” “*Pulchra es et decora,*” “*Descendi in hortum meum,*” “*Virgo prudentissima,*” and the “*Nigra sum sed formosa*” (two settings). These works count among the most well-known Marian antiphons. Augsburg Catholics, at the very least, would have recognized them in conjunction with Marian feasts, and members of the cathedral chapter would certainly have used them in observing the Assumption ritual.¹⁵⁸ The feast is celebrated on August 15, during Ordinary Time. Given that book 3 preserves works for that period, and that the compositions are conveniently grouped, I suggest that Sophonias wished to provide material for the solemnization of the day without causing the book to appear Catholic oriented. Residual Marian piety among Protestants was not at all uncommon at this time, as indicated by Gastritz’s “*Contristatus sum*” motet.

As Othmar Wessely and Walter Kreyszig note, only four of the projected ten volumes of the *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* were published.¹⁵⁹ Together, they contain more than 680 works, many of which feature canonic techniques. Instructions for realizing canonic voice(s) are normally straightforward (e.g., “*tenore ex discanto in diapason*”) though at times they are presented as verbal or visual riddles. Katelijne Schiltz discusses several examples in her recent book, *Music and Riddle Culture in the Renaissance*. The cantus firmus voice (second discantus) of Leonhard’s psalm motet, “*Ad te, Domine, levavi animam meam*” (from Ps. 85:4) must be

¹⁵⁸ Chant versions of all eight works are assigned to the Feast of the Assumption of Mary in the *Breviarium per totum annum* of 1580. (These volumes are now held at the Royal Library in Copenhagen, Denmark; sigla: DK-Kk 3449 8o X).

¹⁵⁹ Wessely and Kreyszig, “Paminger, Leonhard.”

sung as a retrograde inversion in the *secunda pars*, for instance. This is indicated by the upside-down notation given for this part.¹⁶⁰ Three voices of the six-voice motet, “Philippe qui videt me”—one of two works dedicated to Melanchthon—are encrypted as a Greek inscription which spells out the notes of the cantus firmus.¹⁶¹ Two more motets, the “Tua cruce triumphamus” and the “Vexilla Regis prodeunt,” are presented in the form of a cross. Schiltz attributes a rise in the popularity of riddles and riddle canons in the Renaissance to the fact that they provided a means of expressing cleverness and intellectual prowess. She further notes that the symbols, language, and/or imagery present in riddles are multivalent: in order for the riddle to be solved, the relationships between diverse meanings of its texts (literary, auditory, and/or visual) must be understood. Like riddles, motets are also innately interactive, and multiple readings are allowed where texts are presented as “open.”¹⁶² Riddle canons constitute a specific concretization of the diversely interactive elements I see in a broad body of psalm motets.

Because we can place only the first two installments of the *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* in the hands of the Augsburg city council, the final pages of this chapter focus on psalm motets contained in these books. Thirty-one of the 326 total works they include quote or adapt psalm texts. Only one piece, the “Spiritus Domini,” is actually designated as a motet, and the “Omnes gentes plaudite” and “Alleluia, laudate Dominum” settings are the only identified psalms (the latter is also dubbed an antiphon). The rest are classified as antiphons (fourteen works) or responsories (eight works), or lack a genre designation (seven works).

¹⁶⁰ Katelijne Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 103–4.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 117–18.

¹⁶² Schiltz uses the terms “open” and “closed” as per reader-response theory: “According to the advocates of the reader-response theory, literature that limits one’s potential understanding to a single aspect—which is the case for so-called ‘closed texts’—is less rewarding than ‘open texts,’ as these leave more room for the reader’s hermeneutic activity and allow multiple interpretations.” *Ibid.*, 9.

All of the works designated as antiphons and responsories follow the texts of Latin Propers.¹⁶³ Most are standardized according to numerous antiphoners of the mid-sixteenth century (including the Augsburg cathedral antiphoner of 1580) as well as in earlier chant books. A smaller selection of antiphon motets follow the texts of responsories, or derive from syntheses of antiphon and responsory elements. The “De ore prudentis” of book 2, for example, follows a responsory text—both the respond and verse—verbatim.¹⁶⁴ The “Spiritus Domini,” also of book 2, uses respond and verse texts for Pentecost in its *prima* and *secunda partes*.

The “Alleluia, surrexit Dominus” constitutes an expansion of the Easter antiphon/gradual, “Haec est dies.” The motet begins with the Alleluia verse, “Surrexit Dominus” and continues through the “Haec est dies” text (this follows Ps. 117:24). The *secunda pars* then begins with the verse, “Confitemini Domino” (this follows Ps. 117:1), and concludes with the respond, “Surrexit

¹⁶³ Five Christmas antiphons quote single or partial verses from the Psalter (Pss. 109:3, 110:9, 111:4, 129:7, and 131:11 [frag.]). Five additional works, the “Zelus domus tuae” for Passiontide, the “Haec est dies” and the aforementioned psalm/antiphon “Alleluia, laudate Dominum,” both for Easter, and the “Ascendit Deus” (two settings) for Ascension also quote material from single psalms (Pss. 68:10, 117:24,1, 46:6[x2], and 116:1–2 [frag.]). The “Alleluia, laudate” includes an appended doxology (the Gloria Patri), and a partial doxology is integrated into the second “Ascendit” setting. The “Omnes gentes plaudite” for Ascension constitutes the only complete psalm setting in books 1–3.

Four antiphons for Sundays between Easter and the Feast of the Ascension follow liturgical adaptations of psalm verses (Pss. 32:1 and 12, 14:1, 117:15, and 117:15). Both antiphons, “Quando natus est,” for the Feast of the Circumcision, and “Haec est dies,” for the Annunciation of Mary, blend psalm and nonbiblical elements. (The psalm elements are the first hemistiches of Pss. 71.6 [“Quando”] and 117:24 [“Haec est”]). The “Te Deum laudamus” prayer, which is listed in the index as an antiphon for Trinity Sunday, centonizes texts from several psalms (Pss. 27:9, 144:2, 122:3 [frag.], 32:22, and 30:2/70:1 [identical phrases]) along with a significant amount of nonbiblical material. Though not identified as an antiphon, the “Vidi aquam,” whose verse follows Ps. 117:1, would have replaced the “Asperges me, Domine” during Eastertide.

All eight responsories also blend psalm and nonbiblical elements. These include the “De illa occulta” (the verse follows Ps. 49:2–3 [frag.]) and the “Descendit de coelis” (the verse is partially based on P. 18:6 [frag.]), both for Christmas Eve; the “Vox tonitru” for the Feast of S. John (the respond is partially based on Ps. 76:19 [frag.]); the “Tria sunt munera” for Epiphany (the verse follows Ps. 71:10); the “Circumdederunt me” for Easter (the verse follows Ps. 21:12); the “Filiae Hierusalem” for Sundays between Easter and the Ascension (the verse follows Ps. 13(14)7:2); and the “Virtute magna” for the Feast of S. Mark (the verse follows Ps. 18:5; the same phrase forms part of Rom. 10:18). The “Haec est dies” setting that is designated a responsory lacks the normal rubrics (“repetitio,” versus”) that normally separate responsory segments. It follows the same text as the “Haec est” antiphon.

¹⁶⁴ The motet is organized so that the respond segment appears twice in the second section of the piece. (*Prima* and *secunda partes* are not identified, though a section division is clearly indicated by a cadence on C followed by a double bar). This is unusual for responsory motets, which ordinarily would place the respond text at the end of both *partes*. As the verse element of the “De ore” follows Ps. 118:103, quoting one of the most frequently used psalms, the motet receives further attention in chapter four.

pastor bonus” (adapted from John 10:11). The complete text is presented below, with biblical sources identified to the right:

(Leo.) Paminger, “Alleluia, surrexit Dominus”

Prima pars

Alleluia, surrexit Dominus de sepulchro qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, alleluia; } none
Haec est dies quam fecit Dominus exultemus et laetemur in ea, alleluia. } Ps. 117:24

Secunda pars

Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius, alleluia; } Ps. 117:1
Surrexit pastor bonus qui posuit animam suam pro ovibus suis et pro suo grege mori dignatus est, alleluia. } John 10:11 (adapt.)

Which translates as:

Prima pars

Alleluia, the Lord is risen from the grave, he who was hanged on the tree for us, alleluia;
This is the day that the Lord has made, let us rejoice and be glad in it, alleluia.

Secunda pars

O give thanks to the Lord, for he is good; his steadfast love endures forever, alleluia;
The good shepherd who laid down his life for the sheep, and vouchsafed to die for his flock, alleluia.¹⁶⁵

Note how Ps. 117 elements are framed in a way that supports a messianic reading of the psalm text: the glorious day (“Haec est dies”) referenced in Ps. 117:24 is directly linked to the day of Jesus’s resurrection by way of the opening phrase, “Alleluia, surrexit Dominus.” In the *secunda pars*, Jesus’s sacrifice (John 10:11: “pro suo grege mori dignatus est”) is offered as an example of God’s enduring mercy (Ps. 117:1: “in saeculum misericordiam eius”). On a syntactic level, the use of the word “surrexit” at the beginning of the first and final lines adds to the coherence of the

¹⁶⁵ Author’s translation, adapted from the NRSV.

complete motet. No marginalia are provided to indicate the Bible elements employed; these psalm and Gospel verses may have been sufficiently familiar to invite a messianic interpretation of the psalm text, however.

The “Alleluia, surrexit Dominus” and the “De Syon venit Dominus” from book 1 are the only two psalm motets of books 1 and 2 whose texts deviate significantly from canonical biblical and liturgical sources. This suggests a generally conservative approach to textual selection and text setting that maintains the *Ecclesiasticae cantiones*’ openness to Catholic and Protestant users. While the independent liturgical lines that come together to form the “Alleluia, surrexit” motet are all complete and unaltered, a different approach is indicated for the “De Syon.” Like the “Alleluia, surrexit,” a variety of biblical and liturgical elements are centonized in the “De Syon’s” *prima* and *secunda partes*. Numerous chant books that include these elements list the chants texts among the liturgies for the fourth week of Advent. The *prima pars* is based on the texts of three antiphons, namely: “De Syon veniet Dominus,” “De Sion veniet qui regnaturus,” and “Ecce Deus meus.” The *secunda pars* blends material from four responsories: “Canite tuba in Sion” (complete), “Orietur stella ex Jacob” (respond only), “Et adorabunt eum omnes reges” (verse), and “Ecce veniet Dominus” (respond only). Textual elements that make up the *prima pars* are, for the most part, significantly adapted from biblical excerpts. The only exception is the concluding quotation from Exod. 15:2. Elements that make up the *secunda pars* are, likewise, mostly adapted with the exception of the psalm verse, Ps. 71:11. Biblical sources are identified to the right of the following transcription:

(Leo.) Paminger, “De Syon venit Dominus”

Prima pars

De Syon venit Dominus
ut salvum faciat populum suum;

} Isa. 2:3 (adapt.)
} Matt. 1:21 (adapt.)

De Syon venit Dominus	} Isa. 2:3 (adapt.)
qui regnabit Dominus Emanuel magnum nomen eius;	} Ref.: Isa. 7:14/Matt. 1:23
Ecce Deus meus et honorabo eum Deus patris mei et exaltabo eum.	} Exod. 15:2
 <i>Secunda pars</i>	
Canite tuba in Syon, vocate gentes, annunciate populis, ecce Deus salvator noster venit,	} Joel 2:1/15 (adapt.)
et erit omnis terra possessio eius;	} Isa. 62:11 (adapt.)
	} Ref.: Num. 24:(17–) 18 (among others) ¹⁶⁶
Omnes Reges terrae adorabunt eum et omnes gentes servient ei;	} Ps. 71:11
Beati qui parati sunt occurrere ei.	} none

Which translates as:

Prima pars

The Lord comes out of Zion to save his people; the Lord comes out of Sion, he who shall reign as Lord Emmanuel, great is his name. Behold! This is my God, and I will praise him, [this is] my father's God, and I will exalt him.

Secunda pars

Blow the trumpet in Zion, call together the nations, tell it to the people; behold! God our savior comes, and all the land is his inheritance. May all kings fall down before him, all nations give him service; blessed are those who are ready to meet him.¹⁶⁷

As shown, most of the phrases that make up the “De Syon” motet text are based on the Hebrew Bible or Old Testament. These sources include books of the Pentateuch (the Five Books of Moses), writings of major and minor prophets, as well as psalms, and thereby emerge from a wide range of contexts. While knowing something about these contexts may, indeed, invite a hermeneutic reading, I suggest that both rhetorical parallelisms and syntax played a role in the overall text’s formation.

¹⁶⁶ Variations of the phrase, “et erit omnis terra possessio eius” appear numerous times in the Bible, though the omitted responsory text, “Orietur stella ex Jacob,” quotes Num. 24:17.

¹⁶⁷ Author’s translation, adapted from the NRSV.

Note the number of times the holy city of Syon (Zion) is mentioned: two antiphons, which both begin “De Syon venit Dominus,” are centonized in the *prima pars*. Not only does the repetition add a sense of cohesion to the text, but the two opening lines effect a form of synonymous parallelism that often features in the psalms. A clear example may be seen in Ps. 95:1, “Cantate Domino canticum novum, cantate Domino omnis terra,” wherein the same short phrase, “Cantate Domino” repeats at the midpoint of the verse. Though based on prose (Isaiah and Matthew), by adapting these texts to follow a form of biblical poetry, the text is put forth to the reader as a newly-construed Christmas psalm. Synonymous parallelism does not require exact repetition of material, but is based, rather, on a principle of repeated thought. A larger-scale parallelism may be read between the *prima* and *secunda partes*, given that the *secunda pars* also opens with a reference to the holy city. The interpretation of these two texts as echoing the same idea is further encouraged by their common language (“venit . . . salvum faciat populum suum” and “annunciate populis . . . salvator noster venit”). Given their structural similarities and related content, the concluding and penultimate Bible quotations (Exod. 15:2 and Ps. 71:11) of the *prima* and *secunda partes* reinforce one another as yet another parallelism.¹⁶⁸ The former issues a command to honor and exalt God, whereas the latter indicates the ways this will be done: all kings will adore him, and all nations will serve him.

The placement of the final parallel phrase, Ps. 71:11, as the second to last segment of the motet further reflects the architecture of a psalm. Often, the final verse of a psalm stands apart from the body of the text and offers a sort of summary statement. A prime example may be seen in Ps. 50, the “Miserere mei, Deus,” which is presented as four stanzas followed by an isolated verse. This last verse is the only one that is not voiced in the first person (using the Vulgate

¹⁶⁸ The psalm verse is actually rearranged to parallel Exod. 15:2.

translation): it projects God's acceptance of David's prayer and his offerings of contrition. Though not a psalm text, the line, "Beati qui parati sunt occurrere ei" (Happy are those who are ready to meet him) from the "De Syon" motet may, indeed, be read as synopsis. The entire Advent motet anticipates God's coming, and therefore extolls those who are prepared. The opening, "Beati qui" fragment may also refer back to the books of Matthew and Isaiah. It recalls the beatitudes of Matt. 5:3–12, for one, as well as several psalms (Pss. 1 and 111 both begin with "Beatus vir," for instance). The initial verse of Ps. 118 also relays a parallel concept. It reads: "Beati immaculati in via, qui ambulant in lege Domini" (Happy are those whose way is blameless, who walk in the law of the Lord). Note that the opening line of the motet, "De Syon venit Dominus" actually derives from a longer verse on God's law: "for out of Zion shall go forth instruction and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem" (Isa. 2:3). This latent connection could be discerned by a biblically literate reader.

This motet presents an intelligent synthesis of syntactically related biblical and liturgical phrases. Its structure imitates the form of a psalm, which encourages a reading of the text as biblically inspired Christian poetry. The message is generally Christian, and does not evince elements that would signify a Catholic or Protestant orientation. No marginalia are given, hinting at the Bible sources of quoted or adapted texts (though these are provided elsewhere); yet, special attention is afforded the two Bible elements. Both are set with the most elaborate music, and the psalm text is particularly emphasized through an extended sequence. Although complete texts do not appear in any of the five voice parts of the "De Syon," each part carries the complete quotation of Exod. 15:2 and Ps. 71:11. This sacrosanct treatment of the scripture could be seen in the output of both Catholic and Protestant composers at this time.

CHAPTER 3: RE-READING THE PSALMS THROUGH SAINTS, HERETICS, AND HUMANIST POETS

One of my initial impulses as a researcher in Augsburg was to search for signs of a relationship between mid-sixteenth-century psalm motets and contemporary psalm commentaries or paraphrases. While a few centonates may indicate that composers and textual compilers were reading these texts, evidence of a clear correlation between motets and these two forms of exegetical engagement with the Psalter is lacking. On the other hand, a number of motets set prose and poetry inspired by the Davidian Psalms. The following pages explore this relationship, through a close look at a selection of psalm motets that arise from quotations of preexisting and contemporary literature.

These works illustrate a broad range of approaches to setting psalm-based prose and poetry to music. In some cases, such as Payen's "Domine, Deus salutis," the psalm-based portions of the motet text are treated with the most flexibility, whereas in others, such as Lechner's "O fons vitae" and Clemens non Papa's "Tristitia obsedit me," psalm elements are unaltered and come to the foreground through these composers' stripping away of nonbiblical commentary. While confessional orientation played a role in some composers' selection of texts (the Protestant or Protestant-leaning Lechner set the works of Buchanan; the presumably Catholic Clemens non Papa and Crecquillon employed texts of the Catholic humanist, Snoy), personal beliefs did not limit artists' use of prose and poetic texts. Two excellent examples of this are Gastritz's "Contristatus sum," setting a Marianistic text by Bonaventure, and Tonsor's

“*Multa viro semper*,” which centonizes psalm paraphrases by Protestant-sympathizing Latin poets, Hesus and Siber. In brief, not only is the selection of psalm-based prose and poetry widely diverse in this period, with selections being made of a wide variety of authors, styles, confessions, etc., but the treatment of these texts is also hugely varied.

The one consistent tendency is that prose- and poetry-based works whose source texts include strong confessional elements—in particular, those works that were taken up in the sixteenth century as Marian devotional pieces—tend to reduce or remove said elements, thereby rendering the works more universally usable. This was true for both explored settings of Bonaventure’s *Marian Psalter*, and though it was not discussed at length, the incorporation of the Ps. 44 quote in Augustine’s “O mater Jerusalem” is usually omitted from settings of this passage.¹⁶⁹ This invites interaction with these motets across cultural and, most notably, confessional lines. I further assert that the concentration of psalm motets that are based, at least in part, on prose or poetic works indicates, again, the primacy of the Psalter in this period. That these textual elements garnered significantly more attention than other portions of the same publications—including Augustine’s *Confessions* and *Soliloquies* and Savonarola’s prison meditations—indicates that these texts were 1) easily recognizable among composers and, presumably, users and 2) were of special interest at this time. It is interesting to imagine the user’s experience with these works, especially given that so many of them include marginilia indicating the psalm text that inspired the prose or poetry of the piece. Where one might experience a moment of satisfaction upon recognizing a prose-based narrative surrounding a psalm fragment, or finding the verse or verses from the Davidian Psalter that most closely parallel a paraphrased work, the user may hardly apply the same process in parsing these texts

¹⁶⁹ Lacking the psalm text, these motets are, therefore, not considered psalm motets, though various settings may be located in Augsburg-produced and Augsburg-held volumes.

twice. Instead, a new approach must be applied to each work, in order to discern a relationship between the motet text and the Davidian source.

This chapter also shows that composers exercised considerable authority in revising psalm-based poetry and prose for musical settings. In some cases, these changes effect fundamental alterations to the prose or poetic text's core concepts. This could be seen as a form of exegesis, and offers yet another layer for the hermeneutically active user to contemplate. Again, neither the authority of the source text, the type of text (as a prose or poetic work), nor the confessional orientation of the composer (where known) seems to have impacted which works were rearranged or adapted in which ways. Also, the types of works this chapter examines are found in prints of a wide variety of profiles: some contain almost exclusively sacred works, where others incorporate a mixture of sacred and secular compositions; some, such as Crecquillon's *Opus sacrarum* are quite lengthy, whereas others are relatively concise; some are anthologies and some contain the works of plural artists; etc. In brief, the authors whose psalm-based prose and poetry received attention among mid-sixteenth century composers cannot be situated in exclusively Catholic or Protestant, nor in exclusively sacred or secular realms. Instead, an examination of these works highlights the diverse cultural and religious ambiguities that characterize this time period.

Compositions that quote or adapt psalm-based prose or poetry are relatively rare. I found only twelve works in eleven Augsburg-produced and D-As-held sources that carry such texts. The source volumes of the motets are listed below:

Table 3.1: Sources of Motets that set Psalm-Based Prose or Poetry

Prose	Source vols. (RISM)	S. Anna	von Werdenstein	Other Augsburg prov.
S. Augustine, <i>Confessions & Soliloquies</i>	1548 ² , L 1287	none	L 1287	1548 ²
Caesarius of Heisterbach, <i>Dialogue on Miracles</i>	1549 ⁸	none	none	none
Girolamo Savonarola, prison meditations on Pss. 50 and 30	1553 ⁸ L 815	1553 ⁸	L 815	<i>L 815</i>
Poetry	Source vols. (RISM)	S. Anna	von Werdenstein	Other Augsburg prov.
S. Bonaventure, <i>Psalms of the Blessed Virgin Mary</i>	1553 ⁸ 1560 ¹ G 565	1553 ⁸	G 565	G 565
Reinier Snoy, <i>Psalms of David Illuminated through Brief Paraphrases</i>	1553 ⁹ C 4410	1553 ⁹ <i>C 4410</i>	C 4410	none
Helius Eobanus Hessus, <i>Universal Psalter</i> & Adam Siber, <i>Psalms or Songs of David</i>	T 965	<i>T 965</i>	T 965	none
George Buchanan, <i>Poetic Paraphrases of the Psalms of David</i>	L 1295	none	L 1295	none

Augsburg provenance can be securely established for at least one copy of nine of the eleven sources. Two books were definitely held by the church and school of S. Anna (RISM 1553⁸ and 1553⁹), and two more books (RISM C 4410 and T 965) may be tentatively located there given that they are bound together with six identified S. Anna prints.¹⁷⁰ These books are shown in italics. Six prints (RISM C 4410, G 565, L 815, L 1287, L 1295, and T 965) were owned by the Augsburg canon, Johann Georg von Werdenstein, and are now held at the D-Mbs. The *Selectissimae cantiones* (RISM 1548²) was issued by the Augsburg printer, Philipp Ulhart; and Gastritz's *Novae harmonicae cantiones* (RISM G 565), discussed in chapter two, was offered to

¹⁷⁰ These bear the inscription, "sumptu publico" (at public expense), which Richard Shaal and Richard Charteris both have noted on covers of S. Anna partbooks. See Shaal, *Das Inventar der Kantorei St. Anna in Augsburg: ein Beitrag zur protestantischen Musikpflege im 16. und beginnenden 17. Jahrhundert* (Kassel: Internationale Vereinigung der Musikbibliotheken: Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, 1965), 13, 20, and 26; and Charteris, "An Early-Seventeenth-Century Collection of Sacred Vocal Music and Its Augsburg Connections," *Notes* 58, no. 3 (March 2002): 519.

the Augsburg city council. Finally, the D-As-held copy of Lasso's *Selectissimae cantiones* (RISM L 815) is bound together with an Augsburg manuscript, Tonk Schl 273–278. This source is also given in italics. An Augsburg institutional affiliation for Lasso's print is further indicated by the fact this source, the manuscript, and twelve other print volumes with which they are bound date from a very narrow time frame (c1570–1577) and predominantly feature Lasso's oeuvre. This suggests that they were received by the D-As as a group from a single owner or institution.

Why would psalm-based prose and poetry figure more often than commentaries in motets? For one, psalms are generally unaltered in commentaries; therefore, if commentative works served as source texts for composers, they would not necessarily be recognized. Commentaries are also generally presented as the psalm text followed by discussion, or as an introduction, followed by the psalm text, followed by discussion, where the psalm is treated verse by verse, strophe by strophe, or as a whole. In any case, blocks of psalm and prose texts are introduced separately and are clearly distinguished.¹⁷¹ Paratexts, such as footnotes (literary sources), headers, or marginalia (literature and music), are additionally presented and probably read as discrete contributions. Also, while the language of psalm texts and discursive elements in commentaries is usually the same—both are in German or Latin—the syntax is completely different.

A much more fluid reading experience is put forth by psalm paraphrases and prose works that are based on psalms, such as the *Confessions* and *Soliloquies* of S. Augustine and the prison meditations of Girolamo Savonarola. In these works, psalm texts are fully integrated and even

¹⁷¹ Robert Bellarmine's *Explanatio in psalmos* constitutes an exception as the Jesuit Cardinal places the actual verse or verses he means to discuss at the head of each respective paragraph. See Margarita Igriczi-Nagy, "The Commentary of Saint Robert Bellarmine on Psalm 118 in the *Explanatio in psalmos*," (PhD dissertation, Ohio State University, 2007), 72–73.

adapted to suit the context and character of the writing. There is no significant syntactic difference between the psalm and surrounding literary elements. While some psalm paraphrases do include prayers (*orationes*) before or after the adapted psalms, imitating the organization of commentaries, these often incorporate allusions to or even partial quotations of psalm verses. As a result, unless the reader is deeply familiar with the psalm text, these references can easily go unnoticed. Commentators, on the other hand, normally indicate quotations through in-text citations, footnotes, or marginalia. Given the dominant motet style of the mid-sixteenth century, which features extended imitative entrances, long melodic lines, and, oftentimes, copious amounts of textual repetition, motet texts needed to be short. They also tended to be in prose. If composers wished to present exegetical re-readings of psalms, therefore, psalm-based prose texts or psalm paraphrases constituted more viable source texts.

Two additional factors render psalm-based prose and poetry well suited for use in music. First, the process of adapting and integrating a psalm text from one writing style to another already parallels the process of setting psalms to music. In both situations, part of a complete psalm is excised from its original context and incorporated into another. Second, the idea of “re-reading” a psalm through music is not dissimilar from the act of re-reading the same text through prose or adapted/versified poetry. Motets setting psalm-based prose or poetry add another step: the core emotions or concepts of a psalm that are initially filtered through the saint’s, scholar’s, or poet’s pen are potentially refigured through music. In a sense, the interpretive layer that is added by the music invites an understanding of these motets as simultaneous articulations of thought processes that would take place subsequently when reading commentaries. In both commentaries and motets, a diverse set of materials is put forth for the hermeneutically active reader to contemplate. In the case of commentaries, this includes the psalm text, the author’s

discussion, and relevant paratexts, with, of course, the user's literacy and experience as a backdrop. In the case of motets, this includes the (usually abbreviated) psalm, centonizations (where they are incorporated), relevant paratexts, sound, and again the user's literacy and experience. The difference is that when reading a commentary the user must bear in mind all of the elements that are presented paragraph by paragraph and page by page, and would probably flip back and forth to reflect on them. In motets, on the other hand, at least two key elements that invite reflection are presented simultaneously—that is, the music and the motet text.

Motets setting psalm-based prose and poetry are, as stated, uncommon. Nor do the writings of any single author dominate in Augsburg-produced and D-As-held sources. Motets of both categories—those setting psalm-based prose (1) and poetry (2)—use a wide range of texts by church fathers (Augustine), medieval scholars/theologians (Caesarius of Heisterbach and Bonaventure), individuals whose works prefigure the Reformation (Savonarola), and sixteenth-century humanist poets (Snoy, Hessus, Siber, and Buchanan). This chapter is organized in two large parts, the first focusing on motets setting psalm-based prose and the second examining settings of psalm paraphrases. From that point, the works are treated per author. The ten compositions that are preserved in sources with confirmed Augsburg provenance come to the foreground.¹⁷² These are listed below, with the authors they quote or adapt given in parentheses:

- Nicolas Payen's "Domine, Deus salutis" (Augustine)
- Leonhard Lechner's "O fons vitae" (Augustine)
- Clemens non Papa's "Tristitia obsedit me" (Savonarola)
- Orlando di Lasso's "Infelix ego" (Savonarola)

¹⁷² My assessments of the two remaining motets—Henri Schaffen's "Miser ubi parebo," which is based on Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogue on Miracles* and Clemens non Papa's "Contristatus sum" setting, which quotes Bonaventure's *Marian Psalter*—informed these analyses.

- Clemens non Papa’s “Exaudi, Domine” (Bonaventure)
- Mathias Gastritz’s “Contristatus sum” (Bonaventure)
- Clemens non Papa’s “Deus stetit” (Snoy)
- Thomas Crecquillon’s “Efficiamur, Domine” (Snoy)
- Michael Tonsor’s “Multa viro semper veniunt” (Hessus/Siber)
- Leonhard Lechner’s “Felix o ter et amplius” (Buchanan)

Given that the texts of these motets issue direct interpretations or rearticulations of the Davidian Psalter—this is quite different from the indeterminate readings that are posed through textual selections and centonizations of unaltered psalms—these works invite very different forms of reading and contemplation than the pieces thus far addressed. Despite their limited number, the motets reflect a wide variety of approaches to text setting and, again, textual selection. The shared use of these motets among Augsburg residents speaks to the diversely social and confessional value placed on various patristic, scholastic, heretical, and humanistic authors. Provenance of the source volumes further indicates that authors such as Augustine, Bonaventure, and Savonarola were not yet “claimed” by members of specific social or confessional groups, nor were the works of contemporary Latin poets.

3.1 PROSE-BASED PSALM MOTETS

3.1.1 Motets Based S. Augustine’s *Confessions* and *Soliloquies*

One commonality between the authors whose works form the bases of psalm motet texts addressed in this chapter is that most are well represented in sixteenth-century prints. This is especially true for S. Augustine, whose writings were issued numerous times by various Augsburg firms (Grimm [& Wirsung], Otmar, Schönsperger, Steiner, Ulhart), in particular

during the first third of the century. Most of these publications are in German, though a small selection of Latin-texted prints also survive.

S. Augustine of Hippo (354–430) needs no introduction. To summarize briefly his significance to this project, Augustine’s writings and philosophy had an inestimable influence on sixteenth-century monastic culture, doctrine (various sects), and Bible exegesis. His psalm commentaries of all 150 psalms count among the first such works to survive, and they were frequently cited by sixteenth-century exegetes and scholars. A church father of the patristic age, Augustine was appointed Bishop of Hippo Regius in North Africa, where he was recognized for his skills as a preacher and his involvement in routing out heresy. He is the acknowledged author of the Augustine rule—one of four orders of religious (monastic) life approved at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215—to which Martin Luther later subscribed.¹⁷³ Through the *Confessions*, composed between 397 and 400, Augustine discloses his personal conversion story, first in the form of an autobiography and second in more conceptual terms. The *Soliloquies*, on the other hand, offer a more intimate rendition of this narrative. In the words of translator Rose Elizabeth Cleveland, “The *Soliloquies* introduce us to the converted man at the very moment of his conversion. The *Confessions* give us the Bishop of Hippo’s recollection of that man after years of absorption in the exacting duties of ecclesiastical function and doctrinal debate.”¹⁷⁴

The first of two sources to contain motets setting Augustine’s psalm-based prose is the Augsburg print, *Cantiones selectissimae* 1, edited by Sigmund Salminger and issued by Philipp Ulhart in 1548.¹⁷⁵ The collection is presented in four partbooks in oblong quarto format. The

¹⁷³ An excellent summary of Augustine’s life and works is offered by Margarita Igriczi-Nagy, “The Commentary of Saint Robert Bellarmine,” 8–9 and esp. 29–35.

¹⁷⁴ Saint Augustine, *The Soliloquies of St. Augustine*, Rose Elizabeth Cleveland, trans. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1910), ix.

¹⁷⁵ RISM 1548².

publication, whose full title includes the words “ab eximiis et praestantibus caesareae maiestatis capellae musicis” (by the excellent and outstanding musicians of his imperial majesty’s chapel), followed by the names of said musicians (Cornelius Canis, Thomas Crecquillon, Nicolas Payen, and Jean Lestainnier), was produced in the year of a diet following Charles V’s victory over the Schmalkaldic League. The book is dedicated to the “Fuggerarum domus heroibus” (To the heroes of the house of Fugger). Its contents are almost exclusively sacred, and are predominantly based on biblical and/or liturgical items. An exception is Payen’s “Domine, Deus salutis,” which draws on a text from Augustine’s *Confessions* 1,2.¹⁷⁶

The two-sectioned “Domine, Deus” is composed for four voices (clefs: C1, C3, C4, and F4), and it is notated without a flat signature. Cadences at the end of the *prima* and *secunda partes* are both on D. The work is highly polyphonic, with imitative entrances at the beginnings of sections and phrases, and an accelerated concentration of melodic motifs in the areas leading up to section endings. A fluidic reading of the texts is especially indicated by the textual underlay of the *prima pars*: apart from the final cadence of this section, all cadential gestures are elided or evaded. The text is based on an excerpt from Augustine’s writing which, in turn, draws on elements of Pss. 118 and 50. The two texts are given side by side, and psalm elements are underlined in both. They read as follows:

Payen, “Domine, Deus salutis”

Augustine, *Confessions* 1,2

Prima pars

Domine, Deus salutis quid apponam nescio,
quomodo respondeam ignore;

Ecce, Domine Deus salutis meae, quid
opponam nescio, quid respondeam ignoro;
nullum confugium, nullum abs te patet mihi
latibulum.

¹⁷⁶ Another exception is Canis’s “Tota vita peregrinamur,” which does not appear to be based on any Bible or liturgical text. The piece is a lament on the short, unjust life of men. Its inclusion in a print issued by a former Anabaptist, issued on the eve of a re-Catholicization period in southern Germany through the Augsburg Interim, may constitute a subtle Protestant complaint.

Tu ostendisti mihi bene vivendi viam,
minatus es gehennam, et pollicitus es
gloriam.

Ostendisti mihi bene vivendi viam, dedisti
gradiendi scientiam; minatus es mihi
gehennam, et pollicitus es mihi paradisi
gloriam.

Secunda pars

Confige ergo, pater consolationis carnes
meas, timore tuo;
ut quae minaris metuendo evadam,
et redde mihi laetitiam, salutaris tui.

Nunc, pater misericordiarum et Deus totius
consolationis, confige timore tuo carnes meas;
quatenus quae minaris, metuendo evadam: et
redde mihi propitius laetitiam salutaris tui.

The motet translates as:

Prima pars

O Lord, God of salvation, I do not know what to set forth, how to reply to pardon;
You have made known to me the way of right living; the threatening hell, and the promised glory.

Secunda pars

Therefore pierce my flesh with fear of you, father of consolation;
in order to escape that threatening fear, and restore to me the joy of your salvation.

The *Confessions* text translates as:

Behold: O Lord, God of my salvation, I do not know how to reply, I do not know how I shall answer; there is no refuge; it is clear to me that there is no hiding place from you. You have shown me the way of life; you have given advanced knowledge; you have told me of the threatening hell, and you have promised to me the glory of paradise.

Now, father of mercies, and God of all comfort, pierce my flesh with fear of you, to the point where threatening fear is avoided; and restore to me the propitious joy of your salvation.

Direct iterations or close variations on the opening phrase, “Domine, Deus salutis (meae),” appear in several psalms including Pss. 37:23 and 87:2 (direct) and Pss. 50:16 and 139:8 (slightly varied). The first hemistich of Ps. 118:20, “Confige timore tuo carnes meas,” is quoted in Augustine’s *Confessions* and reorganized in the motet. The first hemistich of Ps. 50:14, on the other hand, appears in the motet without the additional word, “propitius.” This is also not included in the psalm. The only significant differences between the motet and *Confessions* texts take the form of omissions. The phrase, “nullum confugium, nullum abs te patet mihi latibulum”

(there is no refuge; it is clear to me that there is no hiding place from you) is not included in the motet text, for instance, and the quotation from 2 Cor. 1:3, “pater misericordiarum, et Deus totius consolationis” (the Father of mercies and the God of all consolation) is abbreviated in Payen’s *secunda pars*. Portions of the latter are, however, integrated and Payen’s subtle revision to Augustine’s phrase, “Nunc, pater misericordiarum et Deus totius consolationis, confige timore tuo carnes meas” (Now, father of mercies and God of all comfort, pierce my flesh with fear of you), which he renders as “Confige ergo pater consolationis carnes meas timore tuo” (Pierce, therefore, father of all comfort, my flesh with fear of you), produces no significant change in meaning or affect. Although Payen strips away much of Augustine’s surrounding prose, significantly, he retains all of the psalm quotations.

Augustine’s writings appear relatively frequently in music books circulating in Augsburg. Susato’s *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* 1 features a motet by Thomas Crecquillon—the “Cognoscimus Domine”—whose text follows a responsory for the Office of the Dead; the text has been attributed to Augustine. Michael Tonsor’s *Sacrae cantiones plane novae* includes his “O mater Hierusalem,” which, like Payen’s work, borrows material from the *Confessions* (1,25).¹⁷⁷ Also, Leonhard Paminger’s *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* 1 contains his “Parvulus natus” setting, which is based on Augustine’s *Sermons* 21. Additionally, Leonhard Lechner’s “O fons vitae” draws on text from Augustine’s *Confessions* and incorporates psalm texts. The motet is included in his *Motectae sacrae*, published in 1576.¹⁷⁸

The *Motectae sacrae* were issued in six partbooks, all in oblong quarto format. The collection is dedicated to the Nuremberg patrician and statesman, Hieronymus Baumgartner.

¹⁷⁷ The second paragraph of this chapter, which is not musically set, concludes with a quotation of Ps. 44:3.

¹⁷⁸ Nuremberg: Gerlach. RISM L 1287.

Baumgartner was a strong advocate for reform and participated in numerous religious conversations and diets in the 1520s through the 1540s (Speyer, 1529 and 1544; Augsburg, 1530; and Schmalkalden, 1536). He was acquainted with both Luther and Melanchthon, and together with Lazarus Spengler, established the Melanchthon Gymnasium in 1526. He also supported public literacy, as testified by his successful efforts, in collaboration with Erasmus Ebner, in founding a city library (1538).¹⁷⁹ Although we saw in chapter two that personal confessional orientation did not necessarily impact on artists' search for patrons, in this case there does seem to be a connection. Lechner was himself Protestant, though he worked as an organist, chorister, and copyist for the Catholic Lasso and associated with various Catholic musicians. A secular orientation of Lechner's print is further indicated by his references to works of classical antiquity in his dedication (e.g., Homer's *Iliad*).

The two-sectioned "O fons vitae" is set for six voices (clefs: C1, C1, C3, C4, C4, F4) and is notated without the flat signature. Cadences at the end of the *prima* and *secunda partes* are both on E. The text for five of the six parts follows an excerpt from Augustine's *Soliloquies* 1,35, which is, in turn, based on Pss. 62 and 41. The *sexta vox*, which serves as a cantus firmus, repeats the invocation and petition, "Christi audi nos, salvator mundi, adiuva nos." The melody closely parallels that of the Advent responsory, "Audite verbum Domini gentes" (see Figures 3.1a and 3.1b). Note that the cantus firmus melody presented in Figure 3.1b shows minimal rests; in the source the three short phrases are considerably spaced out. Also, the rhythm of this melody is not identical with each iteration. The rhythm shown here is the first to be used.

¹⁷⁹ *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, s.v., "Baumgartner, Hieronymus," by Otto Puchner, accessed February 1, 2016, <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd116067128.html>.

Figure 3.1a: “Audite verbum Domini gentes” (Advent responsory)



Figure 3.1b: “Christi audi nos” (“O fons vitae” cantus firmus)



A liturgically well-versed user may recognize the chant melody and infer a connection between the text of this chant and the motet. One possible interpretation is that the “word of God” (verbum Domini) invoked in the former becomes Jesus, the “savior of the world” (salvator mundi) in the latter. The use of similar words, “audite” and “audi,” whether intentional or no, may have encouraged users to view the two texts as related.

Lechner’s style is generally more homophonic and declamatory than Payen’s; a greater degree of textual repetition is also indicated. Though Lechner employs imitative entrances, these are usually condensed, with subsequent voice parts entering within a breve or even semibreve of each other. Lechner’s reading of Augustine’s text is also less fluid, given his use of several full cadences within both the *prima* and *secunda partes*. Also unlike Payen, whose text parallels but abbreviates Augustine’s writing, Lechner quotes the patristic author almost verbatim. The motet and source texts are given side by side, and psalm elements are underlined in both:

Lechner, “O fons vitae”

Augustine, *Soliloquies* 1,35¹⁸⁰

Prima pars

O fons vitae, vena aquarum viventium,
quando veniam ad aquas dulcedinis tuae;
de terra deserta, in via, et in aquosa,

O fons vitae, vena aquarum viventium, quando
veniam ad aquas dulcedinis tuae de terra
deserta, in via et in aquosa, ut videam virtutem

¹⁸⁰ S. Augustine, *The Soliloquies of St. Augustine*, translated by Rose Elizabeth Cleveland (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1910).

ut videam virtutem tuam, et gloriam tuam,
et satiem ex aquis misericordiae tuae sitim
meam?

Secunda pars

Sitio Domine, fons vitae es, satia me,
sitio Domine, sitio te, Deum vivum;
O quando veniam et apparebo, ante faciem
tuam,
ut videam virtutem tuam, et gloriam tuam,
et satiem ex aquis misericordiae tuae sitim
meam?

tuam et gloriam tuam, et satiem ex aquis
misericordiae tuae sitim meam?

Sitio, Domine; fons vitae, satia me: sitio,
Domine, sitio Deum vivum. O quando veniam
et apparebo, Domine, ante faciem tuam. [ut
videam . . .]

Given that these texts are nearly identical, only the motet is translated. This reads:

Prima pars

O fountain of life, vein of living waters, when shall I come to the waters of your sweetness, out of a land of desolation, impassable and without water; that I may look upon your power and your glory, and satisfy my thirst for the waters of your mercy?

Secunda pars

I thirst, O Lord; the fountain of life satisfies me. I thirst, O Lord; I thirst for you, the living God. O when shall I come and appear before you; that I may look upon your power and your glory, and satisfy my thirst for the waters of your mercy?

The textual and musical form of this work imitates the organization of a responsory. The final phrase, “ut videam virtutem tuam . . .,” repeats at the ends of both sections, and is set to identical music. The cantus firmus, which translates as “Christ hear us, savior of the world, help us,” encourages a Christian Bible/New Testament reading of Augustine’s otherwise Old Testament-derived soliloquy. The opening line, “O fons vitae, vena aquarum viventium” (O fountain of life, spring of living waters) hearkens back to the Song of Songs, chapter 4 verse 15, “Fons hortorum, puteus aquarum viventium” (Garden fountain, well of living waters). The image of the fountain of life appears numerous times in the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament, with a concentration of iterations appearing in the sapiential volumes (Prov. 13:14, 14:27, and 16:22; and Ps. 35:10). It is also taken up by Christians as a symbol of baptism. This point is emphasized in Augustine’s text

by his use of “vitae” instead of “hortorum” (the latter of which would indicate a reference to the Song of Songs). The following line, “quando veniam ad aquas dulcedinis tuae” (when I come to the waters of your sweetness) is not derived from the Bible; however, and taken in combination with the final line of the *prima pars*, “et satiem ex aquis . . .” (and satisfy my thirst from the waters of your mercy), it bears a close resemblance to Ps. 41:3. The psalm verse reads “sitivit anima mea ad Deum fortem, vivum; quando veniam, et apparebo ante faciem Dei” (my soul thirsts for the mighty, living God; when shall I come and appear before the face of God).¹⁸¹ Barring the omission of the sub clause, “sic in sancto apparui tibi,” the intermediary line, “de terra deserta . . .” (out of the land a wilderness, a dry land, and without water, let me see your power and your glory) follows Ps 62:3 exactly.

Augustine turns the question posed in Ps. 41 into a statement, facilitating the blend of quoted and paraphrased material from this text and Ps. 62. This blend is then emphasized by way of the responsorial-type structure Lechner employs, as the line that operates as a respond begins with material from one psalm and ends with material from another. In both Payen’s and Lechner’s compositions, therefore, one sees evidence of close, informed readings of Augustine’s texts. Payen replaces a paraphrase of Ps. 118 with the verse as presented in the Latin Vulgate; and Lechner employs a structure that emphasizes and supports a textual relationship Augustine implies through the composer’s combination of Pss. 41 and 62 elements. Lechner further contributes a Christocentric interpretation that aligns with Augustine’s use of “fons vitae” over the Song of Songs image, “fons hortorum.”

¹⁸¹ This line is quoted directly and also paraphrased in the *secunda pars*.

Augustine's writings were taken up in the mid-sixteenth century by all manner of theologians—Catholics, Lutherans, Anabaptists, etc.—so the treatment of Augustine's text in music cannot be seen as evidence of one or another confessional leaning. These settings fail to give a strong Catholic or Protestant sensibility, despite their being set by both a Catholic and a Protestant composer.

3.1.2 Motets Based on Girolamo Savonarola's Prison Meditations on Pss. 50 and 30

Girolamo Savonarola's (1452–1498) writings were also printed in mid-sixteenth-century Augsburg. Among other (mostly German) editions of his texts, Johann Spangenberg's German translation of the friar's prison meditation on Ps. 50 was issued in 1542 (Ulhart). Evidence of the prophet/heretic's continued popularity in the biconfessional city of Augsburg, even after his works were added to the papal "Index of Prohibited Books" in 1559, is demonstrated by a 1562 publication of Michael Lindner's translation, *Der kurtz und guldine Griff der gantzen hayligen Schrifft der Bibel*.¹⁸² Savonarola's life and works, and musical settings of his texts have been recently and thoroughly investigated by Patrick Macey.¹⁸³ The following pages augment Macey's study by situating these materials among other motets setting psalm-based prose.

Savonarola was a fifteenth-century Italian priest and sermonist of the Dominican brotherhood, based in Florence. He was most famous for his apocalyptic prophecies and his public disobedience toward Pope Alexander VI. Savonarola was, finally, condemned as a heretic and executed on May 23, 1498. Despite, or perhaps because of, Savonarola's notoriety in this regard, the priest's writings became hugely popular from the turn of the sixteenth century

¹⁸² The printer is not identified, though this may be Matthaeus Franck.

¹⁸³ See Patrick Macey, *Bonfire Songs: Savonarola's Musical Legacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

through the end of the Renaissance. Savonarola composed the meditations on Pss. 50 and 30 while awaiting his execution. As a result of these circumstances, the Ps. 30 meditation remains incomplete. Whether owing to the quality or content of these works, or to the dramatic circumstances in which they were composed, the meditations continued to be Savonarola's most frequently reissued works through the middle of the sixteenth century. James Patrick Donnelly identifies thirteen editions of these texts that were issued in print by 1500, only two years after Savonarola's death, and over seventy more from throughout the sixteenth century. Among these are translations in Italian, Flemish, Spanish, English, and German.¹⁸⁴ Patrick Macey further asserts that these works were especially popular among Protestant circles and in the Ferrarese court of Duke Ercole II d'Este.¹⁸⁵ These psalm meditations are, consequently, the only texts of Savonarola's that I have found to be set to music. Peter Bergquist notes that the Ps. 50 meditation, "Miserere mei, Deus" was set by Willaert, Rore, Vicentino, and Lasso, for example.¹⁸⁶

Clemens non Papa's setting of Savonarola's meditation on Ps. 50 is based on text drawn from the *Expositio*. The two-sectioned motet is included in Susato's *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* 1. The motet, "Tristitia obsedit me," is composed for four voices (clefs: C1, C3, C4, F4) and is notated without the flat signature. Cadences at the end of the *prima* and *secunda partes* are both on A.¹⁸⁷ Savonarola is not acknowledged as the textual author in the "Tristitia obsedit" motet; the

¹⁸⁴ James Patrick Donnelly, cited in Lasso, *Complete Motets*, vol. 5.

¹⁸⁵ Notably, both Orlando di Lasso and Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria had connections with Ferrara and the Este.

¹⁸⁶ Willaert's, Rore's, and Vicentino's settings are related by way of their shared use and treatment of the cantus firmus from Josquin's "Miserere mei, Deus." Bergquist asks: Is there a relationship between Lasso's composition on Savonarola's Ps. 50 meditation and these other works *or* the composer's later setting of the complete penitential text? He is not able to find one. See Lasso, *Complete Motets*, vol. 5.

¹⁸⁷ Craig J. Westendorf, among others, explores the relationships between confessions and modal systems in his article, "Glareanus's 'Dodecachordon' in German Theory and Practice." Westendorf posits that the use of the ninth

appearance of the rubric, “Tempora angustia” (In times of distress), however, may constitute a reference to the generally traumatic experience that prompted the text’s composition.

As indicated by the title, the twelve volumes of the *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* series (Antwerp: Susato, 1553–1557) feature mostly sacred works that are predominantly derived from the Bible and/or from liturgical items. Indeed, the publications all include the subtitle, “Vulgo Moteta vocant, tam ex Veteri quam ex Novo Testamento, ab optimis quibusque huius aetatis musicis compositarum” (commonly called motets, which are composed from the Old and New Testaments by the most excellent musicians of this age). Netherlandish composers active in various Habsburg courts are best represented, with the oeuvre of Clemens non Papa coming, significantly, to the foreground. The volumes are issued in four (vols. 1–4) and five (vols. 5–12) partbooks. Augsburg provenance for all twelve books is established by the appearance of the Sancta Anna monogram (SANA) on the title pages of each source.

Clemens non Papa’s “Tristitia obsedit me” is composed for four voices (clefs: C1, C3, C4, F4). While marginalia indicating, especially, biblical source texts are given for quite a few motets in later volumes of the series, it does not seem as though the practice was put in place for the first print. The highly melismatic motet is organized in two *partes*, and it features a considerable amount of textual repetition. This repetition generally occurs on the level of the short phrase, but in this motet the textual underlay also indicates repetition of isolated words. This makes a fluid reading difficult, inviting the user instead to reflect on independent words and phrases. This mode of engaging with the text is, consequently, demonstrative of Luther’s concept of *meditatio*. A highly polyphonic style predominates, though the first iteration of the phrase,

(Aeolian) mode—as, ostensibly, part of a ten or twelve mode system—be read as a signifier of Protestant influence. Subsequent adoptions of Glarean’s twelve-mode system by Catholic music theorists undermines this position. See Westendorf, “Glareanus’ ‘Dodecachordon’ in German Theory and Practice: An Expression of Confessionalism,” *Current Musicology* 37–38 (Spring–Fall 1984): 33–48.

“Miserere mei, Deus,” is set homophonically. While the text concludes the motet, it actually stands at the opening of Savonarola’s meditation. The motet mainly sets the Florentine friar’s *Expositio* text, which introduces the actual meditation. The two texts are given side by side, and psalm elements are underlined in both. They read as follows:

Clemens non Papa, “Tristitia obsedit me”

Savonarola, *Expositiones* on Pss. 30 and 50

Prima pars

Tristitia obsedit me;
Amici mei sunt in castris eius,
et facti sunt mihi inimici;
Quaecumque video,
quaecumque audio,
vexilla tristitiae deferunt;
Memoria amicorum
me contristat,
cogitatio peccatorum
me premit;
Infelix ego,
qui coelum terramque offendi.

[*Expositio* on Ps. 30]: Tristitia obsedit me, magno et forti exercitu vallavit me, occupavit cor meum clamoribus et armis, die noctuque contra me pugnare non cessat. Amici mei sunt in castris eius, et facti sunt mihi inimici. Quaecumque video, quaecumque audio, vexilla Tristitiae deferunt; memoria amicorum me contristat; recordatio filiorum me affligit; consideratio claustrum et cellae me angit; meditatio studiorum meorum dolore me afficit; cogitatio peccatorum me premit. Sicut enim febre laborantibus omnia dulcia amara videntur, ita mihi omnia in maerorem et tristitiam conventuntur. Magnam profecto onus super cor tristitia haec; venenum aspidum, pestis perniciose murmurat contra Deum, blasphemare non cessat, ad desperationem hortatur. Infelix ego homo! . . .
[*Expositio* on Ps. 50]: . . . Infelix ego omnium auxilio destitutus, qui caelum terramque offendi . . .

Secunda pars

Quid igitur faciam?
Desperabo? Absit;
Misericors est Deus;
pius est salvator meus;
Ad te igitur,
piissime Deus,
tristis ac moerens venio;
en quaeso:
Miserere mei, Deus,
secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.

[*Expositio* on Ps. 50]: . . . Quid igitur faciam? Desperabo? Absit. Misericors est Deus; pius est Salvator meus. Solus igitur Deus refugium meum; ipse non despiciet opus suum, non repellat imaginem suam. Ad te igitur, piissime Deus, tristis ac moerens venio; quoniam tu solus spes mea, tu solus refugium meum. . . .
[Meditation]: Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam. . . .

Complete translations of both *Expositiones* are included in John Patrick Donnelly's *Prison Meditations on Psalms 51 and 31*.¹⁸⁸ Patrick Macey offers the following translation for the motet:

Prima pars

Sadness has besieged me . . .
My friends are in her camp,
and have become my enemies.
Whatever I see,
whatever I hear,
carries the banners of Sadness.
The memory of friends
makes me melancholy . . .
thinking about my sins
Forcibly weighs me down. . . .
Alas wretch that I am . . .
who have offended heaven and earth.

Secunda pars

What therefore shall I do?
Shall I despair? Far from it.
God is merciful,
my Savior is loving. . . .
To you, therefore,
most merciful God,
I come sad and sorrowful . . .
behold I say:
Have mercy upon me, O God,
according to your great mercy.¹⁸⁹

Note that the phrase “et facti sunt mihi inimici,” which, apart from a change in word order, appears as the final phrase of Ps. 138:22, and parallels the final phrase of Lam. 1:2. Regardless of this text's source, the inclusion of this line in Savonarola's and Clemens non Papa's works emphasizes the idea of this piece as a complaint. Both the source text and the motet also include fragments of well-known biblical phrases (“concilium malignantium obsedit me” from Ps. 21:17; “Infelix ego homo” from Rom. 7:24). All elements of this text draw, as mentioned above, from the *Expositiones* of Savonarola's Pss. 50 and 30 meditations, however these do not appear in sequence. The motet begins with quotations from the *Expositio* to Savonarola's Ps. 30 (“In te Domine speravi”) meditation, a transcription for which text is given below.

¹⁸⁸ Girolamo Savonarola, *Prison Meditations on Psalms 51 and 31*, edited and translated by John Patrick Donnelly (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1994).

¹⁸⁹ Macey, *Bonfire Songs*, 255–56.

The presence of the phrase “infelix homo” in the *Expositiones* of both Pss. 30 and 50 may have served as a pivot for Clemens non Papa. In any case, the conclusion of the *prima pars* and the complete *secunda pars* texts follow the Ps. 50 *Expositio* and ensuing meditation. The final phrase from the motet moves beyond the *Expositio* to the body of the meditation on Ps. 30 (or to Ps. 50:3), which reads: “Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.” The phrase, “en quaeso” (I ask/I pray) does not appear in Savonarola’s text, and therefore constitutes the only textual element that is added by Clemens non Papa.

By maintaining the overall tenor of Savonarola’s meditations, but removing material that is specific to the priest’s situation—for example, Savonarola’s reference to the cloister and the cell (“consideratio claustrum et cellae me angit”), and his lengthy self-rebuke (“ad caelum oculos levare non audeo, quia ei graviter peccavi . . .”)—I argue that Clemens non Papa’s motet text actually reorients Savonarola’s writings to communicate the original ideas of Ps. 50 more directly. First, while Savonarola does give the opening lines of Ps. 50 (“Miserere mei . . .”) and Ps. 30 (“In te, Domine . . .”) in the body of his two meditations, neither of these lines appear in the *Expositio* paragraphs. Clemens non Papa’s motet includes the Ps. 50 opening line, however, as its concluding phrase. He even indicates (perhaps) that this is a deviation from Savonarola’s text by way of the “en quaeso” transition that never appears in the priest’s writings. Second, the motet text eliminates phrases from the *Expositio* that relate to Savonarola’s situation, while also avoiding phrases that relate to David’s predicament.

Third, although the motet carries material from Savonarola’s Ps. 30 *Expositio*, no material from the biblical Ps. 30 appears here, and beyond that the specific phrases Clemens non Papa uses carry a set of ideas remarkably similar to select Ps. 50 verses. The line, “Unhappy am I, who offended heaven and earth,” which concludes the *prima pars*, is quite akin to the first

hemistich of Ps. 50:6, “To thee only have I sinned, and have done evil before thee.” The *secunda pars* phrase, “I am coming to you, then, most gracious God, in sorrow and in grief” is also quite similar to Ps. 50:2, “When Nathan the prophet came to him after he had sinned with Bethsabee.” Notably, the names Nathan and Bathsheba do not appear in the moment, for the same reasons, I argue, that cause Clemens non Papa to avoid material specific to Savonarola’s crisis.

Additionally, the Ps. 50:16 phrase, “Deus salutis meae” (God of my salvation) is similar to the “misericors est Deus, pius est salvator meus” (merciful is God, pious is my salvation); however, the ideas of the savior or salvation do not appear at any point in Ps. 30. In conclusion, the motet texts selected from Savonarola’s Pss. 50 and 30 *Expositiones* bring central ideas of the Davidian Ps. 50 to the surface, and additionally link Savonarola’s text more concretely with the penitential Ps. 50. This approach is not at all dissimilar to that of Payen, where he replaces Augustine’s paraphrased line from Ps. 118 with a direct quotation. Given the degree to which Savonarola’s text is parsed and manipulated, and considering the very deliberate parallelisms evident between the motet text and the biblical Ps. 50, I hold that the motet should be read as a paraphrase, situating its author as an actual interpreter.

Orlando di Lasso also set Savonarola’s Ps. 50 *Expositio* in a work that was first printed in 1566, and later reissued in the *Selectissimae cantiones 2* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1568) collection.¹⁹⁰ As with the majority of sources discussed in this chapter, the *Selectissimae cantiones* was issued in partbooks. It was dedicated to the “Illustrissimo et inclyto Principi ac Domino, Domino Georgio Friderico, Marchioni Brandenburgensi . . .” (Margrave Georg Friedrich of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Bayreuth and Landgrave of Nuremberg). Lasso’s motet emphasizes the range of mid-century approaches to setting Savonarola’s writings.

¹⁹⁰ RISM L 815; the first print source of Lasso’s Savonarola motet, which is also Gerlach’s probable source, is RISM 1566e, 11.

The “Infelix ego” is composed for six voices (clefs: C2, C3, C3, C4, F4, F5) and is notated without the flat signature. Lasso’s choice of dual altos and basses lowers the pitch center of this piece, whose first and third sections cadence on E. The *secunda pars* cadences on A. The only biblical quotations to appear in any of the three parts are the phrase “infelix ego” itself (Rom. 7:24), and the “Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam,” which also featured in Clemens non Papa’s motet. The motet and psalm texts are given side by side, and psalm elements are underlined in both. They read as follows:

Lasso, “Infelix ego”

Prima pars

Infelix ego, omnium auxilio destitutus,
 qui caelum terramque offendi;
 Quo ibo? quo me vertam?
 ad quem confugiam? quis mei miserabitur?
 Ad caelum oculos levare non audeo,
 quia ei graviter peccavi;
 In terra refugium non invenio,
 quia ei scandalum fui;
 Quid igitur faciam?
 Desperabo? Absit;
 Misericors est Deus; pius est salvator meus.

Secunda pars

Solus igitur Deus refugium meum;
 ipse non despiciet opus suum;
 non repellet imaginem suam.

Tertia pars

Ad te igitur, piissime Deus,
 tristis ac moerens venio;
 Quoniam tu solus spes mea,
 tu solus refugium meum;
 Quid autem dicam tibi,
 Cum oculos levare non audeam?
 Verba doloris effundam,
 misericordiam tuam implorabo et dicam:

Savonarola, *Expositio* on Ps. 50

Infelix ego omnium auxilio destitutus, qui
 caelum terramque offendi, quo ibo? quo me
 vertam? ad quem confugiam? quis mei
 miserebitur? Ad caelum oculos levare non
 audeo, quia ei graviter peccavi. In terra
 refugium non invenio, quia ei scandalum feci.
 Quid igitur faciam? Desperabo? Absit.
 Misericors est Deus; pius est Salvator meus.

Solus igitur Deus refugium meum; ipse non
 despiciet opus suum, non repellet imaginem
 suam.

Ad te igitur, piissime Deus, tristis ac moerens
 venio; quoniam tu solus spes mea, tu solus
 refugium meum. Quid autem dicam tibi cum
 oculos elevare non audeam? Verba doloris
 effundam, misericordiam tuam implorabo.
 Dicam,
 [Meditation]: Miserere mei, Deus, secundum
 magnam misericordiam tuam.¹⁹¹

¹⁹¹ Savonarola, *Prison Meditations*, 31.

Miserere mei, Deus,
secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.

As shown, the motet follows the text of the *Expositio* verbatim. This translates as:

Prima pars

I am unhappy and stripped of all help, for I have sinned against heaven and earth! Where shall I go? Where shall I turn? To whom shall I flee? Who will take pity on me? I dare not raise my eyes to heaven, for I have sinned seriously against it. I find no refuge on earth, because I have been a scandal to it. What then shall I do? Shall I despair? Far be it. God is merciful, my Savior is kind.

Secunda pars

God alone then is my refuge: he will not despise his work, he will not cast away his image.

Tertia pars

I come to you, most kind God, sad and sorrowing, for you alone are my hope, you alone are my refuge. But what shall I say to you, when I dare not lift up my eyes? I shall pour forth words of suffering; I will beg your mercy and say: ‘Have mercy on me, O God, according to your great mercy.’¹⁹²

This motet follows Savonarola’s complete Ps. 50 *Expositio* almost verbatim. Minor textual deviations are highlighted above, and include the replacement of “feci” (I have made) with “fui” (I have been); the replacement of “elevare” (to raise) with “levare” (to lift); and the addition of the conjunction “et” in the penultimate phrase. While these adaptations may seem insignificant at first glance, Lasso’s use of “fui” changes the original phrase, “quia ei scandalum feci” quite drastically, putting forward the idea that the motet speaker is flawed on a fundamental level, rather than merely acting erroneously. This also constitutes something of a departure from the Davidian psalm text, as presented in the Vulgate Bible. In this text, David repents and seeks forgiveness for a specific act—his sin with Bathsheba. The idea that sin is a fundamental part of David’s nature comes through in verse 7, “Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in peccatis concepit me mater mea” (For behold I was conceived in iniquities; and in sins did my

¹⁹² Translation by John Patrick Donnelly in Savonarola, *Prison Meditations*, 31.

mother conceive me), however, leaving us with material to speculate whether Lasso's word choice is personal and/or emerges from a specific interpretation of sin as it is discussed in Ps. 50. In any case, Lasso's close adherence to Savonarola's Ps. 50 *Expositio* (the "Miserere mei . . ." phrase constitutes the only phrase not used in this text, and forms the first line of the ensuing body paragraph), along with his choice of presenting the whole text as opposed to select phrases, stands in direct contrast to Clemens non Papa's setting. In this case, among other works of Lasso especially, the composer wields more interpretive power in the manner in which the text is set rather than in manipulations made to the text itself.

The source volume for Henri Schaffen's motet, "Miser ubi parebo," cannot be securely located in mid-sixteenth century Augsburg; however, Schaffen's use of an unusual prose source, which also integrates material from a psalm, deserves brief mention.¹⁹³ The motet sets a text from the late medieval *Dialogue on Miracles* by Caesarius of Heisterbach (c1180–c1240). The Cistercian prior assembled over seven hundred hagiographical stories, which he presented as dialogues between a monk and a novice. The two-sectioned motet borrows and adapts several phrases from this work, and concludes with a quotation of the second hemistich of Ps. 84:5.¹⁹⁴ In addition to incorporating part of this psalm, which is also quoted by Caesarius, Schaffen's motet uses adaptations of Isa. 38:15 and Ezek. 33:11, both of which are actually quoted in close proximity to Ps. 84:5 in Caesarius's volume. In brief, Schaffen's free use of the prose source and Bible

¹⁹³ This is *Motetti* 3, Venice: Gardano, 1549; RISM 1549⁸.

¹⁹⁴ The complete text reads: "[p.p.] Miser ubi parebo qui omnes annos meos semper in peccatis duxi nec recognovi Dominum meum qui legem tulit quod si quis peccaverit morte moriatur, tremebundus ego quid faciam cum non habeat fragilitas mea unde satisfacere possit. [s.p.] In hoc confido quod maior est misericordia tua quam sit iniquitas nostra nec vis mortem peccatoris sed ut magis convertatur et vivat ergo Domine averte iram tuam et miserere nobis."

texts it incorporates demonstrates a much more distinct approach to setting such texts than is illustrated by, especially, Lasso's "Infelix ego."

3.2 MOTETS BASED ON PSALM PARAPHRASES

3.2.1 Motets Based on S. Bonaventure's *Marian Psalter*

Three settings of S. Bonaventure's *Psalterium Mariae* (henceforth: the *Marian Psalter*) offer particularly compelling case studies. Notably, two of these three works may be securely placed in sixteenth-century Augsburg and will, therefore, receive the focus of this section.

A late medieval theologian, pedagogue, and Marianist, S. Bonaventure was best known in his own day for his teachings on the Sentences of Lombard. This was a twelfth-century textbook on theology that remained a standard throughout the Renaissance. Bonaventure produced a four-thousand folio-page commentary on this source, in which he addressed a huge gamut of scholastic/theological topics, from the relationship between God and the Trinity, to the justification of the sacraments, to the fall of man and the last judgement. Beneath the shadow of this work, Bonaventure's Marian honorific texts garnered less attention. The saint remained absolutely devoted to Holy Mary, however, as demonstrated by 1) his founding of the Society of Gonfalone, one of the first Marian confraternities, in 1264; 2) his institutionalizing of the celebration of a weekly Marian Mass among all Franciscan monasteries; and 3) composing various "Rosaria" including the *Marian Psalter* and a second work entitled *Speculum beatae Mariae virginis* (*Mirror of the Blessed Virgin Mary*).

Evidence of new interest in these works in Renaissance Augsburg may be seen in the release of print editions by Johann Otmar (1511) and an anonymous printer (1519). The image presented on the title page, verso, of Otmar's publication suggests that the printer was also

familiar with Bonaventure's other writings: under the quiet gaze of the Madonna with child, Bonaventure sits penning the *Marian Rosarium*. Beside him, bearing the crucified Christ, is the Tree of Life; an image that is reminiscent of Bonaventure's *Vita Christi*.

Following a brief commentary on the "Ave Maria" prayer, the Psalter is organized much like a normal breviary. Paraphrases of all 150 psalms are arranged according to canonical hour. Each group of texts is prefaced with a brief rubric and bookended by an introductory psalm-based responsory and concluding prayer. Allocations for the psalms match up with the Order of S. Benedict, though the texts are considerably revised.

The matins Ps. 54, from which all of the motets presented in this section arise, is grouped with Pss. 52 and 53. The responsory for these texts "ad primum" (that is, for the first canonical hour) reads:

[V] Lady, come to my aid. [R] Lady, make haste to help me. Glory be to you, our endless hope: you who reign in Heaven, take us to the stars.¹⁹⁵

The verse and first part of the respond quote from another Matins psalm, Ps. 69:2; discounting, of course, the change in addressee. The final phrase, from "Gloria perennis" onwards, is Bonaventure's. A complete transcription of the saint's Ps. 54 paraphrase, which appears last in the set of three poems, is given below:

Bonaventure, Ps. 54

[1] Exaudi Domina orationem meam: et ne contemnas deprecationem meam.

[2] Contristatus sum in cogitatione mea: quia iudica Dei perterruerunt me.

[3] Tenebrae mortis venerunt super me: et pavor inferni horribiliter invasit me.

[4] Ego autem in solitudine expecto consolationem tuam: et in cubili meo praestolor misericordiam tuam.

¹⁹⁵ Original: "[V] Domina in adiutorium meum intende. [R] Domina ad adiuvandum me festina. Gloria perennis tibi sit spes nostra: quae regnas in caelis tolle nos ad astra."

- [5] *Glorifica manum et dextrum brachium tuum: ut prosternantur a nobis inimici nostri.*
 [6] *Gloria perennis tibi sit spes nostra: quae regnas in caelis tolle nos ad astra.*

This translates as:

- [1] Give ear to my prayer, O Lady, and do not despise my supplication.
 [2] I am troubled in my thought, for the judgments of God have terrified me.
 [3] The darkness of death has come over me, and the horrible fear of hell has taken possession of me.
 [4] While in the wilderness/in solitude I await your comfort, and in my bed I expect your compassion.
 [5] Glorious¹⁹⁶ is your hand and your right arm, by which our enemies are struck down.
 [6] Everlasting glory be to you, our hope; [you] who¹⁹⁷ reign in heaven, take us to the stars.

The first two lines parallel the Davidian Ps. 54: 2–3, but from Bonaventure’s third line one sees the same sort of gradual deviation from the scripture that also featured in the responsory. Line 4 is entirely distinct from the Davidian text—and I have found no other phrase from the scriptures that resembles it—and by line 5, Bonaventure’s poem has moved beyond the scope of the psalter altogether. This phrase draws on another source of biblical poesy, however: the Book of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus, Ben Sira) 36:7. Finally, the last line hearkens back to the respond, repeating “*Gloria perennis tibi . . . ad astra.*” What follows is a prayer to Mary, which appears to be wholly Bonaventure’s and includes no psalm references:

Hail Virgin Mary, most beautiful of women; show me your face, I pray; let your voice sound sweet in my ears, from which hearing my spirit revives and rises again from the death of sin and the tepid sleep of monastic life/moving about (tossing and turning) in tepid sleep. Grant your love to me, I beg, and enter the chamber of my heart; and happily occupy my whole being, as I utterly disdain worldly things, Amen.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ Note Bonaventure’s use of the feminine adjective “*glorifica*,” as opposed to “*glorifico*.”

¹⁹⁷ Note the feminine pronoun, “*quae*.”

¹⁹⁸ Original: “*Ave feminarum pulcherrima Virgo Maria, ostende mihi precor faciem tuam, sonet vox tua dulcis in auribus meis, cuius auditu reviviscat, resurgatque spiritus meus a morte peccati, et somno tepidae conversationis. Concede mihi obsecro ut amor tui ingrediatur in thalamum pectoris mei, et omnia interiora mea feliciter occupet, ut mundana prorsus fastidiam, Amen.*”

The important point to take away at this juncture is that the *Marian Psalter* is, on every level, entrenched in a thicket of devotional expression. Bonaventure’s Ps. 54, in particular, is clearly all about Mary. Turning to the motets, however, one finds a very different agenda.

The first piece I wish to consider appears in Tielman Susato’s *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* 1 (Antwerp, 1553). The same source holds Clemens non Papa’s “Tristitia obsedit me” and is described above. Clemens non Papa’s three-part setting of Bonaventure’s Ps. 54 appears roughly halfway through Susato’s book. The saint’s authorship is not acknowledged; however, the rubric, “Psalmus LIII” does appear, emphasizing the scriptural source to which one should turn after hearing/reading the paraphrase. The two texts are given side by side, and read as follows:

Clemens non Papa, “Exaudi, Domine”

Bonaventure, Pss. 54 & 3

Prima pars

Exaudi, Domine orationem meam,
et ne contemnas deprecationem meam;
Miserere mei, Domine,
tolle dolorem et angustiam cordis mei;
et in die mortis conforta animam meam.

[Ps. 54:1] Exaudi Domina orationem meam: et ne contemnas deprecationem meam.

[Ps. 3:3] Miserere mei Domina, et sana infirmitatem meam: tolle dolorem et angustiam cordis mei.

[Ps. 3:4] Ne tradas me in manibus inimicorum meorum: et in die mortis meae conforta animam meam.

Secunda pars

Contristatus sum in cogitatione mea,
quia iudicia Dei perterruerunt me;
Ego autem in solitudine expecto consolationem tuam.

[Ps. 54:2] Contristatus sum in cogitatione mea: quia iudicia Dei perterruerunt me.

[Ps. 54:4] Ego autem in solitudine expecto consolationem tuam: et in cubili meo praestolor misericordiam tuam.

Tertia pars

Deduc me, Domine ad portum salutis,
et spiritum meum redde creatori suo;
Gloria tibi sit, O Deus deorum,
duc nos obsecramus ad regna coelorum.

[Ps. 3:5] Deduc me ad portum salutis: et spiritum meum redde creatori suo.

[Ps. 3:6] Gloria tibi sit orphanorum Mater: fac nobis gratus sit omnipotens Pater./[Ps. 54:6] Gloria perennis tibi sit spes nostra: quae regnas in caelis tolle nos ad astra.

[Ps. 3:5] Deduc me ad portum salutis: et spiritum meum redde creatori suo.

[Ps. 3:6] Gloria tibi sit orphanorum Mater: fac nobis gratus sit omnipotens Pater./[Ps. 54:6] Gloria perennis tibi sit spes nostra: quae regnas in caelis tolle nos ad astra.

The motet translates as:

Prima pars

Give ear to my prayer, O Lady, and do not despise my supplication. Have mercy on me, O Lord. Remove the pain and anguish of my heart, and comfort my soul on the day of death.

Secunda pars

I am troubled in my thought, for the judgments of God have terrified me. While in the wilderness/in solitude I await your comfort.

Tertia pars

Lead me, O Lord, to the port of salvation, and return my spirit to his creator. Glory be to you, O God of gods; we beg you to lead us to the kingdom of heaven.

As shown, all three parts of this motet text draw on Bonaventure's Ps. 54. The *prima* and *tertia partes* also borrow from the saint's rendition of Ps. 3. The second line of the *prima pars* constitutes an elision of the second halves of Ps. 3:3–4. The *secunda pars* is based on Ps. 54:2,5, but the *tertia pars* mirrors the *prima*, beginning with line 5 from Ps. 3 and ending with the second half of Ps. 54:6. Notably, Clemens non Papa avoids the invocation, "Domina" (both paraphrases) and the feminine adjective, "quae" (Ps. 54:6). He replaces "Domina" with "Domine" in the first two lines of the motet and adds an invocative ("O Deus deorum") in lieu of "quae" at the end. He apparently overlooks the Marian reference, "portum salutis," however, or else he does not view this Marian reference as problematic. Mary is hailed as the "gate of Heaven" in numerous Rosaria texts, not the least of which being the Litany of Loreto.

I am not aware of any liturgical chant that centonizes texts from the Davidian Pss. 3 and 54. Adding to the fact that both psalms have liturgical ties to Matins, another potential point of contact may be the reference to "tepid sleep" that appears in Bonaventure's version of Ps. 54.

The idea of sleep does not figure in David’s Ps. 54, but the most frequently articulated verse from the Davidian Ps. 3—that is, based on my study of Augsburg motets—reads: “I have slept and taken my rest; and I have risen up, because the Lord has protected me.” This allusion to a well-known psalm verse may be read as another form of “correcting” a scripturally-based non-canonic text.

Mathias Gastritz’s single-part motet, “Contristatus sum,” is based on the line from Bonaventure’s Ps. 54:2 and 4. A description of the source volume, the *Novae harmonicae cantiones* is offered in chapter two, though as a reminder, the print was issued in Nuremberg in 1569. Gastritz’s Lutheran leanings are most evident in the volume, especially through a dedication to the Protestant-sympathizing Reichard, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and by the inclusion of a laudatory letter composed by Martin Luther and addressed to Ludwig Senfl. The motet and paraphrase texts are given side by side and read as follows:

Gastritz, “Contristatus sum”

Contristatus sum in cogitatione mea,
quia iudicia Dei perterruerunt me;
Ego autem in solitudine expecto consolationem
tuam.

Bonaventure, Ps. 54

[2] Contristatus sum in cogitatione mea: quia
iudicia Dei perterruerunt me.
[4] Ego autem in solitudine expecto
consolationem tuam: et in cubili meo praestolor
misericordiam tuam.

The motet translates as:

I am troubled in my thought, for the judgments of God have terrified me. While in the wilderness/in solitude I await your comfort.

Notably the overtly Marian verses, such as the first verse which begins “Hear, O Lady, my prayer”¹⁹⁹ do not appear here; however, anyone familiar with the source of this text would potentially recognize it as a Marian trope. Given the popularity of Bonaventure’s text among

¹⁹⁹ Original: “Exaudi, Domina, orationem meam.”

other sixteenth-century composers—both Lasso and Clemens non Papa set excerpts of this exact same psalm—this is hardly unlikely. The inclusion of a well-known Marian text clearly adds to the socio-cultural ambiguity articulated through Gastritz’s print.

Again, one sees that the selection of texts avoids the Marian references present elsewhere in the poem. While the mere avoidance of the line from Bonaventure’s Psalter that invokes Mary as “Domina” may seem coincidental at first glance, the inclusion of this work within a book that has clear Protestant overtones blocks the argument that the choice of setting textual material around this invocation was accidental. That a Lutheran composer considered the “Contristatus sum” paraphrase viable for inclusion in such a book, in any case, invites new debate about the significance of covert Marian devotion among mid-sixteenth-century Protestants.

Adding to the two tendencies I highlighted at the introduction of this chapter, there is a third trend: that is, the tendency on the part of music printers and publishers to acknowledge the scriptural sources of motet texts by way of rubrics. I mentioned one instance of this already: the “Psalmus LIIII” rubric that forms a header for Clemen’s non Papa’s “Exaudi, Domine” setting. To momentarily prefigure a few other works discussed in this chapter, Michael Tonsor’s “Multa viro” (from his *Sacrae cantiones*; Nuremberg, 1574) is introduced as “Psalmus CXXV,” although the suggested scripture is actually mediated through Adam Siber’s paraphrase. Clemens non Papa’s “Deus stetit” (*Ecclesiasticae cantiones* 2; Antwerp, 1553) is, likewise, headed with the rubric, “Psalmus LXXXI,” though the text is Reinier Snoy’s adaptation; and Thomas Crecquillon’s “Efficiamur, Domine” (*Opus sacrarum cantionum*, Leuven, 1576), though based on a prayer from another breviary-type volume—a text that contains no allusions to any psalm—is nevertheless introduced by the rubric, “Psalmus I.”

What I have shown, up until this point, is a close evaluation of composers' and printers' modes of working with and around definitively Catholic poetry. The consistent pulling away from the central figure of Bonaventure's Psalter—Mary—in favor of the construction of confessionally neutral or even, owing to the print context of Gastritz's setting, Protestant-leaning works suggests that composers and printers who wished to successfully market their materials adopted a non-confessional or even anti-confessional outlook. The following sections, focusing on motets setting the works of Augustine, Savonarola, and two contemporary German poets—Siber and Snoy—pursue this notion further.

As a very brief aside, Clemens non Papa also set the “Contristatus sum” text as a *tricina*. Augsburg provenance cannot be confirmed for the source volume of this motet, and only the bassus part book is preserved at the D-As.²⁰⁰ I suspect that this “Contristatus” motet is simply the *secunda pars* of Clemens non Papa's longer “Exaudi, Domine” work, which is scored for reduced voices (altus, tenor, and bassus). The texts of the two pieces or sections are identical; both employ an F4 clef for the bass voice; both are notated with the flat signature; and both cadence at the end on D. Given the absence of partbooks for the upper two voices in Augsburg, it was impossible for me to confirm this connection; however, the situation merits further study.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ RISM 1560¹.

²⁰¹ Further evidence of southern German interests in Bonaventure's poetic cycles takes the form of an early-seventeenth-century *Tricina*, partbooks from which are preserved in both Regensburg and Augsburg (Tonk Schl 543 and 544). In her study, “Sweet Singing in Three Voices: a Musical Source from a South German Convent,” Barbara Eichner juxtaposes musical style with lyrical content, ultimately presenting two potential spheres for performance: while *tricina* singing is often associated with Protestant Latin schools, many of the 251 *tricina* follow Marian and virginal texts by the Franciscan saint Bonaventure, leading Eichner to suggest that the settings originated in a Franciscan convent. Though produced c1605–1620—a more confessionally polarized period than the mid-sixteenth century—the combination of a Protestant-sounding style with Marian lyrics reflects an indefinite Protestant-Catholic boundary, at least in terms of musical expression. See Barbara Eichner, “Sweet Singing in Three Voices: a Musical Source from a South German Convent?” *Early Music* 39, no. 3 (2011): 335–47.

3.2.2 Motets Based on Rienier Snoy's *Psalms of David*

Another composition by Clemens non Papa, the “Deus stetit,” appears as the penultimate item in Susato's *Ecclesiasticae cantiones 2* (Antwerp, 1553).²⁰² The text is based on a poetic paraphrase of Ps. 81 by the Dutch humanist, Reinier Snoy (c1477–1537).²⁰³ Snoy matriculated at the University of Bologna, where he received a doctorate in medicine. Upon his return to the Netherlands, Snoy was appointed physician to Adolf of Burgundy, which brought him into the realm of politics. On account of his skills as an orator, he was ultimately sent to Denmark and, eventually, Scotland to serve as an ambassador for Charles V. In his later years he pursued studies in theology, as evidenced by his *Psalterium Davidicum* publication of 1533 (henceforth: *Psalms of David*)—no doubt his most famous work²⁰⁴—and his controversial tract, *Antilutherus: Dialogus super doctrina Lutherana* (1537). Though Snoy's views on religion generally align with Luther's, in the *Dialogus* the author challenged Luther's teachings. Snoy was well-known among Dutch humanist circles and was, at the very least, acquainted with Desiderius Erasmus. Snoy saw to the publication of some of Erasmus's poems in 1513, and several letters exchanged between the two survive.²⁰⁵

The format of the *Psalms of David* loosely resembles that of the *Marian Psalter* in that each psalm is presented as a series of short paragraphs (rather than clearly demarcated hemistiches), and each is followed with a prayer (*oratio*). Also like Bonaventure, Snoy applies the Greek Septuagint (LXX) numbering of the psalms.

²⁰² RISM 1553⁹.

²⁰³ Also Rainer, Reiner, Reynier, Renerus, Reinerus, Raynerio, Reynerio (etc.), Snoy, Snoyus, and Snoygoudanus.

²⁰⁴ The *Psalms* were reissued numerous times throughout the sixteenth century; a German translation of the work also appeared in 1566 (Mainz: Behem).

²⁰⁵ Bob de Graaf and Maria Emilie de Graaf, *Doctor Reinerus Snoygoudanus, Gouda ca. 1477–1st August 1537*, trans. M. Hollander, *Biographies of Dutch Humanists* (Nieuwkoop, Netherlands: B. de Graaf, 1968), 5, 8–9.

As with the first volume of Susato's *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* series, the contents of volume two are predominantly sacred, and most motets are based on biblical texts or liturgical items.²⁰⁶ Various marginalia hint at the sources for selected works, including the "Deus stetit." This source is given (albeit vaguely) as "Psalmus LXXXI." The text for Clemens non Papa's motet is not, in fact, based on the Davidian Ps. 81 but rather on the first and sixth paragraphs of Snoy's Ps. 81 paraphrase. The piece is stylistically similar to the composer's other works herein discussed (the "Tristitia obsedit me" and the "Exaudi, Domine"): the expansive four-voice work (clefs: C1, C3, C4, F3) features prolonged imitative entrances, limited homophony, elided and evaded cadences, and a considerable amount of textual repetition. The piece is organized in two sections. It is notated without the flat signature and cadences on G at the end of both *partes*. The motet and paraphrase texts are given side by side, and psalm elements are underlined in both.

They read as follows:

Clemens non Papa, "Deus stetit"

Snoy, Ps. 81²⁰⁷

Prima pars

Deus stetit qui ubique est in synagoga congregatione principum terrae, qui ratione officii locum Dei tenent, in medio autem, Deus diiudicat discernens bonos a malis, et iustos ab iniustis.

[1] Deus stetit, qui ubique est, in synagoga et congregatione deorum, principum terrae, qui ratione officij locum Dei tenent, in medio autem, aequaliter se habens ad omnes, Deus diiudicat discernens bonos a malis, et iustos ab iniustis.

Secunda pars

Ego Deus deorum dixi ad vos iudices, Dii estis participatione, et filii excelsi omnes ut sitis digni atque perfecti, sicut pater vester qui in coelis est.

[6] Ego Deus deorum dixi ad vos iudices, dii estis participatione, quia divinae iustitiae exequutores, et filij excelsi omnes ut sitis iusti, aequi, perfecti, sicut pater vester, qui in coelis est.

²⁰⁶ An exception is the anonymous "Musica Dei donum optimi" setting, which appears at the end of the print.

²⁰⁷ Reinier Snoy, *Psalterium Davidicum* (Antwerp: Steelsius, 1538), 139r–139v.

The motet translates as:

Prima pars

God, who is everywhere, has stood in the synagogue gathering of the princes of the earth, who by virtue of office hold the place of God; but God adjudicates in their midst, discerning the good from the bad and the just from the unjust.

Secunda pars

“I am the God of gods,” I said to you judges. “You are gods through participation, and sons of the most high, that you be worthy and perfect like your father who is in heaven.”

The first verse of Ps. 81 reads “Deus stetit in synagoga deorum; in medio autem deos dijudicat” while the sixth verse reads “Ego dixi: Dii estis, et filii Excelsi omnes.” Snoy’s paraphrases are, effectively, troped versions of these texts, as indicated by the underlining. Each of the two paragraphs that are musically set end with a quotation or an allusion to material from the Gospel of Matthew, chapter five. In the first paragraph (Snoy) or *prima pars* (Clemens), this is Matt. 5:45: “ut sitis filii Patris vestri, qui in caelis est: qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos: et pluit super justos et injustos.” In the sixth paragraph (Snoy) or *secunda pars* (Clemens), this is either the first part of Matt. 5:45: “ut sitis filii Patris vestri, qui in caelis est” or Matt. 5:48: “Estote ergo vos perfecti, sicut et Pater vester caelestis perfectus est.”

Other Hebrew and Christian Bible (Old and New Testament) connections may be recognized through further scrutiny. Note that the phrase, “Deus stetit . . . in medio” is highly reminiscent of the phrase, “Jesus stetit in medio” which appears in slight variation in the Gospels of Luke and John (Luke 24:36: “stetit Jesus in medio”; John 20:19: “venit Jesus, et stetit in medio”). In both gospels, the text describes Jesus’s sudden appearance among his disciples three days after his death. Also, the phrase, “Dii estis” (You are gods) is quoted by Jesus in John 10:34: “Respondit eis Jesus: Nonne scriptum est in lege vestra, Quia ego dixi: Dii estis?” In brief, Snoy’s paraphrase of Ps. 81 presents the text as an overt messianic prophecy. Snoy’s

interpretation is established, first and foremost, by the poet's centonization of psalm and gospel elements in his poem, and is additionally indicated by his choice to retain elements from Ps. 81 that find a clear echo in the gospels. Clemens non Papa's motet condenses this reading, retaining the psalm and gospel elements that offer the clearest core message. His decision to set the two verses or paragraphs that integrate elements of Matt. 5 also constitutes a form of large scale parallelism—an organizational scheme that features regularly among the psalms.

Further aspects of the music and text of Clemens non Papa's motet indicate a close reading of Snoy's poem. From a musical perspective, one notes that special attention is granted to direct Bible quotations ("Deus stetit" and "Deus dijudicat" in the *prima pars*; and most especially "Dii estis" in the *secunda pars*): each of these phrases initiates an opening or internal section. The "Dii estis participatione" segment, which sets the only portion of the motet text that is spoken by Jesus, constitutes the sole homophonic moment in the complete work. Turning, again, to the text, the composer replaces the Ps. 81 phrase, "congregatione deorum" (assembly of gods) with "congregatione principum terrae" (assembly of princes of the earth). Though Jesus names mortal men gods according to Jewish law ("Dii estis"), I hold that by replacing the psalm quotation with a more worldly or, perhaps, humble paraphrase, Clemens non Papa places greater emphasis on the "new covenant" message of the complete text. The composer also eliminates two entirely nonbiblical phrases ("aequaliter se habens ad omnes" and "quia divinae iustitiae exequutores"), and adjusts the final line of Snoy's sixth paragraph from "ut sitis iusti, aequi, perfecti" (that you be [found] just, fair, perfect) to "ut sitis digna atque perfecti" (that you be [found] worthy and perfect). This revision may have more to do with aesthetics than with meaning: in addition to communicating similar ideas, "aequi" and the eliminated word, "aequaliter," sound very much alike and, together, create poetic alliteration. The motet version

may also be read as more humble and, therefore, more in line with contemporary Christian thinking.

In summary, in carrying a greater concentration of biblical elements than may be found in Snoy's complete Ps. 81 paraphrase, Clemens non Papa's motet evinces a similar tendency to the one indicated through my analyses of settings of Augustine and Savonarola's texts. On the broadest scale, motet settings of all three of these authors—Augustine, Savonarola, and Snoy—feature texts that actually quote portions of psalms. Significant sections of Snoy's paraphrases, which were available to Clemens non Papa, parallel psalm verses without actually quoting any psalm (or other biblical) elements. The same can easily be said of Augustine and Savonarola's writings. This suggests a tendency or impulse on composers' parts to set portions of biblically inspired prose and poetry that integrate clear Bible quotations. This raises the question of why? In this case, I suggest that the margin note referencing Ps. 81 might be understood as an invitation to a biblically literate, hermeneutically active reader. Someone who is either familiar with the Davidian Ps. 81, or whose literacy affords the possibility of looking this up, would be confronted with a significantly different version of the text than is presented through the motet. This opens up a wide range of possible (re-)readings of both.

As a final point of interest, Clemens non Papa's "Deus stetit" appears to be the only motet that quotes Ps. 81—liturgical or nonliturgical, Latin or German—and is included in an Augsburg-produced or D-As-held source. This is based on my survey of c800 psalm motets held in more than eighty motet books and manuscripts produced between 1540 and 1585. Clemens non Papa's rendition of this text is additionally remarkable as it is highly mediated. The situation indicates one of two possibilities: 1) the Davidian Psalm text was considered uninteresting or 2) this psalm was viewed as problematic. Given the lengths to which both Snoy and Clemens non

Papa appear to have gone to adjust the text (Snoy) or to put forth a “new covenant” reading (Clemens non Papa), I am inclined to suggest the latter.

Thomas Crecquillon’s “Efficiamur, Domine” also quotes material from Snoy’s *Psalms*. The motet is included in his *Opus sacrarum cantionum* (Leuven: Phalèse, 1576).²⁰⁸ A dedication page is not included among the five partbooks held at the D-As, nor is one preserved among the D-Mbs-held copies. The weighty tome includes sixty-one discrete works, most of which are—as advertised—sacred.²⁰⁹ A significant majority of these pieces are based on quotations of only one or a few consecutive Bible verses. In the scope of this source, the “Efficiamur, Domine” is, therefore, decidedly unique.

The *Opus sacrarum cantionum* includes works for four, five, six, and eight voices loosely arranged by pitch/mode. The “Efficiamur” counts among the five-voice works (clefs: G2, C2, C3, C3, F3), and is notated with the flat signature. Both the *prima* and *secunda partes* cadence on F. Texts for both sections are extracted from Snoy’s Ps. 1 *oratio*—a prayer that follows the poet’s Ps. 1 paraphrase. The margin note, “PSALMUS I” indicates the source text for this motet, though as with Clemens non Papa’s “Deus stetit,” no further information is provided which might direct the reader to Snoy’s source. The motet and *oratio* texts are given side by side and read as follows:

Crecquillon, “Efficiamur, Domine”

Snoy, Ps. 1 *oratio*²¹⁰

Prima pars

Efficiamur, Domine, lignum fructuosissimum
in conspectu tuo;

Efficiamur Domine tanquam fructuosissimum
lignum in conspectu tuo,

²⁰⁸ RISM C 4410.

²⁰⁹ Among the very limited exceptions are a lament on the recent death of Maximilian II (the “Praemia pro validis”) and a presumably more dated work honoring Charles V (the “Carole magnus eras”).

²¹⁰ Snoy, *Psalterium Davidicum*, 1v.

ut irrigati gratia tua beatitudinem viri iusti consequamur.

ut irrigati divina tua gratia beatitudinem viri iusti consequamur;

Secunda pars

Et per observantiam mandatorum tuorum ambulantes, tandem resurgere valeamus in resurrectione iustorum; per Christum Dominum nostrum, amen.

et per observantiam mandatorum tuorum ambulantes, tandem resurgere valeamus in congregatione iustorum; per Christum Dominum.

The motet translates as:

Prima pars

Bring about, O Lord, wood that is fruitful in your sight; so that, watered by your grace, just men obtain happiness.

Secunda pars

And by observing your commandments we are finally able to rise again in the resurrection of justice, through Christ our Lord, amen.

The short phrase, “per Christum Dominum (nostrum)” appears too many times in the Bible and in various liturgies to be linked to any specific canonical source. Otherwise, the only phrase from the *oratio* that closely parallels a Bible verse is the “beatitudinem viri iusti . . . in resurrectione iustorum,” which is related to Luke 14:14, “Et beatus eris . . . retribuetur enim tibi in resurrectione iustorum” (And you shall be happy . . . for recompense shall be made thee in the resurrection of the just).

Although Ps. 1 is never quoted directly in the motet, central ideas of this text come through quite strongly. For one, the first verse of this psalm begins “Beatus vir” (Happy/blessed is the man). The second verse turns to “God’s law” (*lege Domini*), which is reflected in the prayer through the reference to God’s commandments. The third verse offers the closest parallel elements, reading “Et erit tamquam lignum quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum, quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo” (And he shall be like a tree which is planted near the running waters, which shall bring forth its fruit, in due season). The idea of rising also appears in

the fifth verse, which begins “Ideo non resurgent impii in iudicio” (Therefore the wicked shall not rise again in judgment). In brief, the motet text, as well as the *oratio*, bears a close resemblance to the psalm, to the point of communicating a similar set of images and ideas; however, both texts concentrate on the just and avoid Ps. 1’s darker elements, as evident in the turn of focus to the wicked in verses 5 and 6.

Crecquillon’s motet text follows that of Snoy’s *oratio* quite closely, with only minor revisions and changes in word choice. Crecquillon eliminates the words “tamquam” and “divina,” and switches the ordering of the phrases, “fructuosissimum lignum” and “tua gratia.” The only change that produces any significant difference in meaning is the composer’s use of “resurrectione” instead of “congregatione” in the penultimate phrase. As with Clemens non Papa’s motet, subtle points of distinction between Snoy’s *oratio* and Crecquillon’s motet result in a more “new covenant”-oriented motet text. These changes also cause the motet version of Snoy’s prayer to depart more significantly from the Davidian Psalter. Ps. 1:5 references the “concilio iustorum” (council of the just), which is recognizably similar to Snoy’s “congregatione iustorum” (assembly of the just). In order to connect “Resurrectione iustorum” to Ps. 1, on the other hand, the user would have to think quite far outside the box.

Significantly, Crecquillon’s choice to use textual material from a psalm-based paraphrase that does not, in fact, quote significant or easily recognizable portions of the Davidian Psalter calls into question the notion that composers generally set psalm-based prose and poetry that incorporates quotations of the psalms. This theory was already undermined in my discussion of Payen’s “Domine, Deus salutis,” in which the psalm elements quoted by Augustine were reduced and centonized with another Bible passage. Both situations show a plurality of approaches to

setting psalm-based prose and poetry and, again, affirm that there was no standard approach among sixteenth-century composers using these works.

3.2.3 Motets Based on Helius Eobanus Hessus's *Universal Psalter* and Adam Siber's *Psalms or Songs of David*

Michael Tonsor's "Multa viro semper" centonizes poetic distiches from two contemporary psalm paraphrases, namely the *Psalterium Universum* of Helius Eobanus Hessus (henceforth: *Universal Psalter*) and the *Psalterii, seu carminum Davidicorum* of Adam Siber (henceforth: *Psalms or Songs of David*). Both were German humanists and Latin poets, and both were strongly influenced by the Reformation by way of personal encounters with its leading proponents (Luther, Melanchthon, etc.). Though sympathetic to Luther's ideals, Hessus (1488–1540) worked in the court of the Catholic Bishop Hiob von Dobeneck from 1509 to 1513 and was associated with Catholic defenders (Johann Reuchlin, Konrad Peutinger, etc.) and other Catholic personages whose outlook was generally more humanistic than confessionally aligned (Konrad Peutinger of Augsburg). He taught in Nuremberg from 1526 to 1533 (Joachim Camerarius would have been a colleague) before moving again to Erfurt and then to Marburg where he died. Among his most famous works are his Latin psalms (1537), which were issued more than fifty times, and his versified translation of the *Iliad* (1540).²¹¹ Siber's (1516–1584) biography indicates that he had more direct encounters with Reformation theology. His father, Stephan Siber, was in fact a Protestant preacher, and Adam Siber attended the University of Wittenberg where he would have attended lectures not only by Luther and Melanchthon, but also by Protestant pedagogues and scholars, Justus Jonas, Johannes Bugenhagen, and Kaspar Cruciger. Siber served as a teacher and

²¹¹ *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, s.v. "Eobanus Hessus, Helius," by Hans Rupprich, accessed February 1, 2016, <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118704249.html>.

rector in Freiberg, Halle, Chemnitz, and, for the longest term, in Grimma. A considerable volume of materials from Siber's tenure in Grimma survives, which documents his school schedule and pedagogical approach. In addition to his *Songs or Psalms* paraphrases (1565), Siber's scholastic and religious treatises, *Libellus scholasticus* (1572; later published under the title, *Margarita scholastica*), and *Sabbatum puerile* (1575), were also frequently reissued.²¹²

Tonsor's "Multa viro semper" is included in his *Sacrae cantiones plane novae* publication of 1574 (Nuremberg: Gerlach).²¹³ The motet texts of this volume are largely derived from the Bible and/or from liturgical sources. A handful of noncanonical writings are also musically set. This includes the "Versor ubique miser," which is based on the Roman poet Maximianus Etruscus's *Elegy* 1; the "O mater Hierusalem," which follows the first part of Augustine's *Confessions* 1,25; and the "Quoties diem illum consider," which adapts a text by the late medieval mystic, Denis the Carthusian. Two more secular motets, the "Musica cantatrix," and the dedicatory "Deus regnorum omnium" (honoring Maximilian II), are also included.

Tonsor was, presumably, Catholic. He was employed as a cantor at the Catholic Church of Our Lady in Ingolstadt (the Liebfrauenmünster) and, later, at the Catholic Church of S. Georg in Dinkelsbühl (Münster-S.-Georg).²¹⁴ Among other Marian devotional motets, he set the renowned Lied, "Maria zart, gemehret ward."²¹⁵ His *Sacrae cantiones* also includes a setting of

²¹² *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, s.v. "Siber, Adam," by Georg Müller, accessed February 1, 2016, <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd129069957.html?anchor=adb>.

²¹³ RISM T 965.

²¹⁴ The Liebfrauenmünster played host to Johann Eck, who served as a professor of theology at the affiliated University of Ingolstadt. Eck was one of the most outspoken opponents of Luther during the first decades of the Reformation. The Church of Our Lady housed one of seven copies of the Image of Our Lady of the Snows; this became an important object of veneration from 1604 when the Jesuit priest, Jakob Rem, on singing the Litany of Loreto before the image, was raised into the air. An Augsburg connection may be made here, since Rem studied in Dillingen and was ordained in Augsburg. Tonsor's affiliation with the Church of S. Georg no doubt accounts for his inclusion of the motet, "Georgi miles Christi" in the *Sacrae cantiones*.

²¹⁵ NG(2), s.v., "Tonsor, Michael," by Horst Leuchtman.

the antiphon, “Gaude mater ecclesia,” which is associated with the controversial Feast of the Immaculate Conception of Mary. Despite his Catholic orientation, many subtle Protestant elements are present in Tonsor’s print. For one, the volume is dedicated to the Protestant count Friedrich of Oettingen. For another, Tonsor applies the Hebrew numbering system in identifying the source text of one of the two poetic distiches he employs in the “Multa viro semper.” The rubric, “PSALMUS CXXVI,” refers to Siber’s Ps. 125(126) paraphrase, part of which is quoted in the *secunda pars*.

The two-sectioned “Multa viro” is composed for five voices (clefs: C1, G2, C3, C4, F4) and is notated without a flat signature. Cadences at the end of the *prima* and *secunda partes* are both on G. Like many motets of this era, the work features imitative entrances followed by a more homophonic style. A higher degree of textual repetition as well as increased rhythmic activity both feature in the final portions of each part. One unique aspect of the piece is that complete texts are set in all five voices. Additionally, in the *prima pars* the first line of the opening distich appears at least once per voice part without any textual repetitions or interruptions. This very clear presentation of the text makes it easier for the motet to be read as well as sung. The *prima pars* follows the twenty-second distich of Hessus’s Ps. 33(34) paraphrase, while the *secunda pars* quotes the tenth distich of Siber’s indicated Ps. 125(126). The literary backgrounds of both authors are, notably, asserted through their use of the Hebrew numbering system over that of the Greek Septuagint in their respective publications.

Tonsor employs both texts with minimal deviation. Apart from some subtle differences in spelling, and the composer’s use of the word “sed” instead of “hoc” in the second line of Hessus’s text, the only real distinction is that Tonsor replaces “tamen” (yet/so) with “Deo” (God). This substitution is easily explained: by the twenty-second distich of Hessus’s text, God’s

role is well established, but in the context of the motet he must still be introduced. The texts of the motet and poetic distiches are given side by side below, and read as follows:

Tonsor, “Multa viro semper”

Hessus, Ps. 33²¹⁶

Prima pars

Multa viro semper veniunt incommoda iusto,
sed duce cuncta Deo per mala salvus erit.

[22] Multa viro semper veniunt incommoda
iusto/Hoc duce cuncta tamen per mala salvus
erit.

Secunda pars

Qui moesti dubiae, committunt semina terrae,
post laeti gravida gaudia messe ferent.

Siber, Ps. 125²¹⁷

[10] Qui maesti dubiae committunt semina
terrae/Post laeti gravida gaudia messe ferunt.

The motet translates as:

Prima pars

Many men always come to a disadvantage in [systems of] justice, but all who are led by God will be saved.

Secunda pars

Those sad, doubtful [ones] who commit seeds to the earth [are], afterwards, happily weighed down bringing joys of the harvest.

No direct quotations from the Davidian Psalter feature in either source; nor does Hessus’s distich directly parallel a verse from Ps. 33. The penultimate verse of this psalm, which translates as “Evil brings death to the wicked, and those who hate the righteous will be condemned,” relates to Hessus’s text on both structural and conceptual grounds. Siber’s distich, on the other hand, effectively recapitulates the final verse of Ps. 125: “Those who go out weeping, bearing the seed for sowing, shall come home with shouts of joy, carrying their sheaves.” Tonsor’s “Multa viro” stands as a unique example of a motet centonizing elements of distinct psalm-based prose or

²¹⁶ Helius Eobanus Hesus, *Psalterium Universum, carmine elegiaco redditum atque explicatum, ac nuper in schola Marpurgensi aeditum* (Marburg: Cervicornus, 1537).

²¹⁷ Adam Siber, *Psalterii, seu carminum Davidicorum*, vol. 5 (Basel, 1542).

poetry. The motet further offers a compelling complement to the situation posed by Gastritz's "Contristatus sum," in which a Protestant composer was shown to have set the text of a prominent Catholic Marianist. In the case of the "Multa viro," one recognizes a Catholic artist working with psalm paraphrases by two Protestant or, at least, Protestant-influenced, Latin poets.

As a final point of interest for this section, Hessus's psalm paraphrases also feature numerous times as paratexts in Erasmus Rotenbucher's *Bergkreyen, auff zwo stimmen componirt* (Nuremberg: Berg & Neuber, 1551).²¹⁸ The collection comprises twenty-eight German-texted Lieder, followed by ten untexted chansons, all for two voices. Composers whose works are attributed include Protestant and Protestant-leaning artists, Joachim Heller, Paul Rebhun, Thomas Stoltzer, and Andreas Schwartz. Though the title, *Bergkreyen* (miners' songs),²¹⁹ links these works to a non-erudite folk tradition, the songs are predominantly spiritual, and each is headed with a Latin poetic inscription. Sources for these inscriptions range from the psalms, to Ovid's *Fasti*, to Peter Abelard's *Monita ad Astrolabium*, though the most well represented author by far is Hessus. Fourteen of the twenty-eight German songs are headed with one or more distiches from the poet's *Universal Psalter*. Rotenbucher's use of poetic excerpts proves to be unique, based on my survey of more than eighty motet books, bicinia, and tricinia published between 1540 and 1585. I argue that there is a dialogue among the inscriptions, German texts, and music, with each contributing material for interpretation and conversation.²²⁰

²¹⁸ RISM 1551²⁰.

²¹⁹ Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Gospel* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 39. See also, Esther Criscuola de Laix, "Hört man die Bergleut singen: Bergreihen as Early Modern Work Song," presentation at the annual gathering of the American Musicological Society, November 11, 2011, San Francisco, California.

²²⁰ Since an Augsburg provenance cannot be established for the *Bergkreyen*, a discussion will not ensue here; however, on account of the interesting and potentially pedagogical puzzles the volume puts forth (Rotenbucher asserts the moral and educational usefulness of the volume in his dedication), and their close kinship to my

3.2.4 Motets based on George Buchanan's *Poetic Paraphrases of the Psalms of David*

Last but not least, Leonhard Lechner's *Sacrae cantiones 2* includes a motet based on George Buchanan's *Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica* (henceforth: *Poetic Paraphrases*).²²¹

Though I found no evidence of Buchanan's work being printed in mid-sixteenth-century Augsburg, his writings—including the *Poetic Paraphrases*—were published and distributed by firms in several cities on Augsburg trade routes (most notably Antwerp). A proponent of the Protestant Reformation in Scotland, Buchanan was imprisoned for his beliefs in 1551. It was during this period that he began to translate the psalms into Latin verse. Recalling that Savonarola also penned meditations on Pss. 50 and 30, a tradition seems to have emerged of engaging closely with the Psalter in times of alienation. The *Poetic Paraphrases*, along with Latin translations of Greek plays (most notably, *Baptistes* and *Iephthes*), a political treatise (*De Jure*), and a Scottish history text (*Rerum Scoticarum Historia*) count among his most esteemed works.

The *Sacrae cantiones 2* were printed by Gerlach in 1581. The collection includes works for five, six, and eight voices, and was issued in six partbooks in oblong quarto format.

The collection includes a mixture of sacred and secular materials, with motet texts ranging from Bible quotations; liturgical items such as antiphons, responsories, and portions of sequences; religious and secular poetry by contemporaries, Joachim Camerarius, Theodore Beza, and the aforementioned Buchanan; occasional motets; and motets setting texts of classical antiquity (the “Diffugere nives” is based on Horace's *Odes* 4,7 and the “Ducite ab urbe domum” is based on Virgil's *Eclogues* 8). The materials are grouped first by voicing, then by pitch/mode (though this

discussion of relationships between music and the psalms, sources of the paratexts and musically source texts are given in Appendix V.

²²¹ RISM L 1295.

is inconsistent for the six- and eight-voice works), and finally by source text. The “Felix o ter,” which quotes Buchanan’s Ps. 127(128) paraphrase, therefore appears immediately after motets setting texts by Beza and Camerarius.²²²

The five-voice “Felix o ter” is notated with the flat signature (clefs: G2, C2, C3, C3, and F3). It is arranged in three sections, each of which concludes with a cadence on F. As with his “O fons vitae,” the “Felix o ter” features close imitative entrances and regular cadences. The writing is predominantly homophonic and syllabic, with more limited textual repetition than is indicated for the “O fons vitae.” Buchanan’s Ps. 127 paraphrase is presented in seven quatrains, all of which are set by Lechner. The *prima pars* includes quatrains 1–3; the *secunda pars*, quatrain 4; and the *tertia pars*, quatrains 5–7. Given the more limited text that must be presented in the middle section, it is not surprising that this is the most melismatic. The *secunda pars* is scored for reduced voices (discantus, altus, and quinta vox), all with ranges above F3–G5. The thinner, lighter sound of this high-voice section significantly contrasts with the continuously dense texture of the *prima* and *tertia partes*. The *tertia pars*, on the other hand, includes the highest concentration of clear cadences and cadential gestures, as well as the most syllabic textual underlay.

Lechner’s motet follows Buchanan’s text almost verbatim. The only difference in word choice occurs in the *secunda pars* where Lechner uses “pinguescunt” (fatten) instead of “pubescunt” (ripen/mature). Lechner also elides some of the short lines that make up Buchana’s quatrains. The two texts are given side by side below, and read as follows:

²²² Though composing in Latin, the Protestant Buchanan used the Hebrew numbering of the psalms.

Lechner, "Felix o ter"

Buchanan, Ps. 127

Prima pars

Felix o ter et amplius, quem timor Domini
tenet, quem non illius a via flectit devius error;
Felix et tibi prospere cedent omnia;
Nam tuo, carpes dulcia fercula, comparata
labore;
Instar palmitis uberi proventu gravidi, et coma
cingentis viridi domum;
Te coniunx hilarabit.

[1] Felix o ter et amplius/Quem timor Domini
tenet/Quem non illius a via/Flectit devius error.
[2] Felix, et tibi prospere/Cedent omnia: nam
tuo/Carpes dulcia fercula/Comparata labore.
[3] Instar palmitis uberi/Proventu gravidi, et
coma/Cingentis viridi domum/Te conjux
hilarabit.

Secunda pars

Ceu plantaria fertili, pinguescunt oleae solo,
iucundo tibi liberi, cingent agmine mensam.

[4] Ceu plantaria fertili/Pubescent oleae
solo/Jucundo tibi liberi/Cingent agmine
mensam.

Tertia pars

Quem timor Domini tenet, inter talia commoda,
vitae tempora transiget;
At te ex arce Sionis, ditabit Domini manus,
larga et conspicies bonis, florentem Solymam,
tibi donec vita manebit;
Prolis aspicias tuae longa stirpe propaginem,
festa semper et Isaci laetos pace nepotes.

[5] Quem timor Domini tenet/Inter talia
commoda/Vitae tempora transiget/At te ex arce
Sionis.
[6] Ditabit Domini manus/Larga: et conspicies
bonis/Florentem Solymam, tibi/Donec vita
manebit.
[7] Prolis adspicias tuae/Longa stirpe
propaginem/Festa semper et Isaci/Laetos pace
nepotes.²²³

John Eadie offers the following versified translation of this text:

- [1] O more than three times happy he/Who has the fear of God/Whom error never turns aside/
From his most perfect road.
[2] Who e'er thou art, of such a mind/And character possessed/Both thou thyself, and all thy
works/Will be most truly blessed.
[3] All pleasures of both sense and time/Thou mod'ratly shalt share/Which by thy works thou
shalt procure/And by attentive care.
[4] Thy wife shall cause thy heart rejoice/By a fair num'rous race/Like to a vine whose copious
fruits/Thy house around embrace.
[5] Like olive plants that flourish fair/In a productive land/Thy children shall thy table crowd/In
an exalting band.
[6] So happy shalt thou be in life/Who fear'st the Lord aright/From Sion hill he'll thee enrich/
With lib'ral hand of might.

²²³ George Buchanan, *Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica* (Strasbourg, France: Rihelius, 1566). In addition to paraphrasing the Davidian Ps. 127, Buchanan's text also adapts Horace's *Odes* I.13 ("Felices ter et amplius . . .").

[7] Thou shalt Jerusalem behold/In flourishing estate/And in possession of all good/To thy life's latest date.

[8] Thy num'rous offspring long will bless/Thy sight, with joy and health/And Isaac's progeny thou'lt see/Enjoying peace and wealth.²²⁴

No direct quotations from the Davidian Psalter feature in either source, yet Buchanan's paraphrase closely parallels the psalm, even using some of the same key words and images ("Sion," the "fruitful vine," etc.). Each of the six verses of the Davidian Ps. 127 become one quatrain in Buchanan's paraphrase. The third verse, which is the longest in the source, is divided in two and presented as quatrains 3–4. Lechner's choice to present these quatrains, both of which feature themes of fertility, in separate *partes* facilitates the idea of a connection between the two. In terms of content, the most significant difference between the psalm and Buchanan's paraphrase is that Buchanan continues to use nature-based imagery (the "flowering" of Jerusalem, children as an "offshoot"/"branch," etc.) throughout the poem, whereas the Davidian psalm is structured on the basis of a large-scale (six-verse) parallelism: the first and second halves of the psalm present a similar idea or concept, but the language is distinct. Buchanan also removes overt references to Jerusalem and the Israelites, replacing "Jerusalem" with the Greek "Solyma" and "Israel" with "Isaac." By naming Abraham's only son, Buchanan indirectly alludes to God's promise that Abraham would become the father of nations.

²²⁴ Eadie expands the first line of Buchanan's poem into two stanzas. John Eadie, "Psalm CXXVIII," in *Translation of Buchanan's Latin Psalms into English Verse* (Glasgow: Muir Gowans, and Company, 1836), 295–96.

CHAPTER 4: CASE STUDY: MOTET SETTINGS OF PSALM 118

Ps. 118 is, by far, the most frequently quoted and paraphrased Bible text in Augsburg-produced and D-As-held motet books. This chapter outlines a profile for Ps. 118 as a musically-set text in Augsburg-affiliated sources. Through the following discussion, I illustrate several strong tendencies, three of which have to do with consistent elements found in settings of the psalm text, and one of which deals with a more general theme of this dissertation: namely, the idea that settings of this psalm highlight or present material that potentially encourages contemplation and reflection in the context of a politically and religiously unstable space. The high volume of Ps. 118 settings may, in turn, relate to the fact that this didactic psalm was not polemicized in the mid-sixteenth century by Christians against Jews or by specific confessional sects. The most influential commentaries, as evidenced by extant prints, continued to be those of Augustine and Jerome, whose writings were not yet claimed by members of a select confession. Among the tendencies I highlight which appear unique to settings of Ps. 118 are 1) the apparent predilection toward structural lines of the 176-verse psalm—this propensity may be seen in select liturgically-derived motets, but appears with significantly greater consistency among sixteenth-century centonates; 2) the limitation of Ps. 118-based centonates to incorporate only other psalm or extrabiblical materials—only a few Ps. 118-based works use Hebrew Bible/Old Testament texts and not one piece, liturgical or nonliturgical, incorporates any Christian New Testament texts; and 3) the strong tendency for newly-formed centonates to emerge from selected psalm texts that

carry common words or phrases—these elements act as hinges or pivot points, facilitating the blend of a wide range of texts.

All three of these tendencies, I hold, arise from the peculiar nature of Ps. 118, which is very long indeed and also uses a highly formalized structure both on the level of the stanza and the complete text. A representative sample of both liturgical and nonliturgical motets comes to the foreground in this chapter, illustrating that the psalm and its associative liturgies was considered both valuable and viable for polyphonic setting. As a liturgical psalm, the complete text would have been broken into stanzas (octaves) or double stanzas for recitation on Sundays and Mondays as part of the Divine Office.²²⁵ The psalm has strong connections to the overall season of Lent and to Feast of the Purification of Mary, which normally takes place during that time. A general association of this psalm with the most sobering part of the church year may explain frequent centonizations with the penitential psalm, Ps. 50. This connection is explored in greater depth in chapter five. The verse Ps. 118:80 is also used in the ritual Feast of S. Cecilia, patroness of music; several motets emerge that are based on this verse.

Most critically, I argue that the structural component of the psalm, which is especially evident in its Hebrew form, and is also articulated through translations and commentaries, presented a form of intellectual puzzle or riddle that composers and singers/listeners/readers of the mid-sixteenth century may very well have found compelling. The word- rather than content-oriented centonizations that are indicated by several examples, coupled with an apparent penchant for setting structural verses, suggests to me that composers and users were more interested in the clever design and idea of this psalm than in its core message. Indeed, the motets that emerge from centonizations with Ps. 118 are not generally highly emotive or image rich.

²²⁵ This holds true for both the Roman and Benedictine rites. Protestant ritual involving the recitation of the psalms is more diverse.

Instead, a significant portion of especially nonliturgical works blend hemistiches and fragments from three, four, or even five discrete psalms. There is not enough material, in my reading, to evoke a strong sense of each individual text; rather, the focus appears to be on the clever synthesis of the texts, which are, again, often based on pivot words or phrases. These centonizations appear to be based on an erudite scheme that involves searching for or recollecting shared words and phrases. The process, on the part of the user, of recognizing short fragments of sequential psalm phrases in multitexted psalm motets would require a significant degree of Bible literacy that may have been highly prized. The centonates echo the basic concept of a riddle or riddle canon, in that they provide the user with a means of demonstrating his or her knowledge of the Davidian psalms.

4.1 SOURCE MATERIALS

I identified forty-two motets in twenty-eight Augsburg-produced and D-As-held sources that quote or adapt portions of Ps. 118. Given the extreme length of this psalm, which is comprised of 176 verses grouped in twenty-two eight-verse stanzas (octaves), it is not at all surprising that no single motet sets the complete poem. Even musical settings of full octaves and double octaves—the psalm was parsed into such groups for recitation in the Divine Office—are relatively rare. Seven motets are preserved in sources that I identify as liturgically oriented. Factors shared among liturgical volumes suggest that they be considered distinct from so-called paraliturgical or nonliturgical music books. First, they contain exclusively sacred works that are based on the Bible or on standard Catholic or Protestant liturgies. Second, they are organized according to the church year. Third, rubrics and marginalia point to the occasion—calendrical or liturgical—on which the indicated materials should be used. To reiterate a point made in the introduction, the

categorization of liturgical and nonliturgical materials does not limit the possible use of the former in nonliturgical contexts, nor does it restrict the potential integration of the latter into church ceremonies. Rather, this language allows me to speak about the presentation of certain items as liturgical or flexible. This becomes significant in certain contexts because some psalms and types of psalm settings do appear more frequently—if not exclusively—in one source type or another. For example, all of the motets that offer re-readings of psalm-based prose and poetry (chapter three) are included in nonliturgical volumes. Most Ps. 44 settings, on the other hand, are preserved in liturgical volumes.

In addition to the seven identified liturgical works, thirty-five more motets are found among nonliturgical prints. Given the restricted number of liturgical sources this study recognizes, relative to nonliturgical ones, these results show a proportional use of Ps. 118 in both source types. In other words, the psalm text appears viable in church and elsewhere (in the home, in school, etc.). The source volumes of the forty-two total works are listed below. The liturgical volumes appear first, followed by the nonliturgical sources. After that, the materials are arranged by date of production/publication.

Table 4.1: Sources of Motets that Quote or Adapt Ps. 118

Liturgical sources (Tonk Schl/RISM Nr.: <i>Short title</i> [date])	SS. Ulrich & Afra	von Werdenstein	Other Augs. prov.
R 1196: <i>Responsoria</i> 1 (1543)	---	---	---
I 91: <i>Choralis Constantinus</i> 3 (1555)	---	X	X
P 829: <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 2 (1573)	---	---	X
Tonk Schl 8: [polyphonic vespers works] (1577)	X	---	---
I 38: <i>Sacrae cantiones</i> 2 (1578)	---	---	---
Tonk Schl 6: [polyphonic propers] (1578)	X	---	---
Nonliturgical sources (RISM Nr.: <i>Short title</i> [date])	S. Anna	von Werdenstein	Other Augs. prov.
1545 ⁷ : <i>Bicinia</i> 2 (1545)	---	---	---
R 2474: <i>Motetta</i> (1545)	---	---	X
1548 ² : <i>Cantiones selectissimae</i> 1 (1548)	---	---	X
1549 ⁸ : <i>Motetta</i> 3 (1549)	---	---	---
1553 ⁸ : <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 1 (1553)	X	---	---
1553 ⁹ : <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 2 (1553)	X	---	---
1557 ³ : <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 12 (1557)	X	---	---
C 3203: <i>Cantiones sacrae</i> 1 (1559)	---	---	X
1560 ¹ : <i>Tricinia</i> 2 (1560)	---	---	---
L 815: <i>Selectissimae cantiones</i> 1 (1568)	---	X	X
L 818: <i>Sacrae concentus</i> 5 (1568)	---	---	---
L 832: <i>Sacrae cantiones</i> (1570)	---	---	X
C 4155: <i>Cantica</i> 1 (1571)	---	---	---
K 989: <i>Cantiones</i> (1571)	X	X	---
L 846: <i>Moduli</i> 1 (1571)	X	---	---
L 854: <i>Moduli</i> 2 (1572)	X	---	---
L 875: <i>Sacrae cantiones</i> 1 (1574)	---	---	---
C 4410: <i>Cantiones</i> (1576)	X	X	---
L 1287: <i>Motectae sacrae</i> (1576)	---	X	---
L 903: <i>Motteta</i> (1577)	---	---	---
U 125: <i>Sacrae cantiones</i> 3 (1577)	X	X	---
C 3205: <i>Cantiones</i> (1579-80)	---	X	X

At least one copy of four out of the six liturgical sources, along with thirteen out of the twenty-two nonliturgical volumes, can be securely tied to mid-sixteenth-century Augsburg. Augsburg provenance is further suggested for several more copies of the collections listed above. Two liturgical manuscripts (Tonk Schl 8 and Tonk Schl 6) were scribed by Johannes Dreher, a Benedictine at the monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra. An additional manuscript (Tonk Schl 24),

containing strophic psalms and hymns, was also penned by Dreher and includes several *falsobordone*-style psalms.²²⁶ Three nonliturgical prints (RISM 1548², C 3203, and C 3205) were issued by Philipp Ulhart of Augsburg. Sophonias Paminger's *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* 2 (RISM P 829) was offered to the Augsburg city council in 1573 (see chapter two). Also, though printed in Nuremberg, the second and third installments of the *Choralis Constantinus* series (RISM I 90 and I 91) were edited/published by Augsburg resident Georg Willer.

Five nonliturgical prints (RISM 1553⁸, 1553⁹, 1557³, L 846, and L 854) were acquired for use at the church and school of S. Anna. Six more nonliturgical collections (RISM L 815, K 989, C 4410, L 1287, U 125, and C 3205, the latter issued by Ulhart), along with the *Constantinus Choralis* 3 installment (RISM I 91), were owned by the Augsburg canon Johann Georg von Werdenstein. S. Anna provenance is indicated for three more prints (RISM K 989, L 1287, and U 125), all of which were bound together with several motet books bearing the title page inscription, "sumptu publico" (at public expense). As a reminder, Richard Charteris has shown that this inscription consistently indicates a S. Anna purchase.²²⁷ Three more prints (RISM R 2474, L 815, and L 832) were bound together with Augsburg manuscripts, all of which date from a very narrow time frame. This supports the notion that they were absorbed into the D-As collection at the same time, and were probably acquired from an Augsburg user or institution.

All seven works contained in the liturgical music books and twenty-eight of the thirty-five motets in nonliturgical sources are discrete. Seven nonliturgical motets constitute reprints of works preserved in earlier Augsburg-produced or D-As-held volumes. Table 4.2 lists all forty-two compositions that quote or adapt elements of Ps. 118. Items included in liturgical sources

²²⁶ This includes three strophic settings of Ps. 118:129–152 (corresponding to octaves 17–19). Each includes an appended Gloria Patri.

²²⁷ Charteris, "A Late Renaissance Music Manuscript Unmasked," 12.

appear first, followed by nonliturgical publications. After that, the volumes are arranged chronologically. The abbreviation “rep.” appears to the right of the motets that feature in earlier Augsburg music books.

Table 4.2: List of Motets that Quote or Adapt Ps. 118

Liturgical sources (Tonk Schl/RISM Nr.: <i>Short title</i> [date])	Motets	
R 1196: <i>Responsoria</i> 1 (1543)	Resinarius: “In toto corde”	
I 91: <i>Choralis Constantinus</i> 3 (1555)	Isaac: “Me expectaverunt” Isaac: “Loquebar de testimoniis”	
P 829: <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 2 (1573)	(Leo.) Paminger: “De ore prudentis”	
Tonk Schl 8: [polyphonic vespers works] (1577)	Anon: “Quam dulcia faucibus”	
I 38: <i>Sacrae cantiones</i> 2 (1578)	Infantas: “Memor esto”	
Tonk Schl 6: [polyphonic propers] (1578)	Chamaterò: “Etenim sederunt principes”	
Nonliturgical sources (RISM Nr.: <i>Short title</i> [date])	Motets	
1545 ⁷ : <i>Bicinia</i> 2 (1545)	Févin: “In eternum”	
R 2474: <i>Motetta</i> (1545)	de Rore: “Cantantibus organis”	
1548 ² : <i>Cantiones selectissimae</i> 1 (1548)	Crecquillon: “Servus tuus” Crecquillon: “Virgo gloriosa” Payen: “Domine, Deus salutis”	
1549 ⁸ : <i>Motetta</i> 3 (1549)	Crecquillon: “Dirige gressus meos” de Sermisy: “Esto mihi”	
1553 ⁸ : <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 1 (1553)	Clemens non Papa: “Erravi sicut ovis”	
1553 ⁹ : <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 2 (1553)	de Latre: “O Domine adiuva”	
1557 ³ : <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 12 (1557)	Appenzeller: “Cor mundum crea”	
C 3203: <i>Cantiones sacrae</i> 1 (1559)	de Cleve: “Tribulatio et angustia” de Cleve: “Mirabilia testimonia tua” de Cleve: “Domine Iesu Christe”	
1560 ¹ : <i>Tricinia</i> 2 (1560)	Phinot: “Memor fui” de Sermisy: “Spes mea”	
L 815: <i>Selectissimae cantiones</i> 1 (1568)	Lasso: “Bonitatem fecisti” Lasso: “Cognovi, Domine” Lasso: “Iniquos odio”	
L 818: <i>Sacrae concentus</i> 5 (1568)	Lasso: “Bonitatem fecisti”	rep.
L 832: <i>Sacrae cantiones</i> (1570)	Lasso: “Legem pone mihi” Lasso: “Confundantur superbi”	
C 4155: <i>Cantica</i> 1 (1571)	Corteccia: “Omnipotens et misericors” Corteccia: “Confirma Domine”	
K 989: <i>Cantiones</i> (1571)	Knöfel: “Dirige Domine”	
L 846: <i>Moduli</i> 1 (1571)	Lasso: “Confundantur superbi”	rep.

L 854: <i>Moduli 2</i> (1572)	Lasso: “Legem pone mihi”	rep.
L 875: <i>Sacrae cantiones 1</i> (1574)	Lasso: “Confundantur superbi”	rep.
	Lasso: “Legem pone mihi”	rep.
C 4410: <i>Cantiones</i> (1576)	Crecquillon: “Servus tuus”	rep.
	Crecquillon: “Dirige gressus meos”	rep.
L 1287: <i>Motectae sacrae</i> (1576)	Lechner: “Memor esto”	
L 903: <i>Motteta</i> (1577)	Lasso: “Iustus es Domine”	
U 125: <i>Sacrae cantiones 3</i> (1577)	Utendal: “Averte oculos”	
	Utendal: “Cantantibus organis”	
C 3205: <i>Cantiones</i> (1579-80)	de Cleve: “Erravi sicut ovis”	

Note the concentration of Ps. 118 settings, especially in books with significant Augsburg connections: Ulhart’s *Cantiones selectissimae 1* (RISM 1548²), for example, includes three motets whose texts are at least partially derived from Ps. 118. With only seventeen motets in the whole volume, this constitutes a significant count. Ulhart’s *Cantiones sacrae 1* (RISM C 3203) also contains seventeen total motets, three of which quote complete or partial Ps. 118 verses. Three pieces in Lasso’s *Selectissimae cantiones 1* (RISM L 815) also draw on this psalm. As a reminder, the *Cantiones* were owned by von Werdenstein, and a second copy of the book is bound together with an Augsburg manuscript at the D-As. Given the scope of the source—the *Cantiones* contains fifty complete motets—the fact that three of these pieces are based on the same psalm text is telling.

Another key point that emerges from the information in Table 4.2 is that very few composers worked with the same verse text of Ps. 118. Indeed, apart from the reissued works, no two Augsburg-affiliated motets share the same complete text. Lechner and Infantas’s “Memor esto” settings both begin with Ps. 118:49–50, but Infantas’s extends to include verse 51. Knöfel’s “Dirige Domine” and Crecquillon’s “Dirige gressus meos” both use Ps. 118:133 material, though Knöfel’s motet follows the complete verse verbatim, whereas Crecquillon only uses the first three words of the verse. Crecquillon’s complete text constitutes a centonization of several such

fragments, drawn from across the Psalter. While both Clemens non Papa and de Cleve use elements from Ps. 118:176 and Ps. 24:7 in their “Erravi sicut ovis” settings, the textual excerpts they incorporate are not identical, and de Cleve concludes with a phrase from Ps. 50:6. Even motets that are clearly based on liturgical items differ significantly: De Rore and Utendal’s “Cantantibus organis” settings, along with Crecquillon’s “Virgo gloriosa,” all quote the “Cantantibus organis” antiphon (this adapts Ps. 118:80), for example, and both de Rore and Crecquillon use the antiphon in forming larger responsory motets. In de Rore’s setting, the antiphon is treated as the respond, whereas in Crecquillon’s, it is treated as the verse. Utendal only scores the antiphon text, and integrates a nonbiblical sixth-voice cantus firmus which repeats the invocation, “Sancta Cecilia.”

All of this suggests that Ps. 118 was widely considered a source text for individual interpretation and treatment. From the user’s perspective, the broad range of works, which together articulate a considerable portion of the complete Ps. 118 text, presents something of a challenge. In order to contemplate and reflect on each motet on a biblical or literary level, one must be able to recognize the text. I argue that composers’ concentration on structurally significant verses—that is, verses that begin or end octaves—facilitates the recognition and reading of the psalm text in these motets. Given the number of extant settings with secure Augsburg connections, the following pages investigate a selection of the most textually inventive works, with a preference for those holding the most secure Augsburg connections.

4.2 PSALM 118

Before assessing the examples, two points of discussion are in order. The first has to do with summarizing the organization, content, and character of Ps. 118, and the second addresses the question: why did this text garner such attention in the mid-sixteenth century?

Beginning with the psalm text, Ps. 118 carries 176 verses grouped in twenty-two eight-verse stanzas. In the original Hebrew, the poem takes the form of an acrostic: each octave begins with a consecutive letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and each verse within that group begins with that same Hebrew letter. Each octave features concentrated language, where the same words and even phrases may recur several times. Additionally, almost all of the octaves carry eight synonyms of the word “law” or “authoritative teaching.” The NRSV translates these as “law,” “word,” “promise(s),” “ordinances,” “statutes,” “commandments,” “decrees,” and “precepts.”²²⁸ Both the structure and repetitive language could facilitate memorization of this dogmatic text.²²⁹

Given the apparent focus on verses that begin and end octaves, the following transcription presents only the first and final lines of each stanza, along with the Hebrew letter that initiates the group. Since the examples discussed below are all Latin texted, the Clementine Vulgate Bible and the NRSV texts are presented side by side:

²²⁸ Some patristic, medieval, and Renaissance commentators demonstrate an awareness of the methodical use of these diverse terms by listing or briefly defining them or, at the very least, acknowledging their use (S. Augustine, S. Jerome). Others point out the complexity of defining and circumscribing terms like “lex” (law) which also carry notions akin to “praeceptum” (precept), “mandatum” (commandment), “verbum” (word), etc. (Robert Bellarmine). See Igriczi-Nagy, “The Commentary of Saint Robert Bellarmine,” 226.

²²⁹ As Margarita Igriczi-Nagy writes, “The acrostic feature helps both in memorisation and also in long term retention and easy recall.” She identifies the same structure and didactic purpose at work in Augustine’s abecedarian “*Psalmus contra partem Donati*,” which, in Igriczi-Nagy’s words, “showed why the teachings of the Donatists should be unacceptable to Catholics. The hymn was then repeatedly sung by the congregation in Hippo until they got the text down pat and also the lesson imparted by the words.” See *ibid.*, 57.

א (Alef)

[1] Beati immaculati in via, qui
ambulant in lege Domini. . . .

[1] Happy are those whose way is
blameless, who walk in the law of the
Lord. . . .

} 1st
octave

[8] Justificationes tuas custodiam; non
me derelinquas usquequaque.

[8] I will observe your statutes; do not
utterly forsake me.

ב (Bet)

[9] In quo corrigit adolescentior viam
suam? in custodiendo sermones tuos.
. . .

[9] How can young people keep their
way pure? By guarding it according to
your word. . . .

} 2nd
octave

[16] In justificationibus tuis meditabor:
non obliviscar sermones tuos.

[16] I will delight in your statutes; I
will not forget your word.

ג (Gimmel)

[17] Retribue servo tuo, vivifica me, et
custodiam sermones tuos. . . .

[17] Deal bountifully with your
servant, so that I may live and observe
your word. . . .

} 3rd
octave

[24] Nam et testimonia tua meditatio
mea est; et consilium meum
justificationes tuae.

[24] Your decrees are my delight, they
are my counselors.

ד (Dalet)

[25] Adhaesit pavimento anima mea;
vivifica me secundum verbum tuum.
. . .

[25] My soul clings to the dust; revive
me according to your word. . . .

} 4th
octave

[32] Viam mandatorum tuorum cucurri,
cum dilatasti cor meum.

[32] I run the way of your
commandments, for you enlarge my
understanding.

ה (He)

[33] Legem pone mihi, Domine, viam
justificationum tuarum, et exquiram
eam semper. . . .

[33] Teach me, O Lord, the way of
your statutes, and I will observe it to
the end. . . .

} 5th
octave

[40] Ecce concupivi mandata tua; in
aequitate tua vivifica me.

[40] See, I have longed for your
precepts; in your righteousness give me
life.

ו (Vav)

[41] Et veniat super me misericordia
tua, Domine; salutare tuum secundum
eloquium tuum. . . .

[41] Let your steadfast love come to
me, O Lord, your salvation according
to your promise. . . .

} 6th
octave

[48] Et levavi manus meas ad mandata
tua, quae dilexi, et exercebar in
justificationibus tuis.

[48] I revere your commandments,
which I love, and I will meditate on
your statutes.

ז (Zayin)

[49] Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo, in quo mihi spem dedisti. . . .

[56] Haec facta est mihi, quia justificationes tuas exquisivi.

[49] Remember your word to your servant, in which you have made me hope. . . .

[56] This blessing has fallen to me, for I have kept your precepts.

} 7th octave

ח (Het)

[57] Portio mea, Domine, dixi, custodire legem tuam. . . .

[64] Misericordia tua, Domine, plena est terra; justificationes tuas doce me.

[57] The Lord is my portion; I promise to keep your words. . . .

[64] The earth, O Lord, is full of your steadfast love; teach me your statutes.

} 8th octave

ט (Tet)

[65] Bonitatem fecisti cum servo tuo, Domine, secundum verbum tuum. . . .

[72] Bonum mihi lex oris tui, super millia auri et argenti.

[65] You have dealt well with your servant, O Lord, according to your word. . . .

[72] The law of your mouth is better to me than thousands of gold and silver pieces.

} 9th octave

י (Yud)

[73] Manus tuae fecerunt me, et plasmaverunt me; da mihi intellectum, et discam mandata tua. . . .

[80] Fiat cor meum immaculatum in justificationibus tuis, ut non confundar.

[73] Your hands have made and fashioned me; give me understanding that I may learn your commandments. . . .

[80] May my heart be blameless in your statutes, so that I may not be put to shame.

} 10th octave

כ (Kaf)

[81] Defecit in salutare tuum anima mea, et in verbum tuum supersperavi. . . .

[88] Secundum misericordiam tuam vivifica me, et custodiam testimonia oris tui.

[81] My soul languishes for your salvation; I hope in your word. . . .

[88] In your steadfast love spare my life, so that I may keep the decrees of your mouth.

} 11th octave

ל (Lamed)

[89] In aeternum, Domine, verbum tuum permanet in caelo. . . .

[96] Omnis consummationis vidi finem, latum mandatum tuum nimis.

[89] The Lord exists forever; your word is firmly fixed in heaven. . . .

[96] I have seen a limit to all perfection, but your commandment is exceedingly broad.

} 12th octave

מ (Mem)

[97] Quomodo dilexi legem tuam,
Domine! tota die meditatio mea est. . . .
[104] A mandatis tuis intellexi;
propterea odivi omnem viam
iniquitatis.

[97] Oh, how I love your law! It is my
meditation all day long. . . .
[104] Through your precepts I get
understanding; therefore I hate every
false way.

} 13th
octave

נ (Nun)

[105] Lucerna pedibus meis verbum
tuum, et lumen semitis meis. . . .
[112] Inclinaui cor meum ad faciendas
justificationes tuas, in aeternum,
propter retributionem.

[105] Your word is a lamp to my feet
and a light to my path. . . .
[112] I incline my heart to perform
your statutes forever, to the end.

} 14th
octave

ו (Samekh)

[113] Iniquos odio habui, et legem
tuam dilexi. . . .
[120] Confige timore tuo carnes meas;
a iudiciis enim tuis timui.

[113] I hate the double-minded, but I
love your law. . . .
[120] My flesh trembles for fear of you,
and I am afraid of your judgments.

} 15th
octave

ז (Ayin)

[121] Feci iudicium et iustitiam, non
tradas me calumniantibus me. . . .
[128] Propterea ad omnia mandata tua
dirigebar; omnem viam iniquam odio
habui.

[121] I have done what is just and
right; do not leave me to my
oppressors. . . .
[128] Truly I direct my steps by all
your precepts; I hate every false way.

} 16th
octave

ח (Pe)

[129] Mirabilia testimonia tua, ideo
scrutata est ea anima mea. . . .
[136] Exitus aquarum deduxerunt oculi
mei, quia non custodierunt legem tuam.

[129] Your decrees are wonderful;
therefore my soul keeps them. . . .
[136] My eyes shed streams of tears
because your law is not kept.

} 17th
octave

צ (Tsadi)

[137] Justus es, Domine, et rectum
iudicium tuum. . . .
[144] Aequitas testimonia tua in
aeternum; intellectum da mihi, et
vivam.

[137] You are righteous, O Lord, and
your judgments are right. . . .
[144] Your decrees are righteous
forever; give me understanding that I
may live.

} 18th
octave

ק (Kaf)

[145] Clamavi in toto corde meo:
exaudi me, Domine; justificationes tuas
requiram. . . .

[145] With my whole heart I cry;
answer me, O Lord. I will keep your
statutes. . . .

} 19th
octave

[152] Initio cognovi de testimoniis tuis,
quia in aeternum fundasti ea.

[152] Long ago I learned from your
decrees that you have established them
forever.

ר (Resh)

[153] Vide humilitatem meam, et eripe
me, quia legem tuam non sum oblitus.

[153] Look on my misery and rescue
me, for I do not forget your law. . . .

. . .

[160] Principium verborum tuorum
veritas; in aeternum omnia iudicia
justitiae tuae.

[160] The sum of your word is truth;
and every one of your righteous
ordinances endures forever.

} 20th
octave

ש (Shin)

[161] Principes persecuti sunt me
gratis, et a verbis tuis formidavit cor
meum. . . .

[161] Princes persecute me without
cause, but my heart stands in awe of
your words. . . .

[168] Servavi mandata tua et testimonia
tua, quia omnes viae meae in conspectu
tuo.

[168] I keep your precepts and decrees,
for all my ways are before you.

} 21st
octave

ת (Tav)

[169] Appropinquet deprecatio mea in
conspectu tuo, Domine; juxta eloquium
tuum da mihi intellectum. . . .

[169] Let my cry come before you, O
Lord; give me understanding according
to your word. . . .

[176] Erravi sicut ovis quae periit;
quaere servum tuum, quia mandata tua
non sum oblitus.

[176] I have gone astray like a lost
sheep; seek out your servant, for I do
not forget your commandments.

} 22nd
octave

The complete psalm constitutes a large-scale petition and is written from the first-person perspective. Per the NRSV, the psalmist requests God’s guidance in “one’s every moment: in danger and discouragement, in joy and exultation.”²³⁰ Igriczi-Nagy augments this summary when she describes Ps. 118 as a “didactic psalm . . . expounding on the nature of the law of God, the advantages of keeping it, and showing how to keep it with divine help.” Because the psalm lacks a storyline, with each octave and, in fact, every verse putting forth an idea about God’s law that is meaningful and complete, these octaves and verses can stand alone. That being said, I agree with Igriczi-Nagy where she holds that “Each strophe represents a particular aspect of the law of

²³⁰ Coogan, et. al, *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 871.

God; when taken together, one has a fairly clear idea of the nature of the law, why it should be followed and how it is possible to do so.”²³¹

Why did this psalm garner so much attention? Going back to Nowacki’s and Steele’s work on psalm motets c1480–1535, while the psalm may have held special significance for a few composers and their associated courts, a relative dearth of settings from that time period indicates that, as a viable motet text, the psalm had not piqued general interests. Out of the 186 complete, partial, and centonate psalm texts Nowacki identifies, only four use portions of Ps. 118. These are Carpentras’s “Bonitatem fecisti” setting of octaves 9–10, Constanzo Festa’s “Deduc me, Domine” setting of octaves 5–6, Josquin des Prez’s “Memor esto verbi tui” setting of octaves 7–8, and Jean Mouton’s “Deficit in salutare” setting of verses 81–82.²³² Steele acknowledges the same three sixteen-verse psalm motets by Carpentras, Festa, and Josquin in his “Table 2.1: Inventory of Psalm Motets in Early Sixteenth-Century Sources, ca. 1500–1520.” Though Steele’s discussion is oriented around a far more restrictive definition of psalm motets than I am using, his approach, which counts reissued motets, aligns with my own. The three Ps. 118 settings were, as it turns out, issued in at least seven sources before 1520, with Josquin’s “Memor esto” appearing in four discrete sources. The three manuscripts, LonRC 1070 (c1510–1515), VatS 16 (c1514–1516), FlorBN II.I.232 (c1516–1521), and one print, RISM 1514¹, which were produced in London, Rome, Florence, and Venice, respectively, speak to a widespread affinity for Josquin’s work, in particular the “Memor esto.”²³³ Given the composer’s popularity—especially among mid-sixteenth-century German composers and theorists—I

²³¹ Margarita Igriczi-Nagy, “The Commentary of Saint Robert Bellarmine,” 57.

²³² Nowacki, “The Latin Psalm Motet,” 179–81.

²³³ Steele, “The Latin Psalm Motet,” 31–33.

suggest that this piece played a direct role in sparking interest in Ps. 118 among composers employed in Habsburg courts.

In perusing René-Jean Hesbert's *Corpus antiphonarium Officii (CAO)*, his *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex (AMS)*, and Michel Huglo's *Les anciens répertoires de plain-chant (LAR)*, I identified almost fifty Proper chants that use portions of Ps. 118. Digging a little deeper into the liturgical tradition, I found that although these chants occasionally integrate nonbiblical elements, they rarely derive from centonizations with other psalm texts, or with material from other Bible books. Apart from three psalm-based textual combinations, I only found two liturgical items that blend elements of Ps. 118 with other Bible excerpts. These are the responsory, "Memento mei, Deus," whose respond follows Neh. 13:14, while the verse quotes Ps. 118:49; and the infrequently used introit, "In voluntate tua," whose text blends Esther 13:9–11 with Ps. 118:1.²³⁴ Notably, the books of Nehemiah and Esther are both located in the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. This indicates a very different profile or concept of Ps. 118 than is indicated for the messianic prophecy psalms—that is, psalms whose texts are evoked in the Christian New Testament as evidence of Jesus's fulfillment of God's promise.²³⁵ Psalms such as Ps. 117 are often combined with verses from the Christian New Testament in both the liturgical tradition and in sixteenth-century polyphony.

This consistency holds true for Augsburg-produced and D-As-held motets that are based on Ps. 118. While a significant percentage of these compositions arise from textual centonizations, all hail from the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament, with the most significant portion

²³⁴ René-Jean Hesbert, ed., *CAO*, nr. 7142; and Hesbert, ed. *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Brussels: Vromant, 1935), nr. 196a.

²³⁵ Depending on the reader's allowance for adaptations, this may include Pss. 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9/10, 13, 15, 18, 21, 23, 30, 31, 33, 35, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 50, 61, 67, 68, 77, 81, 85, 88, 90, 93, 94, 96, 101, 103, 108, 109, 110, 111, 114/115, 116, 117, and 131.

being other psalm verses. Among the works that include other biblical texts are two liturgical works that incorporate a phrase from Proverbs or the Song of Songs;²³⁶ Crecquillon's "Servus tuus," which adapts Prov. 2:6; and de Cleve's "Domine Iesu Christe," which adapts Ezek. 33:11. Besides these and other psalm texts, additional textual elements that are set with Ps. 118 are entirely extrabiblical.

A third possible explanation for the apparent fascination among mid-sixteenth-century composers with Ps. 118 has to do with the notion that the structure of this psalm evokes the idea of a riddle. In the mid-sixteenth century, riddles and puzzles were viewed as avenues for demonstrating cleverness and intellect. Riddle canons were especially in vogue in Augsburg, as illustrated by several single-sheet prints issued by Philipp Ulhart in the late 1540s.²³⁷ The psalm is presented as an acrostic, whose large-scale formal aspect is echoed on the level of the octave through the controlled reuse of eight words. This indicates to me that the structure constitutes a significant aspect of the overall text, and that the meanings are somewhat buried. The notion that a rhymed distich or clever play on words can carry a hidden message, whose accessibility is intentionally limited is, I believe, also reflected in the psalm text. Certain motet settings of this text seem to indicate a perceptual connection between Ps. 118 and contemporary riddle motifs.

As a final point of interest before moving on to a discussion of the motets, the didactic or dogmatic authority of Ps. 118 is evoked in several motet book paratexts. Erasmus Rotenbucher includes a Ps. 118(119) distich from Helius Eobanus Hessus's *Universal Psalter* as a header for Andreas Schwartz's hymn, "Dein dein soll sein das herze mein."²³⁸ The psalm is also referenced

²³⁶ Close variations on the phrase, "Favus distillans labia eius," appear in both Song of Songs 4:11 and Prov. 5:3.

²³⁷ These include Dietrich's "Laudate Dominum" (1547), Appenzeller's "Sancta Maria succurre" (1548), Braetel's "Ecce quam bonum" (1548; see Figure 1.1), Mouton's "En venant de Lyon" (1548), Frosch's "Dic io pean," and Maessens's "In nomine Patris" (these last two are undated).

²³⁸ Erasmus Rotenbucher, *Bergkreyen* (Nuremberg: Berg & Neuber, 1551).

in tandem with Eph. 5 in the dedicatory text for two *Compendium cantionum ecclesiasticarum* editions (Augsburg: Matthäus Franck, 1567; and Michael Manger, 1579). These chant books were likely produced for use at the Augsburg cathedral: both are dedicated to Wolfgang Rem, a humanist priest who ultimately rose to the rank of cathedral provost. Significantly, the Ps. 118 and Eph. 5 references constitute the only pairing of Ps. 118 with a Christian New Testament text that I have seen in any Augsburg-produced or otherwise associated motet volume. Since verses are not given for either text, the exegetical connection is not immediately clear; as with many motet texts, this invites hermeneutic engagement on the part of the user.

4.3 MOTET SETTINGS OF PS. 118

As a reminder, among the Ps. 118 settings are a representative body of motets in both liturgical and nonliturgical music books. The following section is organized so that examples from the liturgical sources are discussed first, followed by examples from the nonliturgical collections. Although I am only discussing a selection of works in depth, a brief overview of all thirty-five compositions serves to establish a framework for the treatment of Ps. 118 in mid-sixteenth-century polyphony.

Texts for five out of the seven motets included in liturgical volumes are strictly based on Ps. 118.²³⁹ Several of these motets make use of the structural verse 1, however the first verse of almost any psalm would tend to be one of, if not the most, frequently used. Roughly half of the motets make use of other structural verses. Resinarius's responsory, "In toto corde," quotes Ps. 118:153—the first verse of octave twenty—as its verse text. The respond portion of Isaac's "Me expectaverunt" ends with Ps. 118:96; this concludes octave twelve. Also, Infantas's "Memor

²³⁹ These are Resinarius's "In toto corde," Isaac's "Me expectaverunt" and his "Loquebar de testimoniis," Infantas's "Memor esto," and Chamaterò's "Etenim sederunt principes."

esto” begins with Ps. 118:49; this begins octave seven. While this may indicate a loose connection between mid-sixteenth-century composers’ predilections for setting structural lines and standard liturgies, my introductory study of Lasso’s oeuvre undermines this notion. Only a minority of Ps. 118-based motets authored by Lasso and included in liturgically-oriented sources feature structural lines of Ps. 118 at section beginnings or endings. For example, only two out of seven of his Ps. 118-based polyphonic offertories use structural verses in this manner.²⁴⁰ I suggest that the appearance of complete, structurally significant Ps. 118 verses at section beginnings or endings of liturgical works is merely a coincidence; these lines were chosen on account of their relevance to a specific sanctoral or temporal occasion.

This idea is supported through a brief consideration of three Ps. 118-based motets that use extrabiblical texts. Each of these works follows a text associated with the Feast of S. Cecilia. The psalm element in each case is Ps. 118:80, which concludes the tenth octave. The verse, which translates as “May my heart be blameless in your statutes, so that I may not be put to shame,” could easily be anchored to the saint’s *legenda aurea*: on the night of her wedding, Cecilia told her husband of her commitment to God and her desire to remain a virgin. Though dubious at first, after he was baptized her husband released Cecilia from her vows and committed himself to a sanctified life as well. The Vulgate translation, which includes “Fiat cor meum immaculatum in justificationibus tuis” (literally: “Let my heart be immaculate in your

²⁴⁰ This includes Lasso’s “Confitebor tibi, Domine,” “Gressus meos dirige,” “Levabo oculos meos,” “Meditabor in mandatis tuis,” “Domine, vivifica me,” and two textually distinct “Benedictus es, Domine” motets. The “Levabo” offertory ends with the complete text of Ps. 118:73; this initiates octave ten. Also, the “Meditabor” offertory ends with a fragment of Ps. 118:48; this concludes octave seven. The “Confitebor” and one of the two “Benedictus” settings incorporate fragments of structural lines; however, these are both incomplete and fully integrated into a larger textual idea that is presented by the offertory. My categorization of liturgical and non-liturgical sources breaks down when one considers that some of these works are preserved in multiple source types. For example, the Lasso offertory settings are preserved in liturgical manuscripts (Mus. Ms. 2744) and published collections of motets (RISM 1585a). This study’s focus on sources for which Augsburg provenance is indicated limits but does not entirely remove this potential conflict.

justifications”) was probably read as a reflection on Cecilia’s “immaculate” (virgin) status. The reference to the heart could, in turn, allude to her professed love for God over her would-be husband.

A fourth motet, Corteccia’s “Omnipotens et misericors,” also applies an entirely nonbiblical text, which functioned liturgically as a collect for the thirteenth Sunday after Trinity. Corteccia integrates Ps. 118:49 as a sixth-voice cantus firmus. The main text issues a petition to God that includes several plausible but vague references to Ps. 118. For example, the final phrase, “ut ad promissiones tuas sine offensione curramus” (so that we may run to your promises without stumbling) may allude to Ps. 118:32, “I have run the way of thy commandments”; or Ps. 118: “to them [that love thy law] there is no stumbling block”; or Ps. 118:105: “Thy word is a lamp to my feet” (i.e., a source of light that prevents stumbling). In any case, if there is a Ps. 118 connection to be found in the collect’s text it is certainly not self-evident. In this case, I suggest that Corteccia perceived a relationship, as indicated by his use of a Ps. 118 quotation, and chose to integrate verse 49, both on account of its message (“Remember your word to your servant”)—rather than simply restating the words of the prayer, this line offers an interesting augmentation—and its structural significance as the first verse of octave six. The overall blend of the liturgically-derived collect with Ps. 118:49 is, to the best of my knowledge, new and therefore supports the point that composers’ affinity for structurally significant Ps. 118 verses constitutes a mid-sixteenth-century phenomenon.

Eleven motets in nonliturgical sources use exclusively Ps. 118 materials. Most of these motets quote consecutive verses from Ps. 118, and the vast majority begin with a structural line.²⁴¹ A number of these texts also have liturgical ties. Based on my survey of chants that use

²⁴¹ Févin’s “In eternam, Domine,” starts with Ps. 118:89; de Cleve’s “Mirabilia testimonia tua” starts with Ps. 118:129; Lasso’s “Bonitatem fecisti” starts with Ps. 118:65; Lasso’s “Iniquos odio habui” starts with Ps. 118:113;

Ps. 118 materials, I hold that there is no noticeable propensity among these long-standing works to begin with structural lines from the acrostic poem. Chamaterò's polyphonic setting of the introit "Etenim sederunt principes," which is included in the SS. Ulrich and Afra manuscript, Tonk Schl 6, stands as a clear example. The text does make use of the structural line 1, but is otherwise based entirely on nonstructural verses (Ps. 118:23 and 86). The complete text reads as follows:

Chamaterò, "Etenim sederunt principes"

Antiphon

Etenim sederunt principes, et adversum me loquebantur;	}	Ps. 118:23a
et inique persecuti sunt me, adiuva me, Domine Deus meus;	}	Ps. 118:86
adiuva me, Domine Deus meus,	}	Ps. 118:86/Ps. 108:26
quia servus tuus exercebatur in iustificationibus.	}	Ps. 118:23b

Verse

Beati immaculati in via, qui ambulant in lege Domini.	}	Ps. 118:1
---	---	-----------

[Gloria Patri.]

This translates as:

Antiphon

Indeed, the princes sit plotting against me; and they have persecuted me; help me, O Lord my God, that your servant will meditate on your statutes.

Verse

Happy are those whose way is blameless, who walk in the law of the Lord.²⁴²

Note that the first and second hemistiches frame the full Ps. 118:86 text. This is, in turn, extended via a partial quotation of Ps. 108:26, which begins with the overlapping phrase, "adiuva

Lasso's "Legem pone mihi" starts with Ps. 118:33; Lechner's "Memor esto" starts with Ps. 118:49; and Lasso's "Justus es Domine" starts with Ps. 118:137.

²⁴² Author's translation, adapted from the NRSV.

me.” Though not unusual for liturgical texts, the process of forming centonates through junctures such as common words or phrases is increasingly apparent in mid-sixteenth-century centonate motets. Neither Ps. 118:23 nor 86 are of structural significance. The text, which is about the persecution of the just at the hands of the wicked and powerful, is perfectly suited for the feast of a faithful martyr; it is assigned as the introit for the Feast of S. Stephen. This clearly demonstrates that liturgical works that borrow portions of Ps. 118 do so according to the relevance of those texts to preselected occasions. Whether the lines are structurally significant or not is, in this case, of far lesser importance.

A significant portion of chants and liturgical polyphony actually end with structural verses or hemistiches from Ps. 118.²⁴³ Given this situation, it seems that composers were either intentionally combing liturgical volumes for texts that begin with recognizable structural lines of the psalm, that they were already familiar with those lines and their associated liturgies (this supports the notion that the structural lines are received as the most iconic or characteristic of the overall text), or that the motets are not, in fact, liturgically derived. All of these pieces are, in the end, based on a scriptural text. In addition, they are preserved in nonliturgical volumes, with no rubrics to indicate that they were performed in church ceremonies. With some exceptions, the settings may simply derive from favorite lines.

The two undiscussed liturgical motets—namely, Leonhard Paminger’s “De ore prudentis” and an anonymous “Quam dulcia faucibus”—both centonize Ps. 118:103 with all or part of the “De ore prudentis” respond. The respond text is loosely based on Prov. 5:3 or Song of Songs 4:11. Both motets illuminate two key ideas that also feature in Chamaterò’s piece. First, they use a nonstructural verse from Ps. 118 which has been chosen, presumably, for its relevance

²⁴³ Resinarius’s polyphonic setting of the “In toto corde” responsory and Isaac’s four-voice introit, “Me expectaverunt,” both attest to this consistency.

to the assigned occasion.²⁴⁴ Second, the centonization arises from common word choices across textual elements, in this case: “mel” and “favus” (honey and honeycomb). The complete text of Paminger’s longer motet is given below:

Leo. Paminger, “De ore prudentis”

Prima pars

De ore prudentis procedit mel, alleluia; } ~Pr. 5:3/~Song of
dulcedo mellis est lingua eius, alleluia. } Songs 4:11

Secunda pars

Favus distillans labia eius, alleluia; } ~Pr. 5:3/~Song of
 } Songs 4:11
Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua Domine super mel et } Ps. 118:103
favum ori meo;
Favus distillans labia tua, alleluia. } ~Pr. 5:3/~Song of
 } Songs 4:11

This translates as:

Prima pars

Honey proceeds from the mouth of the wise, alleluia; the sweetness of honey is on his tongue, alleluia.

Secunda pars

His lips are a dripping honeycomb, alleluia; how sweet are your words to my taste, sweeter than honey to my mouth; your lips are a dripping honeycomb, alleluia.²⁴⁵

Though only “favus” is used in Pr. 5:3, both “favus” and “mel” occur in Song of Songs 4:11 and Ps. 118:103. The Song of Songs association is, therefore, more convincing. These words act as a hinge, facilitating the blend of the two disparate texts. The recurring use of these words, in

²⁴⁴ In this case, that is ferial celebrations after Easter and before Ascension. Paminger’s *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* volume includes the rubric, “De s[anctis] infra pascha, et ascensionem Christi, Ant[iphon].” The manuscript source of the anonymous setting simply reads “De sanctis infra pasca.”

²⁴⁵ Author’s translation, adapted from the NRSV.

various declensions, further strengthens the connections between the two *partes* and, to an extent, the repetition also evokes the general affect of Ps. 118.

Thirteen out of twenty-eight nonliturgical Ps. 118 motets are centonates. This figure is particularly striking when one recalls how very few liturgical items based on this psalm use other biblical and extrabiblical elements. Thomas Crecquillon's "Servus tuus," which actually appears in two Augsburg-affiliated sources, including Philipp Ulhart's *Cantiones selectissimae* of 1548, illustrates two of the distinctive tendencies I have observed that separate liturgical and nonliturgical polyphonic settings of Ps. 118. The complete text is given below for consideration:

Crecquillon, "Servus tuus"

Prima pars

Servus tuus ego sum,	}	Ps. 118:125
da mihi intellectum,	}	Ps. 118:73
ut discam mandata tua,		
Domine; ²⁴⁶		
Iustitiae tuae laetificantes corda;	}	Ps. 18:9
praeceptum tuum lucidum, illuminans oculos.		

Secunda pars

Declaratio sermonum tuorum illuminat,	}	Ps. 118:130
et intellectum dat parvulis:		
quoniam tu Domine dat sapientiam,	}	Prov. 2:6
et ex ore tuo scientia et veritas.		

This translates as:

Prima pars

I am your servant; give me understanding, so that I may know your decrees, Lord; your righteousness [causes] the heart to rejoice; your commandments are clear, enlightening the eyes.

²⁴⁶ Though "Domine" is included at the opening of Ps. 18:9, Crecquillon treats this vocative as the end of the previous clause. A new point of imitation begins on "Iustitiae tuae laetificantes." Thanks to Tim Carter for pointing out this textual elision.

Secunda pars

The unfolding of your words gives light; it imparts understanding to the children; for the Lord gives wisdom; from his mouth come knowledge and understanding.²⁴⁷

Although the motet opens with a phrase from a nonstructural verse, the greater portion of the initial statement borrows from the structural verse 73. The phrase, “*da mihi intellectum*,” which is reiterated several times over the course of the complete psalm, also acts as a hinge between verses 125 and 73 since it appears in both. Overall, the motet text draws on a greater range of textual elements than we have seen thus far. This includes multiple hemistiches of Ps. 118, a quotation from another psalm (Ps. 18), and a concluding verse from the sapiential Book of Proverbs (Prov. 2:6). In light of the considerable overlap in word choice between all three source texts, I suggest that Crecquillon intentionally built this text from elements that artificially connect via shared language as opposed to content. Crecquillon’s use of the transitioning phrase, “*da mihi intellectum*” has already been addressed: note that “*et discam*” from verse 73 has been replaced with “*ut discam*” in order to render this new verse grammatically correct. Another point of contact that occurs, on the level of the single word and short phrase, is that Ps. 118:74 begins “*Qui timent te videbunt me, et laetabuntur*” (those that fear you shall see me and be glad) while the motet gives “*Domine, iustitiae tuae laetificantes corda*” (O Lord, your justice gladdens hearts). The idea of understanding appears again in Ps. 118:130 (*et intellectum dat parvulis*) and also offers a point of textual contact with the Proverbs. Prov. 1:4 reads “*ut detur parvulis astutia, adolescenti scientia et intellectus*” (to give subtlety to little ones, to the young man knowledge and understanding) which not only shares common language with Ps. 118:130, but also offers an unarticulated transition into the motet’s final phrase. The idea that this verse exists, somehow, in the background to this motet is further asserted by the fact that the final phrase of Prov. 2:6 is

²⁴⁷ Author’s translation, adapted from the NRSV.

revised from “*prudentia et scientia*” (prudence and knowledge) to “*scientia et veritas*” (knowledge and truth)—a closer parallel to “*scientia et intellectus*.” Also note that Ps. 118:73, is the beginning of an octave.

What all of this suggests to me is that composers or textual compilers may have been exercising the same degree of contrapuntal wizardry in words as well as in sounds. Not only do verses used in nonliturgical motets share common themes, but they relate to each other on the grounds of shared words or short phrases. To me, this echoes the process of psalm commentators, who used marginalia and parentheses to point out related passages, and authors of paraphrases, who intentionally blended material from diverse psalm and bible texts (we saw this with Bonaventure) to create new poetry. In other words, just as it may delight an informed early music performer to resolve a verbal canon or to recognize a *soggetto cavato*, I suggest that singers and also listeners of the sixteenth century—many of whom were cloistered and encountered these texts on a weekly basis—may have delighted in identifying the diverse sources of motet texts, and to follow, as artistically valuable, the singular sort of poetry that motets offer. A series of elided and evaded cadences invite a reading of the Ps. 118 elements in the *prima pars* as part of the same contiguous thought, despite that these phrases are separated in the Bible by more than fifty lines of poetry.

Thomas Crecquillon was not the only composer to set such a text—one that I would summarize as a synthesis of Bible fragments, connected through shared “pivot” words or phrases. Another volume—the *Terzo libro di motetti*, assembled by Gardano in 1549—includes a motet by Claudin de Sermisy that sets a similarly assembled centonate. Like Crecquillon’s “*Servus tuus*,” Sermisy’s “*Esto mihi Domine*” draws on a number of scriptural sources, in this case all from the Psalter. His text reads as follows:

Sermisy, “Esto mihi, Domine”

Prima pars

Esto mihi, Domine,	}	Ps. 30:3/70:3
turris fortitudinis a facie inimici:	}	Ps. 60:4
quia omnem viam iniquam odio habui,	}	Ps. 118:128
et usquequaque in mandatis tuis supersperavi.	}	Ps. 118:43

Secunda pars

Non confundatur omnes qui sperant in te:	}	Ps. 33:23
non confundas me,	}	Ps. 118:116/ ~118:31/~118:80
quoniam servus tuus ego sum,	}	Ps. 118:125/ Ps. 142:12
et usquequaque in mandatis tuis supersperavi.	}	Ps. 118:43

This translates as:

Prima pars

Be unto me, O Lord, a strong tower against the enemy, because I have hated all wicked ways, and my hope is entirely in your ordinances.

Secunda pars

Do not condemn those who take refuge in you, do not condemn me, because I am your servant, and my hope is entirely in your ordinances.²⁴⁸

This motet also incorporates a hemistich of the structural verse Ps. 118:128, however it does not include any complete lines from the beginnings or endings of octaves. As shown, the *prima pars* begins with a short passage from Ps. 30/Ps. 70 (these are parallel texts), followed by the invocation, “Domine.” This invocation does not appear in the psalms, though it is used in both an antiphon and responsory (the verse) for ferial offices on Thursdays.²⁴⁹ Both Pss. 30 and 70, as well as both the antiphon and responsory verse, continue with “in Deum protectorem” (as a God, a protector), while the motet text shifts at this point to a passage from Ps. 60: “turris fortitudinis a

²⁴⁸ Author’s translation, adapted from the NRSV.

²⁴⁹ Hesbert, ed., *CAO*, nr. 2681 (antiphon) and nr. 6423 (responsory).

facie inimici” (a tower of strength against the face of the enemy). The two verses from which these phrases are lifted do not use the same language, yet the message each carries is clearly related: in the motet, God is described as a tower of strength; in Ps. 30, as a house of refuge; and in Ps. 70, as a fortified place, a firmament, and a refuge.

The full phrase, “Esto mihi, Domine, turris fortitudinis a facie inimici,” was used by S. Anthony of Padua in a published sermon, and it was also applied as a Latin motto.²⁵⁰ Even if Sermisy was not familiar with the personal associations with the psalm text, I suggest that the choice of materials could have arisen from a familiarity with the Hebrew Bible or, more likely, with one or more contemporary vernacular translations (Luther, Calvin, or Marot). Current scholarship supports the notion that Sermisy remained Catholic throughout his life; however, he set a considerable number of the Protestant poet Clément Marot’s works as chansons.²⁵¹ This suggests that Sermisy was familiar with French vernacular translations of the Bible (notably, Marot’s contributions to the Genevan Psalter count among the poet’s most important and influential works), and these, in turn, were strongly influenced by Luther. Both the German and Hebrew Bible use the images of a rock and a fortress or castle in Pss. 30:3 and 70:3. Luther’s 1545 translation of Ps. 30: 3 begins “Sey mir ein starcker Fels vnd eine Burg” (be thou to me a strong rock and a fortress) while Ps. 70:3 reads “Sey mir ein starcker Hort/da hin ich imer fliehen müge . . . denn du bist mein Fels vnd meine Burg” (Be thou to me a strong habitation, wherein I may always flee . . . for thou art my rock and my fortress). While the image of a concrete, fortified space is replaced with the more general concept of protection in the Vulgate, Sermisy’s

²⁵⁰ B. Costa, L. Frasson, and J. Luisetto, eds., *S. Antonii Patavini Sermones Dominicales et Festivi*, vol. 2 (Padova: Messaggero, 1979), 138, cited in Nicole Bériou, “Written Sermons and Actual Preaching: A Challenge for Editors,” in *Ars Edendi: Lecture Series, Ars Edendi, Lecture Series*, edited by Alessandra Bucossi and Erika Kihlman, vol. 2 (Stockholm, Sweden: Stockholm University, 2012), 28.

²⁵¹ NG(2), s.v. “De Sermisy, Claudin,” by Isabelle Cazeau and John T. Brobeck.

use of a Latin psalm verse that employs such an image strongly implies a familiarity with one or more Hebrew-oriented vernacular Bible translations.

The following transition, from “turris fortitudinis” to “quia omnem,” suggests a return to Ps. 70. While Ps. 60:5 pursues the comforting theme of shelter, and Ps. 30:4 constitutes a restatement of the ideas expressed in the previous verse, Ps. 70:4 takes a darker turn with the petition, “Deus meus, eripe me de manu peccatoris, et de manu contra legem agentis, et iniqui” (my God, deliver me from the hand of the sinner, and from the hand of the agent against the law, and the wicked). While this verse does not feature in the motet text, it communicates a common sentiment and also shares language with the first part of Ps. 118:113 (“Iniquos odio habui, et legem tuam dilexi” [I have hated the wicked, and have loved thy law]) and 163 (“Iniquitatem odio habui, et abominatus sum, legem autem tuam dilexi” [I have hated and abhorred wickedness, but I have loved thy law]). I therefore suggest that Ps. 70:4 acts similarly to Prov. 1:4 in Crequillon’s text as an unarticulated pivot verse, carrying a transitional idea and/or language that facilitates a particular amalgam of otherwise thematically and linguistically disparate material. The *prima pars* concludes with another phrase from Ps. 118: “et usquequaque in mandatis tuis supersperavi” (and always I have greatly hoped in thy commandments).²⁵² This phrase echoes the sentiment of Ps. 118:113 and 163 (“I have loved thy law”), but is especially reflective of Ps. 118:128: “Propterea ad omnia mandata tua dirigebar” (therefore I was steered/directed to all thy commandments).²⁵³

The *secunda pars* begins with a quotation from Ps. 33, borrowing the idea of “hope” (“supersperavi” translates as “I greatly hoped”; “sperant” translates as “they hope”) as a pivot. In

²⁵² The Clementine Vulgate Bible gives “judiciis” (judgments) at this point.

²⁵³ This verse uses “mandata,” further indicating a relationship between verses 128 and 43.

addition, like Ps. 118, the Hebrew form of Ps. 33 is an acrostic poem: each of its twenty-two verses begins with a consecutive letter in the Hebrew alphabet. The first phrase of the motet, “Non confundatur omnes qui sperant in te” (None that hope in you shall be confounded), constitutes a subtle revision of the Vulgate translation in that the word “confundatur” has replaced “delinquent” (they are found lacking/they fail/offend) and the Vulgate concludes, “in eo” (in him). The most obvious explanation for this substitution is that the use of “confundatur” allows for a more facile shift to the Ps. 118 material (beginning with “non confundas me” from, probably, Ps. 118:116) which occupies the remainder of the section. In essence, the author of this text has created a pivot word for use in this context.

The phrase, “servus tuus ego sum” (I am thy servant) appears numerous times in the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament including, as seen in the discussion of Crecquillon’s piece, at the opening of Ps. 118:125, and also at the conclusion of Ps. 142:12. Since the Ps. 118 verse continues, “da mihi intellectum” (give me understanding), I suggest that this is the conceptual source text: this expression relates most closely to the “non confundas me” (do not confound me) of the previous line. The *secunda pars* concludes with a repeated phrase, “et usquequaque in mandatis tuis supersperavi” giving the overall work a responsorial feel. To the best of my knowledge, neither the *prima* nor *secunda partes*, nor any substantial section thereof is based on a chant, yet this is hardly the only nonliturgical work I have come across to imitate a responsorial structure (see Appendix II).

What I have shown, through my discussion of the last two works, are two distinct but related approaches setting Ps. 118 elements for flexible liturgical or nonliturgical use. In the case of Ps. 118 in particular—a psalm that tends to “quote itself,” so to speak, or centonize with other psalms rather than interfacing with diverse biblical texts—the process of identifying “pivot”

words and phrases is fairly straightforward. If we are to accept the notion that these textual compilations offer a sort of game or challenge for performers (i.e., a scriptural version of *Where's Waldo?*) the next question I am inclined to ask is: is this entertaining or didactic? Crecquillon's motet is preserved in a print that includes quite a few state motets, and was assembled in the year of the Augsburg diet of 1548. The best-represented composers of this print are members of Charles V's imperial court. This indicates a more political or ceremonial concept. Sermisy's motet, on the other hand, is included in a print that cannot be securely located in Augsburg before 1803. Two volumes from Susato's *Ecclesiasticarum cantionum* series, acquired for use at the church and school of S. Anna, also include examples of this type of motet, one of which—the “Erravi sicut ovis” by Jacobus Clemens non Papa—includes the rubric, “Psalmus CXVIII Apropinque (approaching[?] Ps. 118) above the *prima pars* and “Psalmus XXIII” (Ps. 24) above the *secunda pars*. Indeed, the full text draws on material from both of these psalms (Ps. 118:176 and Ps. 24:7) as well as on Ps. 50:6. Given the complex synthesis of psalm texts that form the basis of this motet, I suggest that the rubrics are designed to assist the hermeneutically active user in identifying and reflecting on Clemens non Papa's use of these elements. Susato's *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* 12 also includes a motet whose text draws on multiple textually-related psalm verses, including material from Ps. 118 and, again, Ps. 50. Both this work and the “Erravi” setting are discussed in chapter five.

A final tendency I wish to highlight, which was also seen among the liturgical sources, is that Ps. 118 settings are more often based on a synthesis of verses from this single psalm, or with the psalm and an extrabiblical source text. Several examples may be found among the nonliturgical motets. In the opening part of section 4.2 I discussed Paminger's “De ore prudentis” motet, which finds a close echo in an anonymous “Quam dulcia faucibus” setting.

Both works are unusual in that they incorporate textual elements from a Bible book other than the Psalter—in this case, either the Proverbs or the Song of Songs. Crecquillon’s “*Servus tuus*” also borrows text from the Proverbs. While it is true that far more polyphonic Ps. 118 settings—a few liturgical and many nonliturgical—are based on centonate texts, almost all of these textual combinations are between Ps. 118 and one or more psalms. The only Augsburg-affiliated motet I found to use Ps. 118 and a text from another Bible source is de Cleve’s “*Domine Iesu Christe*,” from the Augsburg print *Cantiones sacrae* (Ulhart, 1559). The text begins with a nonbiblical invocation, then follows with one hemistich and one fragment from Ps. 118 and concludes with Ezek. 33:11.

I suggest that the acrostic structure of Ps. 118, combined with its deliberate reuse of specific language per stanza, and a thematic focus on the law and justice, renders this text less adaptable for conjoined use with nonpoetic texts. Ps. 118 settings incorporate material from other psalms quite frequently, as is especially well-demonstrated by de Sermisy’s “*Esto mihi*.” All told, seventeen psalm texts besides Ps. 118 are incorporated into one or more of the thirteen nonliturgical centonate motets. These are Pss. 15, 16, 18, 21, 24, 26/68, 30/70, 33, 34, 50, 60, 67, 90, 114, 120, 138, and 142. Apart from the fact that these psalms share a few key words and phrases with Ps. 118, they do not appear to share a common element or quality that could explain this grouping. Ps. 114 is a vespers psalm, and forms part of the Great Hallel; Pss. 50 and 142 are penitential; and Pss. 24 and 33 employ acrostics.²⁵⁴ No “royal”/“coronation” psalms (Pss. 92–98) feature, nor are any of the final “laudate” psalms (Pss. 148–150) used in conjunction with Ps. 118. This indicates a generally sober concept of Ps. 118, but given the wide range of themes, sentiments, and structures that feature in the listed psalms, it would be almost impossible to

²⁵⁴ This corresponds to the Hebrew Pss. 25 and 34.

ascribe a consistent emotional affect to the group of centonate works. Going back to the notion that they all carry common word choices and textual fragments that find an echo in the gargantuan Ps. 118, I suggest that the tendency for this psalm to centonize with other psalm texts has far more to do with the idea that a synthesis and presentation of textually overlapping psalm idioms puts forth an interesting challenge to the biblically literate and hermeneutically engaged user.

More often than not, when a Ps. 118-based motet uses textual material beyond the Psalter, that material is extrabiblical. Among the examples are the abovementioned three motets for S. Cecilia’s feast, Corteccia’s “Omnipotens et misericors” collect, which was also discussed, and two compositions that incorporate texts attributed to S. Augustine. (The second is probably spurious). Let us first take a closer look at the S. Cecilia motets, starting with Crecquillon’s “Virgo gloriosa.” The piece is set as a two-sectioned motet whose *prima* and *secunda partes* closely align with two responsories.²⁵⁵ In addition to incorporating a second respond text in lieu of a verse, the motet lacks a repeating phrase at the end of each part, which would be characteristic for a responsory motet. The complete text is given below:

Crecquillon, “Virgo gloriosa”

Prima pars

Virgo gloriosa semper evangelium Christi gerebat in pectore suo et non diebus neque noctibus a colloquiis divinis et oratione vacabat.	}	Respond
--	---	---------

Secunda pars

Cantantibus organis Cecilia virgo soli Domino decantabat dicens:	}	Respond
fiat Domine cor meum et corpus meum immaculatum ut non confundar. ²⁵⁶		

²⁵⁵ Per the Roman rite and also the *Breviarium per totum annum* of 1580.

²⁵⁶ The *Editio Vaticana* omits “virgo soli” and “Domine.”

This translates as:

Prima pars

The glorious Virgin always carried the gospel of Christ in her breast, and neither by day nor by night did she cease in her conversations with the divine and her prayer.

Secunda pars

Singing and playing the organ, the virgin Caecilia sang to the Lord alone saying “Let my heart and my body be pure, that I not be ashamed.”²⁵⁷

Cipriano de Rore’s “Cantantibus organis” from his 1545 motet collection actually does follow the text of a complete responsory (both the respond and verse), and further imitates a responsorial form by incorporating the line, “Fiat Domine” at the ends of both *partes*. Alexander Utendal’s *Sacrarum cantionum* 3 includes a “Cantantibus organis” motet whose complete text follows a S. Cecilia responsory verbatim.²⁵⁸ The motet lacks a *secunda pars*, where one might otherwise find the verse text; the *sexta vox* operates as a structural tenor, repeating the invocation, “Sancta Cecilia.” Orlando di Lasso also set the “Cantantibus organis,” using the second responsory text that is employed by Crecquillon. He separates this responsory into two *partes* so that the *secunda pars* begins “Fiat Domine” and is based entirely on the psalm verse.²⁵⁹ Given the diverse treatment of these well-established liturgical items this, again, speaks to the notion that motets employing Ps. 118 are relatively open to interpretation.

The same may be said of the two motets borrowing material from Augustine’s *Confessions*. Payen’s motet, “Domine, Deus salutis,” which is also included in Ulhart’s *Cantiones selectissimae*, was discussed in chapter three; therefore I have not repeated the textual

²⁵⁷ Selected lines adapted from the NRSV.

²⁵⁸ This is Responsory 1 in the *Scannalia secundum ritum ac ordinem ecclesiae et diocesis Frisingensis* (Venice and Augsburg, 1520), *pars estivalis*, fol. 223, cited in Lasso, *Complete Motets*, vol. 12, xxiii.

²⁵⁹ For a more thorough discussion of this motet, see *ibid.*

transcription. The *prima pars* of his work begins with a selection of phrases from Augustine’s *Confessions* 1,2, but includes Ps. 118:120. The verse, Ps. 50:14, is also incorporated into Augustine’s text and Payen’s psalm. Notably, this is one of three motets that centonizes verses from Pss. 118 and 50. As a reminder, de Sermisy’s “Esto mihi” also uses elements of both of these psalms, and Appenzeller’s “Cor mundum crea” begins with Ps. 50:12 and ends with Ps. 118:80. I have identified only a handful of other psalms which seem to bear this kind of nonliturgical affinity to one another. The connection between Pss. 50 and 118 is, by far, the most established through extant examples (see chapter five). Another motet, attributed to Petit Ian de Latre, and contained in Susato’s *Ecclesiasticarum cantionum* 2, offers a similar setting, using material from Augustine’s *Confessions* 1,39. Where in Payen’s “Domine, Deus” the psalm elements came at the end of the two *partes*, in de Latre’s “O Domine adiuva” they appear first. Augustine’s passage begins with Ps. 118:117, and continues with an adapted version of Ps. 90:3 before moving on to an entirely exegetical passage. The text is presented below:

De Latre, “O Domine adiuva”

Prima pars

O Domine adiuva me et salvus ero,	}	Ps. 118:117
et libera me de laqueo mortis aeternae;	}	~Ps. 90:3
Ne me surripiat hostis astutus sed vigilantem semper reperiat	}	Augustine,
quia peccavi nimis in saecula.	}	<i>Confessions</i> 1,39

Secunda pars

Etsi commisi unde me damnare potes non amisisti quo me	}	Augustine,
servare potes, nec gaudes perditione morientium. Sed ut viverent		
tu mortuus es et mors tua peccatorum mortem occidit in saecula.	}	<i>Confessions</i> 1,39

This translates as:

Prima pars

O Lord help me that I be safe, and deliver me from the snare of eternal death; do not let the sly enemy steal me away, but look around [and be] ever vigilant, because I have sinned exceedingly in the world.

Secunda pars

Although I have brought it about, how can you condemn me who is not yet lost [and who] you can preserve? You do not rejoice in the perdition of the dying, but so that they should live you are dead, and your death destroyed the death of sinners forever.

Five of these six motets—those of de Rore, Crecquillon, Utendal, Lasso, and Appenzeller—which use extrabiblical texts incorporate structurally significant lines from Ps. 118. These compositions further demonstrate the point that when centonates are formed with Ps. 118 texts, these tend to derive from other psalms or from extrabiblical sources.

A predilection toward Ps. 118's structural lines is less evident in the remaining compositions to be examined. All Ps. 118-based centonates, these works do demonstrate the tendency for the acrostic poem to connect to consecutive lines through pivot words and phrases, however. These works are: Crecquillon's "Dirige gressus meos," de Cleve's "Tribulatio et angustia," de Sermisy's "Spes mea," and Appenzeller's "Averte oculos." While Augsburg provenance for the source volumes of Crecquillon's and de Cleve's works has been established, the sources of de Sermisy's and Appenzeller's motets is unclear. Like Sermisy's "Esto mihi," Crecquillon's "Gressus meos" motet blends a wide range of verses and hemistiches from throughout the Psalter. This includes Pss. 16:5, 138:24, 118:36 (*prima pars*), and Pss. 118:37 and 142:10 (*secunda pars*). Crecquillon does not employ structural lines of Ps. 118, though his text is entirely based on the overlap of words and phrases between consecutive psalm elements. He uses only psalm texts in this motet. De Sermisy's "Tribulatio" also uses psalm texts (Pss. 118: 143 and 114:3–4) exclusively. Again, the Ps. 118 element is not structural. In this case, the pivot

word “tribulatio” initiates both verses/hemistiches of the two psalms. The Ps. 114 quotation begins, “tribulationem et dolorem.” De Sermisy’s “Spes mea” sets an amalgam of psalm fragments, namely: Pss. 21:10, 34:3, 118:43, 15:5, and 118:43 again. Though a single-part motet, the rearticulation of the Ps. 118 element, “quia in mandatis tuis supersperavi,” gives the impression of a responsory. Finally, Appenzeller’s “Averte” centonizes three complete psalm verses, namely: Pss. 118:37, 120:8, and 121:2. Appenzeller’s piece is unique in that, rather than employing texts with directly overlapping word choices, the centonization seems to be based on a shared concept of walking or traveling a path. In Ps. 118:37 this is put forth in the phrase “in via tua” (in your way); Ps. 120:8 includes “introitum et exitum meum” (my entering and exiting); and Ps. 121:2 gives “ut stantes sint pedes mei” (so that my feet stand). Normally the overlapping words or phrases are omitted or limited to a quotation from a single source in Ps. 118-based centonates. In this case, since the language is not repeated, the inclusion of all three related ideas asserts the idea of a connected text.

One question that arises at this point is: does the preponderance of Ps. 118 in Augsburg-affiliated volumes reflect a widespread, potentially international interest in this psalm, or does this concentration of Ps. 118-based polyphony indicate a specific interest in this text on the part of Augsburg residents? Noting the concentration of Ps. 118-based motets in Augsburg-produced books and manuscripts, I suggest the latter. Ps. 118, a clever acrostic poem whose methodical reuse of eight key words, coupled with a generally didactic message, is more intellectually than confessionally/polemically engaging, as suggested by the examples given. A concentration of clearly demarcated riddle canons issued by the Ulhart firm speaks to Augsburg’s residents’ interests in polyphonic music as an intellectual exercise. Also, given that Ps. 118 does not count

among the messianic prophecy psalms, the psalm would not have been used in anti-Jewish rhetoric. All of this supports the notion of biconfessional communal usage of the motets that quote parts of this psalm.

A notable diversity in both the selection and treatment of Ps. 118 in the motets further indicates that composers of the mid-sixteenth century viewed this text as open to interpretation. While the same could be said of many psalm texts, even liturgically-derived motets using Ps. 118 feature significant additions or adaptations that would make them unusable in a strict ceremonial context. Also among the Ps. 118-based centonates are a plethora of works based on an inordinately high number of psalm hemistiches and fragments. As a whole, motets that incorporate Ps. 118 elements illustrate diverse, individual interpretations with this text, in particular through textual adaptations and centonizations. This method of expressing individual interests in and ideas about the psalm is not apparent among works of the so-called Josquin generation. Where structural aspects of the psalm text already invite consideration and reflection on a more intellectual than an exegetic level among users, the Ps. 118-based centonate motets especially represent the text as a form of scriptural puzzle. Where the musically-set texts remain accessible and inviting to users of diverse religious backgrounds, the settings effectively sharpen the profile of this psalm and put forward a concept of the text as oriented toward the scripturally well-versed.

CHAPTER 5: CASE STUDY: MOTET SETTINGS OF PSALM 50

Another one of the most frequently-quoted and adapted psalm texts to be found in Augsburg-produced and D-As-held motets is Ps. 50, colloquially termed the “Miserere.” Like Ps. 118, Ps. 50 has strong liturgical ties to the season of Lent; several verses from this text are also used in responsories for the Office of the Dead. In Benedictine monasteries, it was sung daily at lauds. Frequent and diverse encounters with this psalm text no doubt played a role in instigating the high volume of Ps. 50-based motets that survive in Augsburg-produced and D-As-held sources. Another influential factor may be the special attention and treatment this psalm text received among commentators—most notably Augustine—as one of seven penitential psalm texts. Two famous turn of the century articulations may also have provided a source of inspiration, namely: Savonarola’s widely popular prison meditation and Josquin’s “Miserere mei” motet.²⁶⁰

A particularly high concentration of Ps. 50-based motets appears among Augsburg-produced volumes. Though many of these works were composed by members of the imperial chapel, they were selected and copied out or edited for print by Augsburg residents. This hints at a specific local or, perhaps, a regional (Swabia-Bavaria) interest in the psalm text. Plausible explanations for this interest emerge from an investigation of four strong tendencies these motets exhibit. First among these is the tendency for Ps. 50-based motets to appear in nonliturgical sources or, where they are found in liturgical books, to function at ecclesiastical “boundaries.” I

²⁶⁰ Macey argues that Josquin composed the motet with Savonarola’s text in mind. See Macey, *Bonfire Songs*, 212.

locate examples of motets found in liturgical books in this sphere for one of two reasons: 1) they are connected to flexible rituals which may be observed outside of church or 2) the texts are adapted to the point where a motet composed in a liturgical form (such as a responsory) begins to imitate a nonliturgical one (a litany). Second is the tendency for Ps. 50 motets to incorporate the opening phrase of Ps. 50:3, “Miserere mei, Deus.” Seven out of twenty-six total motets I identified in Augsburg-produced and D-As-held sources actually begin with this text, and it is included in almost every other example. While certain verses did come to the fore in my analyses of Ps. 118-based works, none of these compares to the “Miserere” fragment in terms of abundance of use.²⁶¹

Third, a significant number of motets carry texts that are drawn or adapted from liturgies for the Office of the Dead. Motet texts for six out of eighteen nonliturgical motets with clear Ps. 50 elements, plus an additional four works that incorporate only the iconic “Miserere mei, Deus” phrase, are recognizably based on antiphons, responsories, and other liturgical genres associated with this office, or they use specific selections of Ps. 50 verses that would also be said or sung during funerary rites. A longstanding liturgical connection between Ps. 50 and this office may explain some of the motets—in particular, those that are minimally adapted—but most of these works deviate significantly from the texts assembled in the CANTUS database, for instance, and in contemporary authoritative publications (such as the *Breviarium Romanum*). I suspect that a more poignant association between the psalm and the idea of death grew out of the widely

²⁶¹ Indeed, Ps. 50-based motets rarely seem to use any consecutive lines from the psalm. This constitutes a significant departure from the results of analyses of Ps. 118-based motets (where 2–3 consecutive verses are often used, especially if they conclude or initiate an octave). I interpret this to indicate that the text was familiar enough that shorter quotations were recognizable than was the case for Ps. 118. Of the eleven single-source Ps. 50 motets I found—that is, motets quoting or adapting exclusively Ps. 50 elements—only one liturgically based motet (de Cleve’s “Miserere mei, Deus”) and four nonliturgical settings (by Blanckenmüller, Clemens non Papa, Wagener, and Utendal), use consecutive lines from the psalm. All four nonliturgical motets set significant portions of Ps. 50, and two of these works are composed in vernacular tongues.

published and distributed prison meditation on Ps. 50 that was composed by Savonarola literally days before his execution. Existing Office of the Dead chants offered composers a premade launching platform for composing works that articulate the connection with Ps. 50 and death.

Fourth, and finally, several Ps. 50 motets I identified integrate canons and other artificial structural devices such as psalm tones and cantus firmi. While this tendency is certainly recognizable in the body of the Augsburg-affiliated Ps. 50 motets I identified, it is even more pronounced among English “Miserere” settings. Twenty keyboard settings of the “Miserere” by Thomas Woodson employ a repeating cantus firmus based on the “Miserere” plainchant. Ferrabosco, Tye, and Byrd also composed canonic versions for lute based on this melody; unfortunately only a handful of these works survive. Thomas Morley mentions them, along with some c1000 settings by George Waterhouse, in his *Plaine and Easie Introduction*, describing the works as “1163 strict canons on the ‘Miserere’ plainsong.”²⁶² The psalm is, essentially, about penitence. If users were discussing motet texts as a form of Bible interpretation, it is not a stretch to guess that discussions of complete Ps. 50 settings could lead to debates on the nature of sin and the justification of the sacraments (including confession). I speculate that interest in clever, structure-oriented renditions of this text among mid-sixteenth-century users in multi-religious areas (Imperial Germany, England) reflect both an inclination toward works whose performance serves to demonstrate the cleverness and intellect of singers, and whose texts are not confessionally divisive. Conversations surrounding canonic settings of the “Miserere” would most likely center on the resolution of the canonic device. Indeed, the iconic “Miserere mei, Deus” phrase makes for an excellent and easily recognizable motto.

²⁶² NG(2), s.v., “Miserere,” by John Caldwell.

As with the first case study, this chapter begins with an overview of the sources that contain Ps. 50 settings, then establishes a basic profile of the psalm—first as a poetic text, then through its liturgical use, and finally through commentaries. The analyses that follow demonstrate and confirm the four tendencies I have outlined. Taken together, they indicate readings and performances of motets outside of confessionally restricted spaces, such as in church, and establish a profile of the musically-set Ps. 50 as interconfessionally—perhaps even interreligiously—accessible and meaningful.

5.1 SOURCE MATERIALS

I identified twenty-six motets in twenty-one Augsburg-produced and D-As-held sources that quote or adapt portions of Ps. 50. While most constitute settings of selected verses or brief centonates, Utendal's "Miserere mei, Deus" and Blanckenmüller's hymn motet "O Herre Gott begnade mich" both set the complete psalm text.²⁶³ Three of the source volumes are classified as liturgical while the remaining eighteen are nonliturgical. Comparing these findings to the source volumes that contain Ps. 118 motets, one notes an almost equivalent number of nonliturgical volumes (twenty-two for Ps. 118; eighteen for Ps. 50), but only half the number of liturgical sources (six for Ps. 118; three for Ps. 50). A similar ratio maps onto the Ps. 50 motets: four are preserved in liturgical books while twenty-two are held in nonliturgical items. This indicates a significant difference in perceptions of this psalm as compared to Ps. 118. I interpret the concentration of works found in nonliturgical sources to suggest that composers and users expected to encounter this psalm outside of church, especially in nonliturgical religious contexts

²⁶³ I have elected to include Blanckenmüller's strophic hymn motet in this discussion mainly on account of its style. Both the stanza and refrain sections begin polyphonically, in the manner of a motet. Though in my definition of psalm motets I excluded strophic works, this piece constitutes a true hybrid of hymn and motet elements that merits consideration in this context.

(processions, funerals, etc.), and through private devotion. I suspect that this relates to its special status as one of the seven penitential psalms, so identified by Augustine, combined with the widely printed and distributed prison meditation on this text that was composed by Savonarola. The psalm even formed part of a pre-execution ritual in England.²⁶⁴ Another interesting difference between the Pss. 118 and 50 settings is that among the Ps. 50 motets are two German- and one Dutch-texted works. I found no vernacular settings of Ps. 118 in Augsburg-affiliated sources. While Protestant services in Renaissance Germany were conducted in both Latin and German, given that these compositions are all included in nonliturgical volumes this, again, supports the notion that users were primed to sing this psalm outside of church.

The source volumes of the twenty-six total works are listed below. The liturgical volumes appear first, followed by the nonliturgical sources. After that, the materials are arranged by date of production or publication.

²⁶⁴ According to the historian, John Foxe, English Protestant martyrs would intentionally recite this part of the ritual in the vernacular. Among others, this includes Lady Jane Grey and Dr. Rowland Taylor, both executed in the mid-1550s. See Lydia Whitehead, "A *poena et culpa*: penitence, confidence, and the *Miserere* in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*," *Renaissance Studies* 4, no. 3 (1990): 294.

Table 5.1: Sources of Motets that Quote or Adapt Ps. 50

Liturgical sources (Tonk Schl/RISM Nr.: <i>Short title</i> [date])	SS. Ulrich & Afra	von Werdenstein	Other Augsburg. prov.
L 874: <i>Patrocinium musices</i> 3 (1574)	---	---	---
Tonk Schl 7: [polyphonic propers] (1576)	X	---	---
P 830: <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 3 (1576)	---	---	---
Nonliturgical sources (RISM Nr.: <i>Short title</i> [date])	S. Anna	von Werdenstein	Other Augsburg. prov.
K 2967: <i>Concentus novi</i> (1540)	---	---	X
1548 ² : <i>Cantiones selectissimae</i> 1 (1548)	---	---	X
1549 ⁸ : <i>Motetta</i> 3 (1549)	---	---	---
1549 ¹¹ : <i>Cantiones selectissimae</i> 2 (1549)	---	---	X
1553 ⁸ : <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 1 (1553)	X	---	---
1553 ¹² : <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 5 (1553)	X	---	X
1554 ⁹ : <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 9 (1554)	X	---	---
1557 ³ : <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 12 (1557)	X	---	---
C 3203: <i>Cantiones sacrae</i> 1 (1559)	---	---	X
C 3204: <i>Cantiones sacrae</i> 2 (1559)	---	---	X
1560 ¹ : <i>Tricinia</i> 2 (1560)	---	---	---
W 5: <i>Acht deutsche Psalmen</i> (1565)	---	---	X
L 816: <i>Selectissimae cantiones</i> 2 (1568)	---	X	X
U 119: <i>Septem psalmi poenitentiales</i> (1570)	---	X	---
C 4156: <i>Cantica</i> 1 (1571)	---	---	---
K 989: <i>Cantiones</i> (1571)	X	X	---
L 853: <i>Sacrae cantiones</i> 2 (1572)	---	---	---
U 125: <i>Sacrae cantiones</i> 3 (1577)	X	X	---

Only one of the three liturgical sources can be securely situated in mid-sixteenth-century Augsburg. This is the manuscript Tonk Schl 7, scribed by Johannes Dreher for use at the Benedictine monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra. While the first two volumes of the *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* series (RISM P 828 and P 829) were both sent to the Augsburg city council with requests for funds, no documentation survives that can securely place volume three (RISM P 830) in the council's hands. Only a selection of the partbooks from each volume survives at the D-As. Though these are grouped together as Tonk Schl 362–366 and exhibit similar wear, the remaining discantus and tenor partbooks of volume three are not bound together with partbooks

from the previous two installments of the series. Therefore, binding cannot be considered an indicator of sixteenth-century Augsburg provenance.²⁶⁵

At least one copy of fourteen out of the eighteen nonliturgical volumes can be connected to Augsburg. Five of these books were issued by Augsburg firms (Kriesstein: RISM K 2967; Ulhart: RISM 1548², 1549¹¹, C 3203, and C 3204). Four were definitely acquired for use at the church and school of S. Anna (RISM 1553⁸, 1553¹², 1554⁹, and 1557³). Notably, all four of these books are from Susato's (ed.) *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* series. S. Anna provenance is indicated for two more volumes, namely Knöfel's *Dulcissimae quaedam cantiones* of 1571 (RISM K 989) and Utendal's *Sacrae cantiones* 3 of 1577 (RISM U 125). Both are bound together (as Tonk Schl 140–144) with several motet books bearing the title page inscription, “sumptu publico” (at public expense).²⁶⁶ All of the volumes in this group date from a narrow time frame of 1571–1577, which further supports the idea that they came into the D-As collection from a single individual or institutional source. Four sources were owned by von Werdenstein (RISM L 816, U 119, K 989, and U 125). Finally, Augsburg provenance is suggested for second copies of Susato's (ed.) *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* 5 (RISM 1553¹²) and for Lasso's *Selectissimae cantiones* 2 (RISM 816), as both are bound in groups of collections that include at least one Augsburg manuscript. The earlier *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* 5 source seems out of place in the group Tonk Schl 297–301; the majority of these books, as well as the two manuscripts the group includes, date between 1589 and 1593. Utendal's motets, on the other hand, are bound with prints and one manuscript

²⁶⁵ Sophonias Paminger's practice in the early 1570s of submitting *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* exemplars to the Augsburg City Council with requests for funds was established in chapter two. By 1576, however—the year that the third installment was published—he had moved on to Nuremberg. Although the presence of partbooks from volumes 1–3 in Augsburg suggests that Paminger continued to send materials there, the third volume may simply have been acquired later.

²⁶⁶ As a reminder, Richard Charteris has shown that this inscription consistently indicates a S. Anna purchase. See Charteris, “A Late Renaissance Music Manuscript Unmasked,” 12.

that were all produced from 1568–1572. Three volumes from Table 5.1 are dedicated to Augsburg patrons, namely Ulhart’s *Cantiones selectissimae* 1 (1548) and *Cantiones sacrae* 2 (1559; both prints are dedicated to members of the Fugger family) and the *Patrocinium musices* 3 (dedicated to Johann Egolf von Knöringen, bishop of Augsburg).

Table 5.2 below lists all twenty-seven compositions that quote or adapt elements of Ps. 50. Motets included in liturgical sources appear first, followed by nonliturgical works. Sources are arranged chronologically within each group. Only one piece, Lasso’s “Concupiscendo concupiscit,” appears in multiple Augsburg-affiliated sources. The abbreviation “rep.” is, therefore, given after the motet title from the second source (RISM L 853).

Table 5.2: List of Motets that Quote or Adapt Ps. 50

Liturgical sources (Tonk Schl/RISM Nr.: <i>Short title</i> [date])	Motets
L 874: <i>Patrocinium musices</i> 3 (1574)	Lasso: “Miserere mei” (1) Lasso: “Miserere mei” (2)
Tonk Schl 7: [polyphonic propers] (1576)	Isaac: “Asperges me”
P 830: <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 3 (1576)	(Leo.) Paminger: “Peccavi super numerum”
Nonliturgical sources (RISM Nr.: <i>Short title</i> [date])	Motets
K 2967: <i>Concentus novi</i> (1540)	Blanckenmüller: “O Herre Gott begnade mich”
1548 ² : <i>Cantiones selectissimae</i> 1 (1548)	Payen: “Domine, Deus salutis” Lestainnier: “Domine, Deus omnipotens”
1549 ⁸ : <i>Motetta</i> 3 (1549)	Jacquet of Mantua: “Domine secundum”
1549 ¹¹ : <i>Cantiones selectissimae</i> 2 (1549)	Clemens non Papa: “Conserva me”
1553 ⁸ : <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 1 (1553)	Clemens non Papa: “Erravi sicut ovis” Clemens non Papa: “Tristicia obsedit”
1553 ¹² : <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 5 (1553)	Canis: “Domine, Deus omnipotens”
1554 ⁹ : <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 9 (1554)	Vaet: “Miserere mei” Susato: “Peccata mea”
1557 ³ : <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 12 (1557)	Appenzeller: “Cor mundum crea”
C 3203: <i>Cantiones sacrae</i> 1 (1559)	de Cleve: “Domine clamavi”
C 3204: <i>Cantiones sacrae</i> 2 (1559)	de Cleve: “Miserere mei”
1560 ¹ : <i>Tricinia</i> 2 (1560)	Clemens non Papa: “God myns ghenadich”
W 5: <i>Acht deutsche Psalmen</i> (1565)	Wagener: “Gott, sei mir gnädig”
L 816: <i>Selectissimae cantiones</i> 2 (1568)	Lasso: “Concupiscendo concupiscit” Lasso: “Infelix ego”
U 119: <i>Septem psalmi poenitentiales</i> (1570)	Utendal: “Miserere mei”
C 4156: <i>Cantica</i> 1 (1571)	Corteccia: “Peccata mea”
K 989: <i>Cantiones</i> (1571)	Knöfel: “Miserere mei”
L 853: <i>Sacrae cantiones</i> 2 (1572)	Lasso: “Concupiscendo concupiscit” (rep.)
U 125: <i>Sacrae cantiones</i> 3 (1577)	Utendal: “Miserere mei”

As with Ps. 118, a notable concentration of Ps. 50-based motets appears among Augsburg-produced music books. Not only are examples found in five separate Augsburg prints and one manuscript, but two motets, Payen’s “Domine, Deus salutis” (this concludes with the first hemistich of Ps. 50:14) and Lestainnier’s “Domine, Deus omnipotens” (this incorporates the first hemistich of Ps. 50:3), are both carried in Ulhart’s *Cantiones selectissima* 1.

Apart from the reissued “Concupiscendo” setting by Lasso, only two complete texts are shared among the motets. These are two “Miserere mei” graduals by Lasso, both preserved in the *Patrocinium musices* 3 (1574; both quote the first hemistich of Ps. 50:3),²⁶⁷ and the “Domine, Deus omnipotens” prayer, which was set by both Lestainnier and Canis. The origins of this motet text are unknown. It begins with a biblical invocation, followed by a lengthy extrabiblical petition, and concludes with a quotation from the Psalter. Based on this organization, which is seen in almost every setting of meditative texts that this dissertation investigates (Augustine’s *Confessions* and *Soliloquies*; Savonarola’s prison meditations), I suspect the source is another example of this type of work. It may derive from one of many spurious “meditation”-type works that are attributed to Augustine from this time. In any case, given that the text was set by two members of Charles V’s imperial chapel, the source was probably Viennese. Though Susato’s and Corteccia’s “Peccata mea” motets both begin with adapted fragments from Ps. 37 and incorporate quotations and adaptations of Pss. 6 and 50, these texts are not at all identical. Also, as a reminder, Clemens non Papa and de Cleve both composed “Erravi sicut ovis” settings which use elements from Pss. 118 and 24; de Cleve concludes with a phrase from Ps. 50:6, however, where Clemens non Papa does not incorporate any part of this psalm.

Most intriguing is the fact that, apart from the two “Miserere mei” graduals, motet texts that begin with the iconic “Miserere mei, Deus” phrase are entirely different.²⁶⁸ An equivalent characteristic line from Ps. 118 would be either verse 1, “Beati immaculati in via,” or verse 80, “Fiat cor meum immaculatum.” Though both verses appear in numerous motet settings, they are

²⁶⁷ This volume contains propers for Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost.

²⁶⁸ Note that Pss. 50, 55, and 56 all begin with this phrase, though a Ps. 50 connection is, by far, the most frequently implied. I located only five chants based on Ps. 55 and only seven based on Ps. 56 in my survey of the sources, *CAO*, *AMS*, *LAS*, and the *CANTUS* Database, compared to twenty-five Ps. 50-based chants. Also, only two motets based on Ps. 55 and four based on Ps. 56 text are found among Augsburg-affiliated motet books, compared to the twenty-six Ps. 50-based motets this chapter addresses.

always quoted in their entirety. In addition, all three motets to use Ps. 118:1 are preserved in liturgical volumes, and all five motets to quote Ps. 118:80 arise from liturgies associated with the Feast of S. Cecilia. The “Miserere mei” motets are based, on the other hand, on a diversity of liturgical and nonliturgical texts, and include straight settings of consecutive Ps. 50 verses, settings of nonconsecutive verses all drawn from this psalm, centonates, and newly-derived sixteenth-century texts. Also, while some motets do carry the complete Ps. 50:3 verse, more often only the first hemistich, or even the three-word phrase, “Miserere mei, Deus,” appears.

This prompts a return to the question, how much of a psalm text must a motet include in order to be considered a psalm motet?²⁶⁹ If only a short phrase is incorporated—even one so iconic as “Miserere mei, Deus”—is this genre designation appropriate? In the case of the “Miserere” settings, I would say yes, so long as the psalm text appears first. This forward presentation of the psalm element gives the complete motet an identity that is fundamentally tied to the Psalter. Quite a number of motets quote the “Miserere mei, Deus” phrase without integrating any other parts of Ps. 50. Two “Peccantem me” motets are included in Susato’s *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* series, for example—one by Appenzeller, and one anonymous—which both follow a responsory text from the Office of the Dead: while this quotes Ps. 53:3, meaning its status as a psalm motet is confirmed, its concluding line, “Miserere mei, Deus, et salva me” only vaguely suggests a connection to the penitential Ps. 50. Lasso’s and Agostino’s settings of the “Peccantem me quotidie” respond also conclude with “Miserere mei, Deus, et salva me.” This phrase could derive from Ps. 50:3 (“Miserere mei, Deus . . . dele iniquitatem meam”), Ps. 6:3 (“Miserere mei, Domine, quoniam infirmus sum; sana me, Domine”) or Ps. 40:5 (“Ego dixi:

²⁶⁹ Returning to the issue of the utility of this category, a broader definition of psalm motet has been adopted in order to focus in detail on the relationship between psalm texts and music, and how the use of psalm texts in polyphony relates to scholars’ understanding of the larger motet genre.

Domine, miserere mei; sana animam meam”). Though these motets lack a firm connection to Ps. 50, the confluence of these texts forms a juncture for several Ps. 50 centonates.

Lasso’s “Domine Jesu Christe” and “O bone Jesu” motets, which are not included in Augsburg-affiliated sources, incorporate the “Miserere mei, Deus” petition in the context of lengthy extra-biblical prayers. While the complete first hemistich of the psalm, “Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam,” is carried in the latter, the former only quotes the opening three-word fragment of this text, as also seen with the Office of the Dead pieces. Vaet also isolates this phrase as a fifth-voice cantus firmus for his hymn motet, “Mater digna Dei,” which is discussed below. None of these works would be characterized as part of the “Miserere” canon, though all speak to the familiarity of this phrase.

A remarkably high number of Ps. 50-based motets use texts that are significantly adapted from liturgical chants. I interpret these motets, in particular, as evidence of reflection and contemplation on the psalm text in non-ecclesiastic—and, therefore, less immediately confessionally affiliated—spheres. Given the volume of extant Ps. 50 motets in Augsburg-owned and Augsburg-produced music books, the following pages investigate a selection of motets, chosen according to their innovative treatment of Ps. 50 elements. More than any other collection of motets, grouped according to their inclusion of elements from the same psalm, these motets texts pull away from their apparent biblical and liturgical sources. The texts seem to lead the singer, listener, and reader away from specific Bible translations or liturgies, and I hold, represent the Ps. 50 text as a religiously and confessionally unaffiliated personal plea.

5.2 PSALM 50

In the Vulgate translation, Ps. 50 has twenty-one verses, the first two of which form the superscript of the text.²⁷⁰ Following this superscript, the structure of the psalm is based on four central stanzas framed by two couplets. The stanzas are of three, four, or five verses in length, though if the longer verse 6 is broken into two parts, a symmetrical pattern of 2-, 5-, 3-, 3-, 5-, and 2-verse stanzas emerges. Transcriptions from the Clementine Vulgate Bible and the NRSV are given below for further consideration.²⁷¹

[Latin text, Vulg.]

[1] In finem. Psalmus David, [2] cum venit ad eum Nathan propheta, quando intravit ad Bethsabée.

[3] Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam; et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum, dele iniquitatem meam.

[4] Amplius lava me ab iniquitate mea, et a peccato meo munda me.

[5] Quoniam iniquitatem meam ego cognosco, et peccatum meum contra me est semper.

[6] Tibi soli peccavi, et malum coram te feci; ut justificeris in sermonibus tuis, et vincas cum judicaris.

[7] Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in peccatis concepit me mater mea.

[8] Ecce enim veritatem dilexisti; incerta et occulta sapientiae tuae manifestasti mihi.

[English translation, NRSV]

[1–2] To the leader. A Psalm of David, when the prophet Nathan came to him, after he had gone in to Bathsheba.

[3] Have mercy on me, O God, according to your steadfast love; according to your abundant mercy blot out my transgressions.

[4] Wash me thoroughly from my iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin.

[5] For I know my transgressions, and my sin is ever before me.

[6] Against you, you alone, have I sinned, and done what is evil in your sight, so that you are justified in your sentence and blameless when you pass judgment.

[7] Indeed, I was born guilty, a sinner when my mother conceived me.

[8] You desire truth in the inward being; therefore teach me wisdom in my secret heart.

²⁷⁰ Luther does not number these verses, nor do other Bible translators whose texts are based on his or the Hebrew numbering system that emerged during the Renaissance. For ease of comparison, I have given the Vulgate numbering for both the Latin and English versions in the transcription of this text.

²⁷¹ Examples that form the focus of this chapter are entirely Latin texted. Although I did find several vernacular Ps. 50 settings, the most textually innovative, Wagener's "Gott, sei mir gnädig," has already been discussed. The other two, by Blanckenmüller and by Clemens non Papa, follow sequential verses of Ps. 50 without integrating other biblical or extra-biblical material.

[9] Asperges me hyssopo, et mundabor;
lavabis me, et super nivem dealbabor.

[10] Auditui meo dabis gaudium et laetitiam,
et exsultabunt ossa humiliata.

[11] Averte faciem tuam a peccatis meis, et
omnes iniquitates meas dele.

[12] Cor mundum crea in me, Deus, et
spiritum rectum innova in visceribus meis.

[13] Ne projicias me a facie tua, et spiritum
sanctum tuum ne auferas a me.

[14] Redde mihi laetitiam salutaris tui, et
spiritu principali confirma me.

[15] Docebo iniquos vias tuas, et impii ad te
convertentur.

[16] Libera me de sanguinibus, Deus, Deus
salutis meae, et exsultabit lingua mea
justitiam tuam.

[17] Domine, labia mea aperies, et os meum
annuntiabit laudem tuam.

[18] Quoniam si voluisses sacrificium,
dedissem utique; holocaustis non delectaberis.

[19] Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus;
cor contritum et humiliatum, Deus, non
despicias.

[20] Benigne fac, Domine, in bona voluntate
tua Sion, ut aedificentur muri Jerusalem.

[21] Tunc acceptabis sacrificium justitiae,
oblaciones et holocausta; tunc imponent super
altare tuum vitulos.

[9] Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be
clean; wash me, and I shall be whiter than
snow.

[10] Let me hear joy and gladness; let the
bones that you have crushed rejoice.

[11] Hide your face from my sins, and blot
out all my iniquities.

[12] Create in me a clean heart, O God, and
put a new and right spirit within me.

[13] Do not cast me away from your presence,
and do not take your holy spirit from me.

[14] Restore to me the joy of your salvation,
and sustain in me a willing spirit.

[15] Then I will teach transgressors your
ways, and sinners will return to you.

[16] Deliver me from bloodshed, O God, O
God of my salvation, and my tongue will sing
aloud of your deliverance.

[17] O Lord, open my lips, and my mouth will
declare your praise.

[18] For you have no delight in sacrifice; if I
were to give a burnt offering, you would not
be pleased.

[19] The sacrifice acceptable to God is a
broken spirit; a broken and contrite heart, O
God, you will not despise.

[20] Do good in Zion in your good pleasure;
rebuild the walls of Jerusalem,

[21] then you will delight in right sacrifices,
in burnt offerings and whole burnt offerings;
then bulls will be offered on your altar.

The psalm is attributed to David, as per the inscription, and constitutes a first-person petition for forgiveness. On one level, the text is about David's adultery with Bathsheba and the murder of her husband, Uriah.²⁷² It concludes, as summarized by Bruce K. Waltke, James M. Houston, and Erika Moore, with David's promise to God that "if God removed from him the guilt of his

²⁷² See 2 Sam. 12.

transgression and sins, he would teach transgressors Gods ways—that is to say, his grace, mercy, patience, and unfailing kindness.”²⁷³ On another level, it carries a message about the power and strength God bestows upon those who offer a contrite heart: “the walls of Zion, a synecdoche and symbol of the kingdom of God, can only be built by penitent sinners.”²⁷⁴ The following outline shows the organization of content within the psalm. It is adapted from Waltke, Houston, and Moore’s *The Psalms as Christian Worship* to reflect seven sections instead of five, with the symmetrical division of lines per stanza that was demonstrated above.²⁷⁵ Verses are also numbered here according to the Clementine Vulgate Bible:

- I. Superscript (verses 1–2)
- II. Invocation and Prefatory Petitions (verses 3–4)
 - A. For forgiveness
 - B. For cleansing
- III. Confession (verses 5–8 verses)
 - A. Of sins (verses 5–6)
 - 1. Confession of personal guilt
 - 2. Confession of sinning against God
 - B. Of moral impotence (verses 7–8)
 - 1. Of sinful nature
 - 2. Of moral nature
- IV. Petitions (for forgiveness of sins) (verses 9–11)
 - A. For cleansing from stain of guilt
 - B. For word of absolution
 - C. For forgiveness without punishment
- V. Petitions (for spiritual renewal) (verses 12–14)
 - A. For steadfast spirit
 - B. For retaining God’s spirit of holiness
 - C. For a willing spirit
- VI. Vow of Praise (personal) (verses 15–19)
 - A. Word of praise
 - B. Sacrifice of praise

²⁷³ Bruce K. Waltke et al., *The Psalms as Christian Lament: a Historical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2014), 115.

²⁷⁴ Bruce K. Waltke et al., *The Psalms as Christian Worship: a Historical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2010), 467.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 465–466.

- VII. Vow of Praise (national) (verses 20–21)
 A. Condition: prosperity of Zion
 B. Consequence: Zion’s praise

This grouping of verses finds an echo in liturgical chants based on Ps. 50 and, subsequently, in motets. Through my survey of *CAO*, *AMS*, *LAM*, and the CANTUS Database, I identified twenty-five discrete chant texts that borrow or adapt portions of Ps. 50. Nine of these use Ps. 50:3, or the first hemistich of this verse. This reaffirms the notion that this line would be very familiar to sixteenth-century listeners. In chants that blend Ps 50:3 with other verses from the psalm, the “Miserere” text is normally offset or distinguished in some way—as the verse in a responsory, for instance, or as the concluding line of an antiphon or offertory. I only found one chant that begins with Ps. 50:3 and continues directly to verse 4.²⁷⁶ Other verses that appear in sequence are consistently drawn from the same stanza, as per the parsing of the text shown above. Verses 5–6 are used together with some frequency (these are both from stanza II), as do 15–16/17 (from stanza VI). Motets that incorporate consecutive verses of Ps. 50 as well as verse three also tend to isolate this first verse. This includes de Cleve’s “Miserere mei” setting, which sets Ps. 50:3–6 (all of stanza I and part of stanza II) underlying verse three in the *prima pars* and verses 4–6 in the *secunda pars*; Susato’s and Corteccia’s “Peccata mea” motets, both of which incorporate Ps. 50:5–6 (stanza II);²⁷⁷ and the *prima pars* of Wagener’s “Gott, sei mir gnädig,” whose German text corresponds to the Vulgate Ps. 50:3–6 (all of stanza I and part of stanza II).²⁷⁸ Utendal’s complete setting of the penitential psalm is also parsed, more or less,

²⁷⁶ This is the “Miserere mei, Deus, et a delicto meo.” See Hesbert, ed., *CAO*, nr. 3774.

²⁷⁷ In both cases, verse 6 is incomplete.

²⁷⁸ Wagener elides stanzas IV–V in his *secunda pars*, using verses that correspond to the Vulgate Ps. 50:11–13. This indicates a different reading of the psalm text than I have presented or, at the very least, a concept of the two central stanzas as being part of a larger whole.

according to this scheme. He breaks up the longer stanzas, II and IV, however, shifting one verse from stanza II to stanza I, and shifting another verse from stanza V to stanza IV. While these adjustments may simply indicate a desire on the composer's part to present sections of roughly equal length, I suggest that Utendal's organization produces a more fluid reading of the first and second halves of the complete text. By frontloading parts one and four with an added verse from the following stanza, the related content and character of these displaced verses propels the reader or singer into the following section. A summary of this structure is presented below, with stanza numbers offered in parentheses. The (+) indicates *partes* that include an extra verse relative to the psalm structure, while the (–) indicates *partes* that are lacking a verse.

Organization of Utendal's Ps. 50 setting, as compared to the psalm structure

- 1a *pars* (II): Ps. 50:3–5 (+)
- 2a *pars* (III): Ps. 50:6–8 (–)
- 3a *pars* (IV): Ps. 50:9–11
- 4a *pars* (V): Ps. 50:12–15 (+)
- 5a *pars* (VI): Ps. 50:16–19 (–)
- 6a *pars* (VII): Ps. 50:20–21

Ps. 50 would have been said or sung in its entirety every day at lauds, as well as every Wednesday at matins as part of the Divine Office in Benedictine monasteries.²⁷⁹ An invitatory antiphon quoting Ps. 50:17 (“O Lord, open my lips”) could also have been used at the beginning of each service.²⁸⁰ Like Ps. 118, the “Miserere” had—and still has—strong ties to the season of Lent and, especially, to Ash Wednesday. In addition to forming a critical part of the Ash Wednesday liturgy, selected verses are also extracted as propers for each of the six Sundays that occur during Lent. During Holy Week, Ps. 50's penitential aspect renders this text especially

²⁷⁹ That is, according to the Roman and Benedictine rites.

²⁸⁰ The same verse is also used to introduce the Amidah or “Standing Prayer” in Jewish ritual.

applicable: verses form additional propers for Wednesday and Maundy Thursday, and the complete psalm is sung at Tenebrae services (Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday). In the sixteenth century, these were typically performed in a simple, *falsobordone* style.²⁸¹ In the absence of surviving mid-sixteenth-century manuscripts and/or prints from Augsburg that contain such settings, one can hypothesize that these liturgical elements were either improvised or performed as chant.

Propers and other ceremonial chants based on Ps. 50 are found in liturgies besides those for Lent and Holy Week. It is included among ceremonial texts for the feasts of martyrs, John the Baptist (the Feast of the Beheading) and S. Cecilia. At the principal Mass on Sundays, the “Asperges me” antiphon, which combines material from Ps. 50:9 and 3, may be sung as the priest sprinkles holy water over the congregation. This rite is known as the Blessing of Water or the “Asperges,” after the first word of the antiphon text.²⁸² Finally, Ps. 50 has significant ties to the Office of the Dead. Funerary inscriptions, in fact, count among the earliest known uses of this psalm.²⁸³ Ps. 50’s close association with death may have been more poignant in the sixteenth century, through Savonarola’s prison meditations. Cultural developments, such as the commissioning of motets based on Ps. 50 for funerals and the integration of this text in English execution rituals, only reinforced this connection. In brief, both liturgical and extraliturgical

²⁸¹ In his *New Grove* article on the “Miserere,” John Caldwell provides that this tradition “may have been initiated under Pope Leo X in 1514.” *Falsobordone* settings may be found in a Vatican ms. (I-Rvat C.S.205–6) by Gregorio Allegri . . . Nanino, Palestrina, and others.” *NG*(2), s.v., “Miserere,” by John Caldwell. *Falsobordone* settings of vespers psalms are preserved in the Augsburg manuscript, Tonk Schl 24, which was copied for use at the Benedictine monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra. The source does not contain any Ps. 50 settings.

²⁸² Note that the rite has connections to both baptism (through the symbolic use of holy water) and the idea of the Mass as a sacrifice (through the reference to Hyssop—a weed that was used for smearing blood on the lintels at the first Passover). See John Wynne, “Asperges,” in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 2003), 786.

²⁸³ Waltke, et. al., *The Psalms as Christian Worship*, 447.

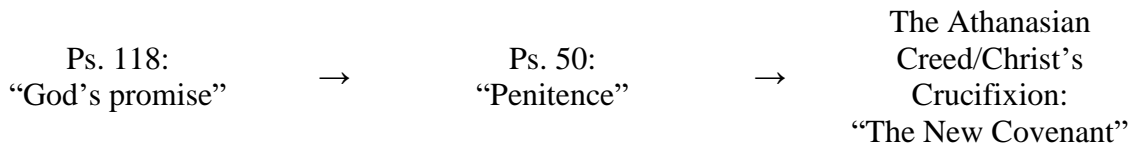
ceremonies that used elements of this psalm were generally somber, solemn occasions. These likely produced an association with this text and concepts of physical and spiritual mortality.

Psalm commentaries constitute an additional influence that probably impacted composers' and users' interpretations of Ps. 50. Indeed, both historic and contemporary commentaries on this text put forward a wide range of ideas regarding sin, penitence, and the justification of the sacraments. Surviving exegeses of patristic writers (Origen, Augustine, Jerome), medieval authors and theologians before and after Lateran IV (Alcuin, Thomas Aquinas), Reformers and Counter-Reformers (Savonarola, Luther, Eck), and Jewish commentators (Rashi) offer highly diverse readings of this psalm, in particular where the issue of sin or transgression is concerned. That these texts were read by motettists is indicated in chapter three, where I discussed settings of meditative- and exegetical-type works by some of these same personages. An additional survey of prints from sixteenth-century Augsburg showed that most of these exegetes' writings were available in the Fuggerstadt, with some even being published in translation. As a result, composers and users were potentially exposed to a temporally and religiously/confessionally broad range of thoughts about this psalm.

Local authors also tried their hands at composing commentaries, as demonstrated by Christoph Hiemarius's *Psalmus L. Miserere mei, Deus: una cum Symbolo Athanasii, Carmine Elegiaco redditus* (Augsburg, 1566).²⁸⁴ Hiemarius's text effectively synthesizes Ps. 50 with the Athanasian Creed (*Symbolo Athanasii*), his booklet thereby developing on a more Judaic notion of Ps. 50 as a prayer for the fulfillment of God's covenant. The Athanasian Creed closely parallels the Nicene Creed, but with additional material that relays, in no uncertain terms, the fate

²⁸⁴ The publisher's name is not given. The place name, 'Langenaltense,' appears after Hiemarius's name in the print, indicating that he was from the neighboring municipality of Langenaltheim. Contributing authors include Prior Gregor Gastel of the Benedictine monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra, who composed an introductory epistle. Given this connection, it is possible that Hiemarius was also a monk there.

of those who commit wrong and do not repent.²⁸⁵ Hiemarius’s booklet further reflects the apparent Pss. 118 and 50 connection, as a hemistich from Ps. 118:137 appears on the cover: “Iustus es, Domine, et rectum tuum” (You are just, Lord, and your judgment is right). This text may further reflect on the contractual aspect of the Athanasian Creed. Notably, the idea of the covenant or contract between the people of Israel and God is evoked in both Pss. 118 and 50. Hiemarius’s exegesis opens with a brief “Argument,” through which he contextualizes the “Miserere” within a larger Bible narrative. There follows a Ps. 50-based paraphrase, then the creed, which is also presented in couplets. The source concludes with a short meditative poem on the death of Christ, and on the last page of the print one finds an image of the crucifixion. One could interpret this organization of materials as indicative of the following message:



Johann Böschenstein’s *Septem psalmi poenitentiales* (Augsburg: Grimm & Wirsung, 1520) also adds to this discussion. The book is not a commentary, but rather presents each of the seven penitential psalms in columns of Hebrew, Latin, and German as a sort of linguistic primer. The inclusion of the Hebrew text speaks to the value placed on Hebrew learning at the offset of the Reformation. Böschenstein’s Hebrew was far from excellent, but his text indicates an interest in this type of primer or pedagogical source among Augsburg residents. It further reflects a much broader interest among, especially, German Protestants in learning Hebrew, both as a “prima lingua” and as one of the two languages of the scripture. As Susan Gillingham notes, “In the

²⁸⁵ The Athanasian Creed also does more to clarify the Doctrine of the Trinity, adding an element of erudition to the more familiar Nicene version.

Christian tradition, on the Continent and then in England, the most striking development in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is the proliferation of *translations* of the psalms.”²⁸⁶ This situation is especially pronounced in Germany and England, since various exponents of the Reformation urged a return to biblical source texts.

Figure 5.1 shows the first page of Böschenstein’s Ps. 50 texts. It appears as though he authored his own Latin and German translations; I have found no previous versions of these texts that parallel Böschenstein’s renditions.

²⁸⁶ Susan E. Gillingham, *Psalms Through the Centuries*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2008), 131.

Figure 5.1: Johann Böschenstein, “חַנּוּנִי”/“Gratificare mihi”/“Gnad mir” from the *Septem psalmi poenitentiales* (Augsburg: Grimm & Wirsung, 1520)²⁸⁷



²⁸⁷ Courtesy of the D-Mbs. Note that the Latin words “gratificare” and “gratiam” are used in place of “miserere” and “miserericordiam.” Böschenstein’s emphasis on the idea of grace indicates a Jewish or Protestant reading of this text.

Both exegetical and educational texts on the psalms and other Bible books tend to focus on cross-biblical connections—ostensibly for the purpose of showing a connection between the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament and the Christian New Testament.²⁸⁸ These may be embedded directly within the texts, as quotations or in-text citations, or cited through marginalia.²⁸⁹ A similar practice may be seen in motet books from, especially, the mid-sixteenth century forward. An increasing number of volumes, both liturgical and nonliturgical, begin to incorporate margin notes that indicate not the part of the Mass or the feast to which the motet is assigned, but rather its scriptural origins. Some examples of these marginalia were already discussed in chapters three and four: notably, they were used even where a Bible text had been considerably altered. This practice was probably borrowed from the commentaries and, based on my research, constitutes the most direct connection between these texts and the motets. The profusion of such margin notes certainly supports the notion that motet texts were read as well as sung, and were investigated as biblically-sourced texts by at least some users.²⁹⁰

5.3 MOTET SETTINGS OF PS. 50

As shown in Table 5.2, only a few polyphonic liturgical works based on Ps. 50 texts are preserved Augsburg. Moreover, only one composition is included in a sixteenth-century source that can be securely placed in the city. This setting of the “Asperges me” by Heinrich Isaac is

²⁸⁸ This is especially true of Luther’s Ps. 50 commentary, which focuses on New Testament rearticulations of this text, particularly as seen in the Pauline Epistles and the four books of the Gospel.

²⁸⁹ Given that a system of assigning verse numbers to Bible texts was not yet in practice, generally speaking only the Bible book and chapter number would appear. This, consequently, requires considerable industry on the part of the hermeneutically active user who wishes to find the source text cited or, alternatively, that the user be biblically well-versed.

²⁹⁰ Rather than indicating derivation, Tim Carter suggests that motet book marginalia (in particular *recte* rubrics) may prompt further reading. This is a particularly compelling possibility for referenced Bible texts that are not directly quoted in motets. Personal correspondence, April 22, 2016.

preserved in a manuscript of proper compositions that was copied out for use at the Benedictine monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra. This work was most likely transcribed from Formschneider's *Choralis Constantinus* 1 (Nuremberg, 1550).²⁹¹ The liturgical ambiguities associated with the "Asperges" blessing are especially pronounced in Augsburg liturgies. Though according to Tridentine rite, the "Asperges me" should be said or sung at the beginning of every Mass, traditional practice allows priests to say it anytime, anywhere. In addition to its use during the Blessing of Water mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, it may also be incorporated into the Mass as a final blessing, used during baptism, and given its penitential content, recited by a priest as he acknowledges his sins in preparation for the celebration of the Eucharist.²⁹² Other liturgical occasions with which the "Asperges" is tied are the Visiting of the Sick, the Dedication of a Church, and the Office for the Dead. Notably, all of these are observed on an as-needed basis, rather than being fixed to a specific calendar date. Mid-sixteenth-century Augsburg chant books augment this list of potential iterations of the "Asperges" by indicating that it was frequently sung before or after processions. Holthusius's *Compendium cantionum ecclesiasticarum*, which was probably published for use at the Augsburg cathedral, gives the "Asperges me" chant as a processional work, to be used before a Marian Mass (see Figure 5.2).²⁹³ Also, a processional manuscript assembled c1576 for use at the Dominican abbey of S. Katherina includes the chant among funerary works.²⁹⁴

²⁹¹ Although no copy of this source survives in Augsburg, based on the inclusion of several works it contains in Tonk Schl 7, I suggest that the monastery had access to it.

²⁹² The *Breviarium Romanum* does not supply a rubric for use. Alanna Ropchock, with whom I studied in Augsburg, suggests that the "Asperges" may also have been used as part of an Augsburg-specific service to bless the water in the canals and rivers around the city (*a la* the weather and crop blessings performed in the Middle Ages). Alanna Ropchock, personal conversation.

²⁹³ This was printed by Matthäus Franck in 1567 and reissued by Michael Manger in 1579.

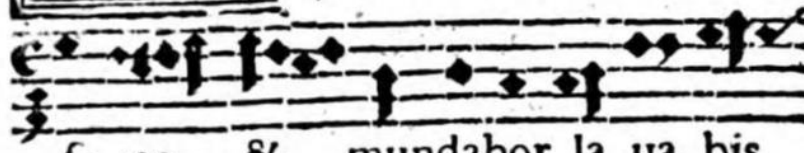
²⁹⁴ 2° Cod. 33 [= Cim 5].

Figure 5.2: Johannes Holthusius (ed.), “Asperges me” chant from the *Compendium cantionum ecclesiasticarum* (Augsburg: Manger, 1579)²⁹⁵

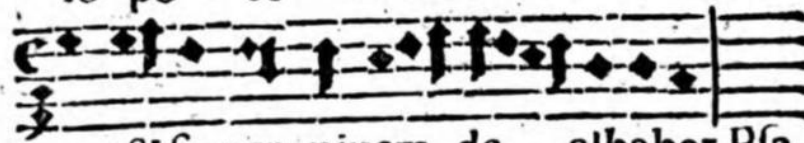
De beata Maria
Processio beatae Mariae
ante missam.



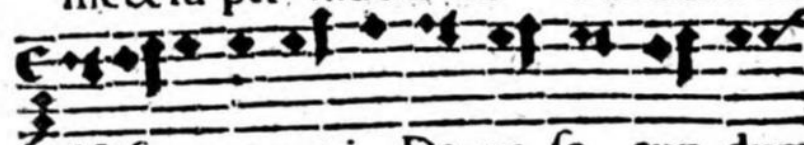
Sperges me domine Y.



so po & mundabor la ua bis



me & su per niuem de albabor Psa.



Mise re re me i De us se cun dum



magnam miseri cor diam tu am.

Antis

²⁹⁵ Courtesy of the Augsburg State and City Library (D-As).

Formschneider's placement of Isaac's "Asperges" setting as the first work of *Constantinus Choralis* 1, without rubrics, speaks to the significant while also flexible uses of this motet in Imperial Austro-Germany. Likewise, the manuscript version of this piece does not assign it a specific place within the Mass Proper, nor is the composition grouped with works for any particular feast. The full text combines Ps. 50:9 and 3 (using only the iconic first hemistich of verse 3) and reads as follows: "[9] Asperges me, Domine, hyssopo, et mundabor; lavabis me, et super nivem dealbabor. [3] Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam."²⁹⁶ The motet concludes with a doxology. The plural liturgical and extralitururgical uses of this text illustrate the point that in addition to being quite limited, performances of Ps. 50 in religious ceremonies in Augsburg apparently took place in liminal sacred-secular contexts. These included flexible occasions and rituals that could take place outside (processions). Even in the more traditional or Tridentine canonic use of the "Asperges"—at the beginning or the end of Mass—the text forms a sort of sacred-secular transition for listeners, who have either just entered a church to attend Mass or are about to exit. All of this points back to the tendency that composers and users associated the psalm with nonecclesiastic spaces and experiences and expected to hear and sing these words beyond church walls.

Though Leonhard Paminger's *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* 3 cannot be securely tied to sixteenth-century Augsburg, the volume's editor and Paminger's heir, Sophonias, established a pattern of submitting materials from his father's estate to the Augsburg city council in the early 1570s. The presence of an extant copy of volume three at the D-As supports the hypothesis that Sophonias continued this practice into the middle of the decade. Despite this merely plausible

²⁹⁶ This according to the *Editio Vaticana*, as well as the *Breviarium per totum annum* of 1580. Notably, the invocation, "Domine" is a part of the "Asperges me" liturgical chant, though it is not included in the text of the Clementine Vulgate Bible.

connection, Leonhard Paminger’s unique application of marginalia, which do not actually point to the texts he uses in his Ps. 50-based “Peccavi super numerum” motets, merits consideration.

The two texts—an antiphon and a responsory—are presented side by side below for comparison.

<p>Antiphon, <i>prima pars</i> Peccavi super numerum arenae maris et multiplicata sunt peccata mea et non sum dignus videre altitudinem coeli prae multitudine iniquitatis meae.</p>	<p>Responsory Peccavi super numerum arenae maris et multiplicata sunt peccata mea et non sum dignus videre altitudinem coeli prae multitudine iniquitatis meae, Sed miserere mei. } Ps. 50:3a</p>
<p><i>Secunda pars</i> Sed O Pater benignissime, per Filium tuum, qui pro salute humani generis mortem subire dignatus est, Miserere mei.</p>	<p>Respond Quoniam irritavi iram tuam Domine, Sed miserere mei. } Ps. 50:3a</p>
	<p>Verse Quoniam iniquitatem meam ego cognosco et peccatum meum contra me est } Ps. 50:5 semper, Sed miserere mei. } Ps. 50:3a</p>

Note that only the responsory includes identifiable Ps. 50 elements, namely the verse and the recurring “Miserere mei, Deus,” petition. The antiphon’s *secunda pars* concludes with “Miserere mei,” however, which may also allude to the psalm text. Paminger’s texts deviate from the more standard liturgical versions (as per the *Editio Vaticana*) where he replaces the line, “quoniam irritavi iram tuam, et malum coram te feci” (since I have provoked your wrath, and [I] have done evil before you) with “prae multitudine iniquitatis meae” (because of the greatness of my iniquity).²⁹⁷ Instead of using the “quoniam irritavi” text in the *prima pars* of his antiphon or as a respond, Paminger simply employs a quotation from Ps. 50:5 (which this text closely parallels) as a responsory verse. Paminger’s use of a recurring “Miserere mei, Deus” phrase in the

²⁹⁷ Hesbert, ed., *CAO*, nr. 7372.

responsory also appears quite innovative. The structure evokes the basic formula of a litany—where such a petition might be read or sung several dozen times—which, by extension, recalls the experience or idea of a procession. Though assigned to the fourth Sunday in Pentecost, Paminger’s integration of an element characteristic of litanies in his “Peccavi super numerum” responsory evokes a nonliturgical experience.

For the responsory verse, Paminger gives Ps. 50:5 verbatim, rather than applying the standard liturgical variant, “Quoniam iniquitatem meam ego agnosco, et delictum meum coram me est semper, tibi soli peccavi” (For I recognize my iniquity, and my sin is always before me; against you alone I have sinned).²⁹⁸ Note that the meaning of these two texts is almost identical, though the biblical “cognosco,” used by Paminger, puts forth an idea of learning or becoming acquainted with something rather than simply acknowledging or recognizing it (“agnosco”). Also, “delictum” indicates more of a fault or shortcoming rather than a sin (“peccatum”). Finally, the Vulgate uses “contra me” (against me), establishing a more adversarial relationship between the speaker, David, and his transgression than “coram me” (“before me”; literally “before [one’s] eyes”), though notably both texts appear within the body of the Latin psalm. I suggest that Paminger’s word-for-word use of a biblical, rather than liturgical, source for his verse text reflects his Protestant adherence to the idea of *Sola scriptura*.

Paminger’s rubrics for both the “Peccavi super numerum” antiphon and responsory may indicate a personal reading of these texts and, in any case, reflect a certain degree of confidence in the notion of the “priesthood of all believers.”²⁹⁹ The composer includes the margin note, “2. Paralip. 36.” (this corresponds to 2 Chron. 36) in all four voice parts of both “Peccavi” settings.

²⁹⁸ This follows in the *Editio Vaticana* as well as the *Breviarium per totum annum* of 1580.

²⁹⁹ As reminder, this concept admits lay readings of the scripture as both useful and valid.

Though Paminger may have determined a connection between the antiphon and responsory prayers, the Ps. 50 elements, and 2 Chron. 36 independently, his connection between the two biblical texts in particular strikes me as more closely aligned with Jewish interpretations of these elements. Notably, no part of 2. Chron. 36 is actually quoted in Paminger's motets. This Bible chapter concludes with a message that was, however, apparently seen as relevant or connected to the psalm.

Both 1 and 2 Chron. reiterate much of 1 and 2 Sam. While 2 Sam. 11 imparts the narrative of David and Bathsheba's adultery, and the subsequent murder of Bathsheba's husband, Uriah, the story of David and Bathsheba is not actually included in either of the Chronicles texts. In fact, Bathsheba's name appears only once in these books: she is mentioned in passing (1 Chron. 20) as the mother of four sons born to David in Jerusalem. Paminger's rubric, therefore, appears to direct the user away from the story of David and Bathsheba and toward a different focus. The specific chapter referenced, 2 Chron. 36, departs from 1–2 Sam. in that it concentrates more on the Kingdom of Judah. Central elements of this text are the evil deeds of Judah's rulers and the irreverence of its priests; the conquering of Babylon and freeing of exiles by the Persian king, Cyrus; and, most crucially, the restoration of the Temple of Jerusalem.

One interpretation of the core message of both 1–2 Chron. is that God chooses to remain connected to the people of Israel through exile and despite their faults. 2 Chron. 36 centers on a broad spectrum of named and unnamed "evil" (*malum*), from irreverence, to murder, to general cruelty, which could be connected to the nonspecific "iniquities" (*iniquitates*) that are referenced in the antiphon and responsory texts. That God would also remain connected to the sinful singer or listener of the "Peccavi" motets is, of course, the hoped-for result. Another interpretation, which connects more immediately to the content of Ps. 50, is that both the psalm and 2. Chron.

conclude with references to the restoration of the Temple. According to both Bible texts, this restoration is made possible through the power God bestows upon the contrite. A consequence of interpreting the connection between Paminger's Ps. 50-oriented texts and his 2. Chron. 36 marginalia as the restoration of the Temple of Jerusalem is that this, again, reflects more on Judaic reading of motets and the psalm than is generally evident in Christian commentaries. In that case, the situation absolutely speaks to the concept—if not the reality—of an interreligious community's engagement with the scripture.

Ps. 50-based motets appear in a wide range of nonliturgical books with secure sixteenth-century Augsburg connections, and feature a wide range of approaches to setting this text. Among the most pronounced are: 1) straight settings of consecutive verses of the psalm text; 2) liturgically-derived or imitative settings that blend non-consecutive Ps. 50 verses; 3) liturgically-derived or imitative centonates; and 4) meditative-type works that incorporate at least one Ps. 50 verse, usually at the end. Given the diverse treatment of this text through music, it is difficult to discern any patterns. I would stress that an unusual number of Ps. 50-based motets derive from meditative works, however: recall that Savonarola's prison meditation on Ps. 50 garnered considerable attention among composers and was widely set throughout the sixteenth century. Payen also composed music for an excerpt of Augustine's *Soliloquies* 1,2. Furthermore, an apparent exegetical connection between Pss. 118 and 50 is articulated through several centonate motets as well as at least one Augsburg commentary (Hiemarius).

Another focal point for both liturgical and nonliturgical motets is the use of the "Miserere mei" phrase. Based on my findings, this phrase appears initiates six out of twenty-five discrete motets found in Augsburg-affiliated sources, and almost every motet to quote or Ps. 50 integrates

this text at some point. It may also stand alone, as previously stated, as a sole Ps. 50 component. Though Jacobus Vaet's "Mater digna Dei" is not considered a Ps. 50 motet (it uses only the limited "Miserere mei, Deus" fragment, which is buried in the *secunda pars* as a repeating cantus firmus), Vaet's liturgically imitative centonate merits consideration on the grounds that another "Miserere" invocation also occurs in the background of another Bible text that is referenced in his motet.

The "Mater digna" appears in Vaet's *Modulationes 2* (Venice: Gardano, 1562). Though based on a hymn text, the motet is organized in two *partes* (as opposed to stanzas), and the second stanza of the hymn, which features a series of Marian invocations and petitions, has been eliminated. Instead, Vaet includes the simple "Ave Maria" reference to Luke 1:28. The full text is given below for further consideration. Given that psalm elements are entirely restricted to the "Miserere" petitions, these are simply underlined.

Vaet, "Mater digna Dei"

Prima pars

Mater digna Dei, venie vie luxque diei,
 sis tutela rei duxque comesque mei,
 sponsa mea miserere mei lux alma diei,
 digna coli regina poli me linquere noli.

Quinta vox

Ave Maria (repeated).

Secunda pars

Iesu Christe fili Dei vivi miserere mei,
 Christus rex venit in pace, Deus homo factus est,
 Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori
 et custos [anime] mee nunc et semper et ubique,
 Amen.

Quinta vox

Miserere mei, Deus (repeated).

This translates as:

Prima pars

Worthy mother of God, path of forgiveness and light of day, be protective of the accused; be a guide and companion to me; my bride, have mercy on me, gracious light o God; worthy queen of heaven, do not forsake me.

Secunda pars

Jesus Christ, son of the living God, have mercy on me; Christ the king comes in peace: God became man; Gracious God for me, a sinner, and guard my soul for ever and everywhere, Amen.

Note that the composer has significantly increased the number of Ps. 50 petitions heard by using this phrase as a repeating cantus firmus (*secunda pars* only). The phrase also appears twice in Luke 18 (verses 38 and 39), in which context it is uttered by a blind man who hears Jesus and his disciples passing by. This usage stands as a point of contact between the invocations that initiate the *secunda pars* and the petition, “Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori” (God be merciful to me, a sinner), which is also lifted from Luke 18. The “Ave Maria” prayer, referenced in the cantus firmus voice of the *prima pars* is, of course, also based on a passage from Luke (Luke 1:28).

A very subtle revision to the text presented in the *prima pars* effects the most significant exegetical change: while most sources of the “Mater digna Dei” hymn text give “sponsa Dei” (bride of God), Vaet uses “sponsa mea” (my bride) in the third line.³⁰⁰ The speaker of the *prima pars* could be Christ, although this reading seems less tenable in light of the preceding phrase, “duxque comesque mei” (my leader [duke] and companion) as well as the ensuing “Miserere mei” appeal. In addition, Vaet’s patron, the Protestant-sympathizing Maximilian II, was not known as a Marian devotee.

Both notated and verbal canonic devices constitute a core feature of Sigmund Salminger’s *Cantiones selectissimae* (Augsburg: Ulhart, 1549), among many other Augsburg-produced prints and single sheets. Dedications associated with such books to imperial magnates—in the case of the *Cantiones*, to the then-Archduke Maximilian II—reaffirms a

³⁰⁰ Note that the concept of Mary as the literal bride of God/Christ or the “New Eve” hails from patristic times, having been espoused by writers such as Augustine through statements such as: “Mary was the only one who merited to be called the Mother as Spouse of God.” Augustine, *Sermons* 208, quoted by S. Alfonso Maria de’ Liguori in *The Glories of Mary*, edited by Eugene Grimm (Brooklyn: Redemptorist Fathers, 1931): 304.

connection between riddle canons and concepts of power and intelligence. Masterful interaction with such works was a way of demonstrating cleverness and intellectual superiority—both traits that would be associated with figures of authority. The print features the work of Pieter Maessens and Clemens non Papa. The title pages of each part book include the Latin apothegm, “Quis neget humanas cantu mollescere mentes/Musica cum saltus, saxa, ferasque trahat” (Who would deny that song soothes refined [or: human] minds: that music moves forests, rocks, and animals).³⁰¹ This poetic articulation of an ancient Greek concept of music’s affective power immediately introduces both a scholarly and a secular element to the print. The key contributors are Maessens and Clemens non Papa. Maessens served in the private court chapel of Ferdinand I, first as an assistant to Arnold von Bruck (from 1543), and later as Kapellmeister (from 1546, at which time he was also granted printing privileges).³⁰²

Maessens’s interest in canonic and otherwise contrapuntally complex music is clearly evident in this collection, which, consequently, preserves nearly one half of the composer’s surviving oeuvre. The first four works constitute canonic settings of the “Salve suprema trinitas.” I am unable to find any concordant settings of this text; given Maessens’s affinity for devotional poetry, I suggest that the composer used a contemporary source that is no longer extant, or that he wrote the text himself.³⁰³ The “Salve” settings are preceded by a canon “quarter variasse iuvabit” (helpfully varied in four ways). These proceed in four “modes” (“primus” through “quartus”) ostensibly mimicking the organizational of a book of Magnificats—though in this

³⁰¹ This motto also features on the title page of Salminger’s *Cantiones selectissimae* 1.(RISM [B I] 1548²).

³⁰² *NG*(2), s.v., “Maessens, Pieter,” by Albert Dunning.

³⁰³ Maessens published a number of literary works, including at least one book of Latin prayers (his *Piae et breves orationis dominicae declarationes*, 1556). *Ibid.*, 576.

case “modus” simply means “manner.”³⁰⁴ Each motet is notated without the flat signature, with final cadences on either F or C. A verbal instruction, formed as a riddle, precedes each setting. These do not need to be solved before singing, though they do provide the user with an idea about how each piece is constructed. Following the “Salves,” one finds an even more unusual six-voice work, entitled “Dicessu dat.” This secular motet honors the print’s dedicatee, Maximilian II, who was the son of Maessens’s patron and heir apparent to the archduchy of Austria. As with the “Salve” settings, this piece is offset by a notated canon (see Example 6.2), in this case a rhythmic cantus firmus based on Maximilian’s name. This “ortus” (sunrise) phrase is followed by a four-line poem that indicates how the composition may be realized in sixteen different ways.³⁰⁵

After Maessens’s first five compositions, Clemens non Papa’s music appears, making up the majority of the collection. Of these works, his “Conserva me, Domine” is given second. While this piece is not set in strict canon, both the *prima* and *secunda pars* feature canonic twelve- to fourteen-note phrases, both of which dissolve at different points per voice part into free polyphony. This four-voice composition is composed with the flat signature. The *prima pars* cadences on D and the *secunda pars* on G. The text is remarkable for a number of reasons. For one, as discussed in chapter four, it blends a wide variety of biblical and extra-biblical sources, including verse material from seven psalms, a quotation from the Book of Job, and two exegetical phrases whose source is unknown. For another, it imitates a liturgical work, employing several phrases that share the Office of the Dead as a point of contact. Equally intriguing is the fact that the Ps. 50:13 quotation, “ne proicias me a facie tua” (do not cast me

³⁰⁴ Notably, Magnificent collections are always eightfold and refer to “tones,” not “modes.”

³⁰⁵ For more on Maessens’s canonic works, see Laura Youens, “Forgotten Puzzles: Canons by Pieter Maessens,” *Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 46 (January 1992): 81–144.

away from your face) is not used in any part of the liturgy. This phrase does appear in at least two Protestant German-texted motets; but so far as the Latin motet repertory is concerned, it is the only mid-sixteenth century example I know of that uses any part of this verse, and it is certainly the only example to be preserved in Augsburg. The complete text is given below, with biblical quotations identified on the right. To facilitate the following discussion, I have also provided a translation.

Clemens non Papa, “Conserva me, Domine”

Prima pars

Conserva me, Domine, quoniam speravi in te;	}	Ps. 15:1
Laetifica animam servi tui;	}	Ps. 85:4
Educ de carcere animam meam; ³⁰⁶	}	Ps. 141:8
me expectant iusti donec retribuas mihi.		
Ego vero egenus et pauper sum;	}	Ps. 69:6 (~Ps. 108:22)
Ne proicias me a facie tua,	}	Ps. 50:13
sed parce peccatis meis.	}	Job 14:16

Secunda pars

Ne permittas me damnari, O amantissime Iesu,	}	nonbiblical
Nequando dicat inimicus meus:	}	Ps. 12:5
praevalui adversus eum.		
Potens es enim, Domine, me eripere a potestate inimici mei;	}	nonbiblical
propterea in te confido.		
Adiuva me, Domine, Deus meus.	}	Ps. 108:26 (~Ps. 69:6)

Which translates as:

Prima pars

Preserve me, Lord, for I have hoped in you;
 Gladden the soul of your servant;
 Lead my soul out of prison;
 the just wait for me until you reward me.
 But I am needy and poor;
 Do not cast me away from your face,
 but pardon my sins.

³⁰⁶ The Clementine Vulgate Bible text reads “Educ de custodia animam meam” (Lead my soul out of custody). This subtle revision probably relates to the text’s inclusion in the liturgy of the beheading of John the Baptist.

Secunda pars

Do not permit me to be damned, O most loving Jesus,
Lest at any time my enemy say:

I have prevailed against him.

For you are powerful, Lord, to rescue me from the power of my enemies;
therefore I have confidence in you.

Help me, O Lord, my God.

Despite the number of source texts for this motet, it comes together as both a coherent and meaningful whole. Clemens non Papa's selection was, I suspect, influenced by the fact that many of these lines would have been heard in related parts of the liturgy. These include Sundays in Lent (particularly Passion Sunday), whose Proper elements employ the lines that begin, "Conserva me," "Educ de carcere," "Nequando dicat," and "Adjuva me"; and the Office of the Dead, whose Propers include "Laetifica anima" and "Nequando dicat." Recall that text from the "Miserere mei" psalm features prominently in both of these liturgies. Also note that the responsory verses that use "Laetifica anima" and "et pauper sum" incorporate "Miserere mei" petitions.

Another interesting point is that the phrase, "Educ de carcere" forms the first part of an antiphon for the Beheading of John the Baptist, observed on August 29. While the antiphon is drawn from Ps. 141, rather than Ps. 50, its synthesis with a verse from the "Miserere mei" psalm supports my argument that, in the sixteenth century especially, this text took on a particular identity as a pre-execution piece. As a reminder, it was invoked by both Savonarola and the Lady Jane Grey at the proverbial eleventh hour. Ps. 50 already had this identity, to an extent, as verses from it form parts of the Passion Sunday liturgy. Of course, this liturgy revolves around the most important execution in Christian history. The John the Baptist narrative and the story of David and Bathsheba share a common components, the most central being the theme of adultery. John reproves Herod for divorcing his first wife and taking Herodias, his half-brother's wife, as his

own, and is subsequently imprisoned. He is later executed at the behest of Herod's new daughter-in-law, Salome. The use of the word "carcere" (prison) takes on literal significance in the liturgy of the Beheading, though in the context of the psalm these words reflect a very different experience.

Another biblical narrative that is thrown into the mix here, and forms part of the deep background to the text, is the story of Job. Material from the psalms and the Book of Job are often centonized in mid-sixteenth-century motets. Through my survey of Augsburg-produced and D-As-held music books, I identified twenty-nine discrete examples, in addition to several quotations from Job in motet book paratexts. The last phrase of the "Conserva me, Domine" *prima pars* is drawn directly from this source, and a slight variation thereof features as a responsory verse in the Summer Histories.³⁰⁷ Arguably the character who suffers the most intense physical and emotional anguish in the Old Testament, Job's words blend quite readily with those of David and John the Baptist (through a liturgical context). To my knowledge, the extrabiblical lines beginning, "Ne permittas" and "Potens es enim" do not appear in any liturgical text. The "Ne permittas me damnari" phrase is incorporated into many fifteenth- and sixteenth-century versions of the "O bone Jesu" prayer, however.³⁰⁸

The shift from exclusively Old Testament sourced materials in the *prima pars* to a new focus on Jesus in the *secunda pars* illustrates a trajectory that we have seen at varying points

³⁰⁷ "Parce" ("spare," an imperative verb in the present tense) is replaced with "parces" (will spare).

³⁰⁸ It is included in the Scottish composer, Robert Carver's nineteen-voice setting (pre-1513?); Lasso's four-voice, three-part opus (1582); and Palestrina uses the closely-related phrase, "Et ne permittas me separari a te" (and do not permit me to be separated from you) in his six-voice version (1575). Both Carver and Lasso's pieces quote Ps. 50:3, and in Lasso's setting the "Miserere mei" petition recurs four times, further solidifying the connection between this particular extra-biblical phrase and the Ps. 50 text. Patrick Macey discusses other late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century settings of the "O bone Jesu" prayer in his "Josquin, Good King René, and *O bone et dulcissime Jesu*," in *Hearing the Motet*, edited by Dolores Pesce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 213–42.

throughout this dissertation.³⁰⁹ That the invocation is immediate followed by a petition to be spared from damnation further highlights Jesus’s messianic role for Christians, and is further stressed by the fact that it is followed by “Nequando dicat” (Lest my enemy prevail). Death seems imminent at this point, heightening the intensity of the appeal.³¹⁰ Jesus’s centrality to the *secunda pars* is further confirmed by the fact that the opening phrase, “Ne permittas me damnari,” is likely drawn from the “O bone Jesu” prayer just mentioned. This was probably written for the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus, which was institutionalized in the mid-fifteenth century, along with the Litany of Jesus and other new texts.³¹¹

Moving on from the biblical and liturgical contexts—whose background stories share some common, if not overtly conspicuous narrative components—I would now like to examine more immediately accessible word- and phrase-based connections between the centonized texts that make up Clemens non Papa’s motet. For one, each of the seven psalm excerpts derive from psalms attributed to David in the Clementine Vulgate Bible. For another, Pss. 12, 15, 85, and 108 all use the “[Domine] Deus meus” invocation, and Pss. 69, 85, and 108 give the petition, “adjuva me” (or a close variation thereof) at least once. Several verses put forth requests for or acknowledgement of deliverance (from hell, death, etc.), including Ps. 15:10 (“non derelinques animam meam in inferno” [you will not abandon my soul in hell]), Ps. 85:13 (“eruisti animam meam ex inferno inferiori” [you have delivered my soul from the lowest hell]), and Ps. 12:4 (“Illumina oculos meos, ne umquam obdormiam in morte” [Illuminate my eyes, lest I sleep in

³⁰⁹ Recall, from the introduction, that psalm texts interface with verses from the Gospels of Luke, Matthew, and John far more often than with any other biblical materials. Examples may be found in liturgical, liturgically imitative, and nonliturgical motets.

³¹⁰ Indeed, four of the seven Vulgate psalms begin with the inscription, “in finem” (unto the end).

³¹¹ Note that the Litany of Jesus may also be found in an Augsburg source: four polyphonic settings are included in Johann Haym’s *Litaniae textus triplex* (Augsburg: Josias Wörli, 1582).

death]). On an even more local level, Ps. 85:2 ends with the phrase, “sperantem in te” (he who hopes in you), facilitating the transition between the first and second lines of the motet. Ps. 141:7 (the second hemistich) reads “Libera me a persequentibus me, quia confortati sunt super me” (Free me from my persecutors, for they are stronger than me), a petition that is highly reminiscent of the extra-biblical “Potens est enim” line. Of the two parallel Ps. 50 verses 11 (“Averte faciem tuam a peccatis meis” [Turn your face away from my sins]) and 13 (“Ne projicias me a facie tua” [Do not cast me from your face]), the former concludes, “et omnes iniquitates meas dele” (and erase my iniquities), communicating the same notion as Job 14:16 partial verse, “sed parce” Lastly, Pss. 69 and 108 share a number of closely related lines, including Ps. 69:6 and Ps. 108:22.

Essentially, the biblical and extra-biblical ideas that are combined in this text draw on materials related through their shared themes of sin, penance, and contrition (in most cases in the face of dire circumstances); through their attributions to David, in the case of the psalms; and through their homogenous word choice, both on the level of discrete phrases carried in the motet text and on the level of complete psalms and Bible chapters. Various liturgies which use the same verse materials may have suggested a link, through the memory of singers and listeners, with non-Davidian crisis narratives, such as the story of Job and the beheading of John the Baptist. In any case, apart from two extra-biblical lines—at least one of which parallels another relatively somber psalm verse—each of these texts derives from biblical and liturgical moments that revolve around death and the end: stories of sin, suffering, and exile (literal, in the case of Ps. 141, and figurative/spiritual in other contexts), and liturgies for the season of Lent and the Office of the Dead. The textual underlay in Ulhart’s print preserves the unique source identities of each phrase, with cadences breaking up the text in a manner that exactly reflects the points of

division shown in the above transcription. This suggests that the composer was very much aware of the fact that he was working with a conglomerate text, even if he did not compile it himself, and that it is the music, specifically, which allows for these diverse but textually- and thematically-related materials to come together as a whole.

Another example of a Ps. 50 psalm motet printed in mid-sixteenth-century Augsburg offers a point of contrast. This text, set by Johannes de Cleve and included in the *Cantiones sacrae, quae vulgo muteta vocantur* 1 (Augsburg: Ulhart, 1559), is similarly liturgically imitative, but draws on far fewer biblical and liturgical sources for its construction.³¹² To contextualize the motet within its print source, the title page, like Maessens's print, also includes a Latin aphorism. This phrase, "Orpheus, Amphion, Arion, mare, saxa, ferasque/Traxerunt, homines Musica laeta trahit" (Orpheus, Amphion, [and] Arion moved the sea, rocks, and animals; joyful music moves/leads men) yields more overt references to Greek mythological figures and poets than we saw in the title page apothegm of the *Cantiones selectissimae*. The 1559 print is dedicated to Ferdinand I, who had recently ascended to the throne following the abdication (1555) and death (1558) of his brother, Charles V. On the reverse side of the title page we see the imperial coat of arms, crowned and wreathed in a depiction of the Golden Fleece, to which order Ferdinand belonged. The dedication emphasizes Ferdinand's sovereignty; a powerful statement, given that the emperor's titles were not initially recognized by the pope.³¹³ The dedication further emphasizes Ferdinand's divinity (*divinitatis*) and holiness (*sanctitatis*), and employs references to exclusively biblical, as opposed to mythological narratives, further

³¹² At the time of this publication de Cleve held an appointment in the court of Ferdinand I. While in Ferdinand's service, he printed several works in Augsburg and briefly took up residence there (1579–1582).

³¹³ This had to do, in part, with the fact that the preceding emperor, Charles V, abdicated, and in part relates to Ferdinand's Protestant sympathies.

asserting Ferdinand's divine right to rule.³¹⁴ The Blessed Virgin Mary is alluded to by a standard calendrical formula: "quarto Maij, Anno a Virgineo partu 1559" (4 May, [in] the year 1559 after the virgin birth).

The dedication is followed by a poem by Kaspar (Caspar, Gaspar) Stoltz Vorchemius, about whom relatively little is known. Matriculation records from Leipzig University, 1550, include a "Caspar Stoltz Vorchemius" listed among Bavarian attendees.³¹⁵ The rector for this class was Heinrich Salmuth, a Protestant theologian who was particularly well-known for his catechism sermons. Vorchemius probably returned to Bavaria at the conclusion of his studies, given the number of poems, epitaphs, and elegies attributed to him in Augsburg, Munich, and Nuremberg prints. A significant majority of these works were composed by the Augsburg scholar,³¹⁶ Nicolaus Winckler, further asserting a connection between Vorchemius and the city. That a good number of Vorchemius's surviving works are funereal³¹⁷ helps us to characterize him as an author and also adds to our understanding of the peripheral, yet important framework of the book in which the following Ps. 50-based psalm motet is held.

That de Cleve's piece is liturgically imitative is clear on both structural and textual levels. It mimics the form of a responsory, with a recurring respond-type text appearing at the end of both the *prima* and *secunda pars*. The complete motet poem is given below, with biblical

³¹⁴ These include the story of Moses's victory over Pharaoh, after which the prophet sings "Cantemus Domino" (Exod. 15:1), a "melody full of divine praises" (*quam plenam divinis laudibus melodiam*).

³¹⁵ *Die Matrikel der Universität Leipzig*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1895), 681.

³¹⁶ D-Mbs-Munich and D-As-Augsburg preserve a number of books by Winckler on subjects ranging from history, theology, astrology, meteorology, and botany, for example his *Chronica Herbarum, Florum, Seminum, Fructum, Radicum, Succorum, Animalium, atque eorundem partium* (Augsburg: Michael Manger, 1571).

³¹⁷ These include contributions to a book of various epitaphs, published in 1558; two elegies, published in 1580; and an honorary poem included in Winckler's *Bedencken. . . [von] Ende der Welt (Reflections. . . [on] the End of the World)*, published in 1582. Vorchemius also composed wedding epiphalamia, augmenting our thinking of him as an author of commemorative works (for both the living and the deceased).

quotations identified on the right. To facilitate the following discussion, I have also provided a translation.

De Cleve, “Domine clamavi”

Prima pars

Domine clamavi et exaudisti me;	}	Ps. 140:1 (~Ps. 16:6/~Ps. 85:7)
intende voci orationis meae, cum clamavero ad te. ³¹⁸	}	~Ps. 5:3
Quam irritavi iram tuam,	}	nonbiblical
et malum coram te feci.	}	Ps. 50:6a

Secunda pars

Vide humilitatem meam et laborem meum,	}	Ps. 24:18
et dimitte universa delicta mea,	}	
Quam irritavi iram tuam,	}	nonbiblical
et malum coram te feci.	}	Ps. 50:6a

Which translates as:

Prima pars

Lord, I cried and you heard me;
 attend to the voice of my prayer when I cry to you,
[For I have] provoked your anger
 and have done evil before you.

Secunda pars

See my humiliation and my labor,
 And dismiss all my offenses,
[For I have] provoked your anger
 and have done evil before you.

As with Clemens non Papa’s “Conserva me, Domine,” the centonized texts in “Domine clamavi” hail from closely-related liturgies. The most straightforward connection to highlight is that four

³¹⁸ The Vulgate edition of this text reads “Domine, clamavi ad te, exaudi me” (Lord, I have cried to you, hear me), while the motet opens with a phrase that is closer akin to the first half of Ps. 16:6, “Ego clamavi, quoniam exaudisti me, Deus” (I have cried [to you], God, because you have heard me) or the second half of Ps. 85:7, “clamavi ad te, quia exaudisti me” (I cried to you, because you have heard me). “Orationis” does not appear in Ps. 140:1, though it is incorporated into a parallel phrase from Ps. 5:3.

of these psalms, Pss. 16, 50, 75, and 140, are recited on Fridays as part of the weekly cycle (Roman rite). Additionally, an antiphon based on Ps. 5:3 (the first hemistich) is used on Ferial Fridays, and Ps. 85:7 forms part of a responsory for the same occasions. There is also a Lenten association between these texts: Ps. 24:18 makes up part of one introit (“De necessitibus meis”) and one gradual (“Tribulationes cordes mei”), but for the season of Lent. Ps. 50:6 appears in responsories, some of which are for Lent. This same verse is also part of a Lenten offertory (“Miserere mihi, Domine”); and Ps. 85:7 serves as the verse of a Palm Sunday responsory. While the Office of the Dead liturgy does not form a point of contact among these texts, as it did with Clemens non Papa’s motet, I would note that Ps. 50:6 is used as a responsory verse in this context.³¹⁹ The “Quam irritavi . . . te feci” line is, in fact, a respond taken from the Summer Histories responsory, “Peccavi super numerum.” I discussed a liturgical setting of this complete text above; recall that the source of this piece cannot be securely linked to Augsburg, though we know the “Peccavi” was used as part of that Augsburg cathedral liturgy, as attested through the *Breviarium per totum annum* of 1580.

A closer look at the context of these lines brings additional word- and phrase-based affinities to light. For one, all of the quoted psalms are attributed to David. This appears to be a consistency among both liturgical and liturgically imitative polyphonic works to draw on Ps. 50. This includes Ps. 140, as well as Pss. 5, 16, and 85, all of which could be seen as background sources for the opening line, “Domine clamavi.” Pss. 5, 24, and 50 all use “in finem” (unto the end) in their inscriptions, and Pss. 24, 50, and 85 could all be considered part of the “Miserere mei” genre, though this petition is, of course, absent from de Cleve’s text. On a more local level, Ps. 50:6 begins, “Tibi soli peccavi” (Against you alone I have sinned). The “Quam irritavi”

³¹⁹ Hesbert, ed., *CAO*, nr. 3537 and nr. 7765.

respond alludes to the speaker's sins, literally opening with "That [which] provoked"; the offenses identified in Ps. 50 constitute an understood, if not overtly articulated, background to this motet. The Ps. 24 verse, which initiates the *secunda pars*, further transforms David's Ps. 50 ruminations on a specific deed into a more general voicing of the experience of living in sin. The unquoted verse 17 begins, "The troubles of my heart are multiplied" and leads into the above verse 18, "See my humiliation" The verse concludes with a petition for forgiveness—note that a similar request was made in Clemens non Papa's motet, but not in any of the liturgical works—before leading back into the respond.

Four more liturgically imitative motets that quote passages from Ps. 50 may be found in Susato's *Cantiones ecclesiasticae* series, all twelve volumes of which were acquired for use at the church and school of S. Anna. The first, from volume 1 (Antwerp: Susato, 1553), was introduced in the last chapter as it blends textual material from Pss. 118 and 50. The two *partes* of this four-voice "Erravi sicut ovis," also by Clemens non Papa, are introduced by the rubrics, "Psalm CXVIII Aproprinque" (Related to/Approaching Psalm 118) and "Psalmo XXIIII" (Psalm 24), respectively. The Ps. 50 quotation is not acknowledged, giving the modern scholar an idea of how recognizable this phrase was in the sixteenth century: either the quotation was so well-known that the editor, Susato, did not feel the need to alert its inclusion, or else it was too short, or too obscure to be noteworthy. A transcription and translation may be referenced in chapter five, therefore a brief summary and discussion of the contents will suffice here:

Apart from an added "Domine" invocation, the *prima pars* follows the Vulgate translation of Ps. 118:176 verbatim. The *secunda pars* then begins with the first hemistich of Ps. 24:7, again with an added "Domine" but no other revisions. This part concludes with the opening clause of Ps. 50:6, "[quia] tibi soli peccavi" ([because] against you alone I have sinned). The lack

of acknowledgement of Ps. 50 in the rubric for this moment is particularly striking, given, as well have now seen, the prevalence of this phrase in other liturgical, nonliturgical, and liturgically imitative works. It suggests that this phrase did not serve to characterize the “Miserere,” in contrast to the psalm’s opening words. The liturgical connection derives from the fact that both the *prima* and *secunda pars* of this motet served as discrete verses on ferial Sundays. In addition, augmenting our ideas of Ps. 50’s (and the psalms with which it most often combines) profile, the *prima pars* psalm forms part of a Lenten responsory, and the *secunda pars* verse, without the Ps. 50 clause, is used as an antiphon in the Office of the Dead. The “tibi soli peccavi” phrase has connections to all three of these liturgies— ferial Sundays, the Office of the Dead, and Lent—though the Augsburg cathedral antiphoner (DK-Kk 3449 8o II and IV) groups it among pieces for ferial Sundays and Septuagesima Sunday.³²⁰

The *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* 9 includes two additional liturgically imitative motets that quote Ps. 50. The first to appear is a five-voice “Miserere mei” setting by Jacobus Vaet. Like de Cleve’s “Domine clamavi,” the structure of this piece mimics the form of a responsory, albeit with a much shorter “respond” (the opening phrase, “Miserere mei, Deus”). The complete text is given below.

Vaet, “Miserere mei”

Prima pars

Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam;
 et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum, dele } Ps. 50:3
 iniquitatem meam.

³²⁰ The full text of the antiphons that includes the “quia tibi” clause are “Quoniam iniquitatem meam ego agnosco et delictum meum coram me est semper tibi soli peccavi” (~Ps. 50:5–6) and “Miserere mei, Deus, et a delicto meo munda me quia tibi soli peccavi” (adapted hemistiches from Ps. 50:3 and 4).

Secunda pars

Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum,
et in peccatis concepit me mater mea.

Miserere mei, Deus.

} Ps. 50:7

} Ps. 50:3

This translates as:

Prima pars

Have mercy on me, O God, according to your steadfast love; according to your abundant mercy blot out my transgressions.

Secunda pars

Indeed, I was born guilty, a sinner when my mother conceived me; have mercy on me, O God.³²¹

The *prima pars* follows Ps. 50:3 in its entirety, while the *secunda pars* follows verse 7, concluding with the characteristic “Miserere” petition. Because the recurring phrase appears as the first and final texts, rather than appearing at the end of both the *prima* and *secunda pars*, it is a bit of a stretch to call this structure responsorial; however, the text shares another commonality with the liturgical tradition, in using only Ps. 50 materials. Recall that no known liturgical texts that quote Ps. 50 also draw on other psalms. Based on the examined nonliturgical and liturgically imitative models we have seen thus far, this is not at all the case outside of the liturgical tradition. In this rare example, however, we see that shared characteristic. Verses 3 and 7 do not appear together in any liturgical chant—in fact, verse 7 is one of those unusual Ps. 50 texts that is not quoted in a single liturgical source—and, additionally, I am not aware of any liturgical text, including responsories, wherein the “Miserere mei” petition is heard twice. The organization of this phrase recalls Paminger’s “Peccavi super numerum” responsory, in which the “Miserere mei” was appended to the respond and verse, producing a somewhat litanic feel. We could be seeing, in this work, a related concept.

³²¹ Lines translated per the NRSV.

Susato’s “Peccata mea” setting concludes the *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* 9. A rubric, “Psalm XXXVII” (Psalm 37) introduces the five-voice work in each part book. The text comprises quotes or paraphrases from several psalms, including Pss. 37, 6 (or Jer. 17), and 50, though only the first reference is acknowledged in headers. Again, this raises the question of the relative familiarity composers and publishers of sixteenth-century sacred music had with these sources. It may be that materials not announced were recognizable on their own, or it may be that the Ps. 37 quotation, in this case, was the only one Susato knew. The latter argument seems far-fetched, given that the text was set by the volume’s editor; even if Susato did not compile this poem, one would think that he knew at least something about its biblical and liturgical references. A transcription is given below:

Susato, “Peccata mea”

Prima pars

Peccata mea, Domine, sicut sagitte infixae sunt in me,	}	~Ps. 37:3
sed antequam vulnera generent in me;	}	nonbiblical
Sana me, Domine, medicamentum poenitentiae, Deus.	}	~Ps. 6:3/~Jer. 17:14

Secunda pars

Quoniam iniquitatem meam ego cognosco,	}	Ps. 50:5–6a
et delictum meum coram me est semper;		
Tibi soli peccavi.		

Which translates as:

Prima pars

My sins, Lord, are like arrows fixed in me,
 but before they beget wounds in me;
Heal me, Lord, [with] the medicine of God’s penance.

Secunda pars

For I recognize my iniquity,
 and my guilt is always before me;
Against you alone I have sinned.

Note that although Ps. 37:3 is identified as a source text, its iteration here is significantly adapted, as is that of Ps. 6/Jer. 17. The first hemistich of the Vulgate translation of Ps. 37:3 reads, “Quoniam sagittae tuae infixae sunt mihi” (Because your arrows are fastened in me). While the idea of sin (“iniquita,” “delictum,” “peccatum”) is clearly central to the Ps. 50-derived *secunda pars*, these themes have been layered onto the *prima pars* materials by way of a responsory. The complete text follows eighth responsory from the Office for the Dead, but without the use of a repeating respond (“Domine, medicamentum”).

Susato’s *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* 12 includes a final liturgically imitative example that can be placed in a sixteenth-century Augsburg institution. This is the five voice “Cor mundum crea” by Benedictus Appenzeller. The composer visited Augsburg and Munich in 1551, as part of Mary of Hungary’s retinue. Mary had come to the city to help settle the matter of Ferdinand’s, and his and Charles’s heirs’ succession.³²² By that point, Appenzeller had held a position as a singer and choirmaster for some fifteen years, though few documents survive to flesh out his biography. Another motet text that blends material from Pss. 118 and 50, a transcription and translation may be found in chapter four.

There is no direct liturgical connection between the centonized psalm verses, Ps. 50:12 and Ps. 118:18, which form this motet’s *prima* and *secunda pars*. Both lines are given verbatim, and both are used in diverse parts of the liturgy: they form part of the ferial office on Thursdays, though this cannot be confirmed in Augsburg; the Ps. 50 verse is also used as an antiphon during Lent; and the Ps. 118 verse, as we saw in chapter five, appears in numerous versions of antiphons

³²² A concise summary of these events may be found in historian Geoffrey Parker’s prologue to *The Seventh Window: The King’s Window Donated by Philip II and Mary Tudor to Sint Janskerk in Gouda (1557)*, edited by Wim de Groot (Hilversum, Netherlands: Verloren Publishers 2005), 13.

and responsories for the Feast of S. Cecilia.³²³ In this case, the liturgical background says little about the impetus that brought about these two texts' synthesis. The two psalms do not share a Davidian attribution, nor are they structurally or thematically alike. Yet, both of these verses convey a message that relates to spiritual cleanliness, and both share an image of a clean or undefiled heart. In a sense, this motet takes the visceral grit of the first psalm quotation and transforms this request—one of pained contrition after an adulterous act—and transforms it into a pious plea. Recall that, of all the psalms, Ps. 118 is one of the most “upright,” focusing through 176 verses on themes of law and obedience. Note also the salient Caecilian connection augments this, by implying the voice of a pious female martyr. If the poetic voice of this motet is, indeed, hers, this distances the overall text of the motet even further from Ps. 50, which includes such lines as “in peccatis concepit me mater mea” (“in sins my mother conceived me,” a reference to the story of Adam and Eve).

Two more examples of liturgically imitative motets may be found in sources that cannot be placed in sixteenth-century Augsburg. I will consider these briefly, as examining them broadens the reader's understanding of how Ps. 50 was used in the motet genre, and more generally, of what a liturgically imitative piece can look like. The first, a “Concupiscendo concupiscit” setting by Orlando di Lasso, is preserved in two Augsburg-held prints: the *Cantiones selectissimae 2* anthology (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1568) and the *Cantiones sacrae 2* (Munich: Berg, 1572). Peter Bergquist identifies the source of this text as a paraphrase of Pss. 50:17 and 144:1.³²⁴ In fact, apart from the invocation, “Domine,” the first phrase shares neither a language nor a sentiment with the Ps. 50 verse. Following this introduction, we do get a very

³²³ See the *Breviarium per totum annum*, vol. 4.

³²⁴ Lasso, *Complete Motets*, vol. 5, xxiv.

close approximation of Ps. 50:17, and the *secunda pars* carries the Ps. 144 material. A transcription, with identified biblical sources, is given below:

Lasso, “Concupiscendo concupiscit”

Prima pars

Concupiscendo concupiscit anima mea laudare te, O Domine, } nonbiblical
O Deus omnipotens: aperi labia mea, } Ps. 50:17
ut annuntiet os meam laudem tuam.

Secunda pars

Exaltabo te, Deus meus, in toto corde meo: }
et benedicam nomini tuo in saeculum et in aeternum. } Ps. 144:1

Which translates as:

Prima pars

With great longing my soul yearns to praise you, O Lord,
O omnipotent God: open my lips,
that my mouth may declare your praise.³²⁵

Secunda pars

I will exalt you, my God, with my whole heart:
and I will bless your name forever and in eternity.³²⁶

While the psalm paraphrases are actually quite close to the Vulgate versions, I have been unable to locate a biblical or liturgical text that approximates the opening line. S. Thomas of Villanova (1488–1555), whose complete works were printed in Augsburg in the eighteenth century, if not before, and who served as a court preacher to Charles V during his visits to Valladolid, Spain, uses a similar phrase in his commentary on the mysteries of the rosary. In this context, following a passage in which the author ruminates on the image of Mary as a precious

³²⁵ The Clementine Vulgate Bible gives a slightly different invocation, “O Lord,” and presents a future-tense verb such that a direct translation of this phrase would read “my mouth will declare your praise.”

³²⁶ The Clementine Vulgate Bible concludes, “in saeculum saeculi” (forever and ever) and lacks the phrase, “in toto corde meo” (with my whole heart).

pearl, Thomas gives “Concupiscit anima mea laudare te; cor meum ardore incredibili aextuat ad te” (My soul yearns to praise you; my heart burns with incredible fire for you).³²⁷ If Thomas’s writings were available to Lasso, this stands as a viable source, in which case we can look on this text as another example of Marian poetry that has been confessionally “neutralized,” by being addressed to God instead of Mary. We saw a similar pattern in the way S. Bonaventure’s writings are treated in mid-sixteenth-century motets; and the later decades of the sixteenth- and early-seventeenth centuries witnessed a veritable explosion of works setting revised versions of Marian antiphons.³²⁸ As a final point, the Ps. 50 verse referenced in this motet has ties to Lent in both the Augsburg and Roman liturgies.

The following section moves from liturgically derived or imitative works held in nonliturgical motet books to entirely nonliturgical settings. Some of these have already been discussed, as they incorporate other elements, such as psalm-based prose (the Augustinian and Savonarolan motets, discussed in chapter three), or centonize with Ps. 118 (two examples are discussed in chapter four). A brief summary of those works serves to contextualize them within the context of this chapter’s discussion.

Two motets setting Ps. 50-based are included in the Augsburg print, *Cantiones selectissimae* (Uhart, 1548). As a reminder, this book was assembled in advance of the Diet of Augsburg in 1548, when the city played host to Charles V and his retinue, along with various other members of the royal family. The composers represented in the volume include, as advertised, Cornelius Canis, Thomas Crecquillon, Jean (Johann) Lestainnier, and Nicolas Payen,

³²⁷ The allusion is to one of Jesus’s parables from the Gospel of Matthew, chapter 13, verses 46–47.

³²⁸ See Mary E. Frandsen, “*Salve Regina/Salve Rex Christi*: Lutheran Engagement with the Marian Antiphons in the Age of Orthodoxy and Piety,” *Musica Disciplina* 55 (2010): 129–218.

all of whom served in the imperial court. Payen's "Domine, Deus salutis," discussed in chapters three and five, borrows a text from S. Augustine's *Meditations*, Book I, part 2. It opens with an exegetical invocation to God as a savior (*salutis*) and a guide to the "way of a good life" (*bene vivendi viam*), one who drives back the threat of hell (*minatus es gehennen*) and promises glory (*pollicitus es gloriam*). As with Lasso's piece, this extra-biblical material forms the opening of the motet, the biblical quotations and passages appearing only in the *secunda pars*. These include a quotation from the first hemistich of Ps. 118:120, followed by a transitioning extra-biblical phrase and concluding with the first hemistich of Ps. 50:14. A complete transcription and translation are given in chapter three.

This is, again, not the first time that we see a centonization of Pss. 118 and 50 texts. It would be difficult to determine whether this affinity is owed to Augustine, to the liturgical chant repertory, or to another source (most likely it is a combination of the above), but in any case this textual relationship is quite vital in Renaissance musical poetry. Nor do we see a specific subset of verses from each psalm being used more or less often: in this chapter alone we have seen Ps. 118:176 combined with Ps. 50:6; Ps. 118:80 with Ps. 50:12; and now Ps. 118:120 with Ps. 50:14. Note that all three of the Ps. 118 quotations come from verses that conclude octaves (these are octaves 22, 10, and 15, respectively). Based on this consistency, I suggest that Augustine shared a perception with Renaissance motet authors that the verses with structural significance in the so-called "ABC psalm" held greater import.

Also, the Augustinian motet constitutes a third instance where a Ps. 50 text not used in the liturgy, apart from the weekly cycle of psalms, is quoted in a sacred art music context. Ps. 50:14, "et redde mihi laetitiam salutaris tui" (and restore to me the joy of your salvation) gets the proverbial "last word" in this motet, illustrating another Ps. 50-based motet consistency where

the “miserere” psalm text appears last. I suggest that this derives from the simple fact that psalms texts are most often used as verses in introits and responsories. In translating these texts into nonliturgical or nonliturgical motets, one often finds that the “verse” becomes the *secunda pars*. It does raise the question, however, of what it means for a biblical or ascetical quotation to appear first and last in a motet. Much literature focuses on the idea of a motet’s “character” deriving first and foremost from opening elements: incipits, points of imitation, and so forth. What happens at the end is, at least from the perspective of modern scholarship, less critical. The *Meditations* excerpt does not follow a liturgical model. Yet, whoever chose for it to be set to music still elected a passage that begins exegetically and ends with a psalm. This strikes me as more than coincidence.

Following Savonarola’s execution in 1498, his prison meditations on Pss. 50 and 30 took on a veritable life of their own. The meditations were issued in a diversity of languages, including Italian, German, French, Flemish, Spanish, and English, from dozens of cities across Europe. The texts also inspired new musical and prose works, including Josquin’s “Miserere mei, Deus” motet of 1503/1504,³²⁹ followed by Clemens non Papa’s “Tristitia obsedit” and Orlando di Lasso’s “Infelix ego,” both discussed in chapter three, and Martin Luther’s preface of 1523 (Wittenberg: Rhau).

Notably, on the cover of Luther’s print Savonarola is described as “pious and erudite” (*pia et erudita*). This description probably reflects and also contributes to a sixteenth-century sense of the psalm upon which he chose to reflect as a text for the upright and (biblically)

³²⁹ This piece was, undoubtedly, influenced by Savonarola’s writings, though Adrian Willaert was the first composer to quote the meditations direction. For more on Josquin’s work, see John Milsom, “Motets for Five or More Voices” and Patrick Macey, “Josquin and Musical Rhetoric: *Miserere mei, Deus* and Other Motifs,” both in *The Josquin Companion*, vol. 1, edited by Richard Sherr (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 281–320 and 485–530, respectively. See also Macey, *Bonfire Songs*.

educated. Luther does not highlight psalm quotations in the body of the text or in the margins, but rather alerts the reader to these moments through indentations and larger fonts. The reader knows, of course, that he is reading a reflection on Ps. 50 from the title. By stressing biblical quotations through the formatting, Luther prompts readers to acknowledge these texts without interrupting Savonarola's prose. Copies of this print survive in both Augsburg and Munich.³³⁰ Though I am not aware of its being issued in Augsburg, other editions most certainly were. Despite the fact that Savonarola was hung and burned for heresy, his meditations were not prohibited, allowing them to survive in popular and also academic cultures (universities, intellectual societies, etc.) throughout the sixteenth century.

Two settings of the "Domine, Deus omnipotens" prayer, whose author is unknown, may also be found in Augsburg-affiliated sources. One setting is preserved in Ulhart's *Selectissimae cantiones* (1548)—the same print that contains Payen's Augustinian motet, "Domine, Deus salutis"—and is attributed to "Ihean Lestainnier, Organista" (Johann Lestainnier). The setting is for four voices; it is organized in two sections, notated with the flat signature. Both *partes* cadence on G. The second setting, attributed to Cornelius Canis, is included in Susato's *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* 5 (Antwerp, 1553). The five-voice piece is also organized in two sections, but it is notated without the flat signature. Cadences on A and D conclude the *prima* and *secunda partes*, respectively. As reminder, both Lestainnier and Canis were employed in the Imperial Chapel of Charles V. This indicates that they may have shared a textual source for the "Domine, Deus omnipotens" prayer. A complete textual transcription of the musically-set texts is given below. Since the opening hemistich of Ps. 50 is the only biblical or liturgical quotation to be incorporated in this prose-based text, it is simply underlined:

³³⁰ Augsburg University Library, sig.: 02/XIII.6.4.202; Bavarian State Library, sig.: Res/4 P.lat. 1601,14.

Payen, “Domine, Deus omnipotens”

Prima pars

Domine, Deus omnipotens, queso te respice famulum tuum, hic in carcere tribulationis multisque periculosus afflictionibus corporis et anime; propter peccata sua onustum et circumdatum, et quibus se nullo modo sine tuo divino presidio evolvero potest.

Secunda pars

Ideo misericors et clemens pater, contrito corde te invoco; respice angustiam et calamitatem meam, et miserere mei secundum magnam misericordiam tuam, quoniam non aliunde nisi a te solo liberationem expecto.

Which translates as:

Prima pars

Lord, omnipotent God, I ask that you look upon your servant, here in the prison of tribulation and of many perilous afflictions of the body and soul; for his sins press and surround, from which there is no way I can be extricated without your divine aid.

Secunda pars

Compassionate and merciful father, with a contrite heart I call upon you; look upon my anguish and misfortune, and have mercy on me according to your great mercy, because from no other source but you do I await deliverance.

A user of limited Bible or liturgical literacy might still recognize the Ps. 50:3 quotation, and interpret this text as a general gloss on Ps. 50. A more hermeneutically active reader, on the other hand, might notice that the opening line closely parallels another liturgical text for the Beheading of John the Baptist: “Dominator omnium, Deus, respice tuum famulum in carcerem istum orantem et ad te postulantem, quia finis advenit” (Ruler of all, God, look upon your servant in this prison [who is] praying and demanding for you, for the end has come). That this biblical pre-death petition, again, forms part of the backdrop for the motet allows me to reassert the connections between Ps. 50 and execution/death. The “quia finis advenit” further invokes the opening of Ps. 50, among other Davidian psalms that we have seen, whose inscription includes the words “in finem” (unto the end). As with most meditative-type/extra-biblical prose motets

that incorporate a psalm verse, the Ps. 50 quotation appears near the end of the *secunda pars*. The Ps. 50:3 hemistich is not the last statement that is heard, however; instead, the phrase “quoniam liberationem expect”—this recalls the Office of the Dead responsory, “Libera me”—concludes the musically-set text. Note that the first hemistich of Ps. 50:16 yields a related phrase, “Libera me de sanguinibus, Deus, Deus salutis meae” (Deliver me from bloodshed, God, God of my salvation).

Two final examples defy categorization. The first of these, a five-voice “Miserere mei” setting, is included in Johann Knöfel’s *Dulcissimae quaedam cantiones* (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1571). The single-sectioned motet is notated without the flat signature, and the final cadence occurs on E. The musically-set text blends quotations and paraphrases from both Old and New Testament texts, along with two extra-biblical petitions. The final phrase, “Domine, Deus salutis meae,” forms the first part of a Lenten responsory verse. A transcription is given below for further consideration:

Knöfel, “Miserere mei”

Miserere mei Deus,	}	Ps. 50:3
quoniam tristis est anima mea;	}	Matt. 26:38/Mark 14:34
In dolore meo ad te confugio,	}	nonbiblical
et auxilium tuum implore;		
Ne deseras me, Domine, Deus salutis meae.	}	Ps. 37:22–23

Which translates as:

Have mercy on me, God
 For my soul is sad;
In my sorrow I flee to you,
 and beg [for] your help;
Do not desert me, Lord, God of my salvation.

The phrase, “tristis est anima mea” appears in the gospels of both Matthew and Mark and forms an iconic part of the Lenten liturgy. In both narratives, these words are uttered by Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemani, on the eve of his arrest. The line recalls a verse from Ps. 41—the source of the “Sicut cervus” tract for the Easter Vigil—and reads: “Quaere tristis es, anima mea” (Why are you sad, my soul).³³¹ This tract may also be used as a substitute for the “Absolve me” in the Office of the Dead. The “ad te confugio” clause may reference the penitential Ps. 142:9, “ad te confugi” (to you I have fled). Finally, in addition to referencing Ps. 50:16, the invocation “Domine, Deus salutis meae” appears as the first hemistich in the notoriously bleak Ps. 87, and also concludes the penitential Ps. 37. If we interpret this hemistich as derived from Ps. 50, we might see the overall structure of the motet text as bookended by this psalm, making it the most critical background element. If we focus, instead, on the fact that three of the seven penitential psalms have been quoted or paraphrased here, the work seems to be more about humility in general. The “tristis est anima” line further detaches the opening “miserere” from its original context, in my view. This, again, demonstrates a tendency in Ps. 50-based motets for the non-Ps. 50 material to somehow distance the opening petition, or other quoted materials, from the story of David and Bathsheba.

Johann Knöfel’s work was shaped, both liturgically and geographically, by a very different set of parameters than affected Augsburg: Tridentine reforms only indirectly impacted the city’s culture, and the Tridentine decrees were never published there.³³² At the time of the *Cantiones*’ publication, the Lutheran Knöfel was employed in Goldberg (now Złotoryja, in modern-day Poland). Confessional identities in that region were shaped more significantly by the

³³¹ This question forms the first hemistich Ps. 41, verses, 6 and 9.

³³² Christian Thomas Leitmeir, personal conversation.

Lutheran-Calvinist conflict. The Edicts and Decrees of the Council of Trent were never issued there, and the Benedictine and Roman rites undoubtedly fell away. Given that most of Knöfel's surviving prints were issued in Nuremberg, however, I do not find it at all improbable that they could have been accessed in Augsburg, and that the provenance of the book now held at the Augsburg State- and City Library is, in fact, that city.

Though not a Ps. 50 motet, Thomas Stoltzer's two-voice "Ich stund an einem morgen" is prefaced in Rotenbucher's *Bergkreyen* by a poetic "argument" that forms part of the introduction to Helius Eobanus Hessus's Ps. 50 paraphrase in his *Psalms of David*. The four-line poem is organized as two distiches and reads as follows:

Quae sit origo mali, quae uis, quae damna, parentum,

Intulerint stulta poma resecta manu:

Ad ueniam reditus pateat quis et unde paretur,

Pectoris hic pura simplicitate docet.³³³

This translates as: "What is the origin of evil? What force? What damnation? Parents. They bring in foolish apples trimmed by hand. The return to favor will be open to anyone, and so prepare. This teaches the simplicity [that] the heart is pure." The reference to "foolish apples" points to the story of Adam and Eve. In the context of Hessus's argument, introducing his Ps. 50 paraphrase, this also indicates Ps. 50:7, "Indeed, I was born guilty, a sinner when my mother conceived me" and Ps. 50:16 "Deliver me from bloodshed." (That is to say: "Deliver me from my inheritance"). The general focus on original sin is expounded through the Lied—a lament

³³³ A nearly identical paraphrase is included in Hessus's *Universal Psalter*, though the introductory prose and poetry are lacking in this source. See Helius Eobanus Hessus, *Psalterium Davidis carmine redditum* (Strasbourg: Mylius, 1540), 155.

from the perspective of Adam and Eve on the loss of paradise. Hessus implies a very humanist concept of sin where he concludes, “the heart is pure.” By incorporating this positive, humanist-oriented interpretation of the psalm as a sort of compass for singers and readers of the “Ich Stund” Lied, Rotenbacher effectively authorizes the same interpretation of original sin as it pertains, directly, to the Adam and Eve narrative. The argument that the heart is pure does not feature in either Catholic or Lutheran doctrine concerning sin and justification. I therefore interpret Hessus’s reading of Ps. 50 and Rotenbacher’s implied reading of Stoltzer’s “Ich Stund” as entirely nonconfessional.

My first objective with this chapter was to establish a profile of Ps. 50, as a musically-set psalm text, based on analyses and reflection on a wide range of motets produced in Augsburg or held at the D-As. Four tendencies emerged from this initial phase of my investigation, namely: 1) Ps. 50 motets are most likely found in nonliturgical sources; 2) the majority of these motets incorporate the “Miserere mei, Deus” petition; 3) the majority quote or adapt texts from Office of the Dead liturgies; and 4) a higher than normal percentage use artificial structural devices such as canons, psalm tones, and cantus firmi. My second objective was to investigate potential connections between Ps. 50 motet tendencies and aspects of the psalm text (structure and content), standard liturgies based on Ps. 50 elements, authoritative and local commentaries, and sociocultural concepts and associations. Given the wide range of styles, structures, and uses of the Ps. 50 text, and the fact that the four tendencies I identified are interconnected, this discussion unfolded on a piece-by-piece basis. Based on extant evidence and subsequent conjecture, I concluded that Augsburg residents encountered polyphonic Ps. 50 settings most often outside of church. Some performances may have been oriented around religious ceremonies, such as processions. A

concentration of liturgically liminal works, such as Isaac's "Asperges me," and various Ps. 50-based chants, are consistently assigned to such events in prints and manuscripts associated with Augsburg's religious institutions (SS. Ulrich and Afra, the Augsburg cathedral, and S. Katherina). Additional evidence arises from the fact that a substantial body of motets contained in books that were acquired by individual or institutional Augsburg users follow significantly adapted texts from the Office of the Dead. These adaptations would limit the viability of the motets in liturgically strict ceremonies.

Two critical factors appear to have had the most significant influence on mid-sixteenth-century Ps. 50-based works. The first pertains to the psalm's pervasive presence in the liturgy, and the second to augmented cultural associations with this text and the idea of death/suffering. As a reminder, Ps. 50 was recited in its entirety every day as part of the Divine Office. Certain verses have significant ties to the most somber, solemn feasts of the church year. This includes Lent (in general, but especially Ash Wednesday and Tenebrae services), the Beheading of John the Baptist, the Feast of S. Cecilia, and the Office of the Dead. The concept of this psalm as a pre-execution piece—an association derived, first, through its usage in Tenebrae liturgies surrounding Jesus's crucifixion, and second, through its inclusion in liturgies for feasts of biblical and early Christian martyrs—is augmented in the sixteenth century by way of famous pre-death articulations. The most recognized among these is, no doubt, Savonarola's prison meditation on the penitential psalm.

Sixteenth-century composers' liturgically- and culturally-based associations with Ps. 50 and death are illustrated through the plethora of extant motets based on Office of the Dead texts and through centonates with other Bible elements whose narrative contexts deal centrally with death and suffering. Among these are the centonates that blend Ps. 50 with other psalms centered

on David's trials and centonates that combine the penitential psalm with verse material from the Book of Job. On rare occasions, commentative marginalia reference Bible texts that are less obviously connected to Ps. 50 and are, therefore, more hermeneutically engaging (e.g., Paminger's "Peccavi mea" motets). Marginal notes that indicate only one among many quoted or paraphrased psalms also invite contemplation and reflection.

None of the tendencies or associations I have identified and discussed suggest limited confessional use, nor do any of the motets issue a confession-specific reading.³³⁴ Instead, most present a first-person petition whose general affect is far more pathos-oriented than didactic or dogmatic. As a result, these works remain open to users of diverse confessional orientations. The nature of the motet texts invite users to supply their interpretations. The relatively free engagement among composers with Ps. 50-based liturgies literally separates these works from specific confessional and ecclesiastical contexts, since the rituals associated with these identities/spaces are fundamentally linked. Evidence of articulations and performances of Ps. 50 at liturgical and ecclesiastical boundaries—physically, as part of extra-liturgical ceremonies that take place outdoors or in the home; conceptually, as with the "Asperges me" motet, which is sung in the beginning or end of Mass; and literally, through adaptations to liturgical texts—further the notion that this psalm is especially available to the confessionally diverse individual user, to be read according to his or her unique perspective. Extra-ecclesiastical singing and reading of the musical Ps. 50 is especially indicated for completely nonliturgical motets that are based on this psalm, such as the motets setting Augustine's and Savonarola's Ps. 50-based prose,

³³⁴ Paminger's "Peccavi mea" motets may constitute sole exceptions—though I propose that the Judaic reading is not at all self-evident.

and the anonymous “Domine, Deus omnipotens.”³³⁵ A noteworthy abundance of such meditative-type motets incorporate Ps. 50 elements. In brief, in the context of mid-sixteenth-century polyphony, this penitential psalm led singers, listeners, and readers away from ecclesiastical spheres and into more secular realms for contemplation and reflection. The basic profile of the psalm that is presented through motets—as a “universal” personal plea—supports my core argument that the psalms that come to prominence through motets relate to the idea of shared experiences: the Ps. 50 settings are both accessible and potentially meaningful to plural users of differing literacies, levels of interaction, and confessional leanings.

³³⁵ And, as a reminder, these authors were not yet “claimed” by members of any one religious sect. Augustine’s and Savonarola’s writings, in particular, were popular across confessions.

CHAPTER 6: CASE STUDY: MOTET SETTINGS OF PSALM 67

A higher concentration of Ps. 67-based motets is preserved among mid-sixteenth-century Augsburg-produced volumes than settings of any other psalm text. Though more motets using Pss. 118 and 50 elements appear across the D-As collection, an equal number of Pss. 118 and 67 settings may be located in manuscripts and prints that were copied in Augsburg or issued from Augsburg firms. Also, all but two of the fourteen motet books that contain Ps. 67 settings can be securely placed in the hands of one or more sixteenth-century Augsburg individual or institution. While a significant number of Pss. 118 and 50 motets may also be found among Augsburg-produced sources, a more equal distribution of these works is preserved among volumes issued elsewhere in Europe. This indicates that Ps. 67 held special meaning to the citizens of Augsburg, and that affinities for the psalm possibly arise from conditions specific to that city's history and culture. In this final chapter, I argue that two factors most significantly contributed to local interests in the psalm. The first has to do with the relationship between Ps. 67's military themes and concurrent events in southern Germany. The second pertains to Augsburg's perceived identity as a "German Jerusalem." Motets based on the text that were copied out or included in Augsburg prints may have reflected and augmented affinities for this Davidian psalm.

Most settings of Ps. 67 that are contained in Augsburg-produced volumes are included in sources I have classified as liturgical. This suggests that the psalm was frequently encountered in ecclesiastical contexts, where a specific confessional reading may have shaped listeners' and singers' interpretations of the text. Remarkably, though several verses of the psalm form parts of

the controversial Corpus Christi celebration, musical settings of these verses appear most often in nonliturgical volumes. Ps. 67-based polyphonic works in liturgical sources are, instead, assigned to shared Christian feasts such as the Ascension and Pentecost. Apart from three manuscripts copied out for use at the Benedictine monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra, the remaining liturgical sources of Ps. 67 motets appear accessible to diverse confessional groups. This indicates widespread interests in Ps. 67 among diverse Christian sects. Settings that use Corpus Christi-affiliated verses are even found in volumes that can be placed in the hands of sixteenth-century Protestants—for example, the students of S. Anna. In brief, despite clear liturgical use of select Ps. 67 elements, a plethora of evidence shows that both sixteenth-century Catholics and Protestants took an interest in this psalm.

Through my analyses of Ps. 67 motets, three tendencies come to the foreground. First, as a musically-set text, the psalm is consistently connected with longstanding liturgies for Ascension Thursday, Pentecost, and Corpus Christi. In the volumes classified as liturgical, Ps. 67 elements are employed most often as antiphons and responsories for the first two feasts, while in nonliturgical volumes, motets based on or imitating liturgical chants for all three appear. Directly stemming from this tendency is the trend for Ps. 67 to centonize with many types of texts. In most cases, Ps. 67 centonates are liturgically derived. Secondary textual elements may include verses from the Hebrew and Christian Bibles and extra-biblical writings. I found no motets based entirely on Ps. 67 verses. This constitutes a significant departure from the musical profiles that were established for Pss. 118 and 50 through my case studies. I identified several psalm motets based entirely on one or the other of these two Davidian poems, with several examples setting consecutive verses. Also recall that Ps. 118 centonates tended to use only Ps. 118 verses and verse hemistiches from various octaves of the lengthy acrostic, and that many of these textual

combinations were liturgically related. Ps. 50 centonates often included elements of three or more different psalms, on the other hand, and were rarely liturgically based. Another key distinction between centonates with Pss. 67, 118, and 50 is that even liturgically imitative Ps. 67-based motets, whose texts use material from disparate parts of the same feast are rarely conjoined through common words or phrases. Ps. 118 centonates, conversely, are often based on shared imagery or texts. A biblically literate reader is, therefore, better equipped to recognize and reflect on disparate parts of Ps. 118 settings, whereas a liturgically well-versed user would be more able to parse and discuss portions of Ps. 67 motets. A third and final tendency is for Ps. 67 settings to use artificial structural devices such as canons and *cantus firmi*. I view this as a direct result of the fact that more Ps. 67 motets are found in books assembled by Augsburg residents. A pronounced interest in such devices is evident through various prints and manuscripts that were produced between 1540 and 1585, as I highlighted in my introduction.

My initial identification of the liturgies with which Ps. 67 is most closely associated yields a preliminary picture of the general ceremonial contexts through which this psalm was encountered. A closer look at the specific verses that feature most frequently in Augsburg-affiliated motets illustrates a concentration of texts with military themes, on the other hand, that may have held more specific local significance. Verses pertaining to God's strength along with his ability to command armies and to empower his chosen tend to appear most often. This includes Ps. 67:29, which incorporates the phrase, "show your strength, O God, as you have done for us before," and Ps. 67:31, which ends, "scatter the peoples who delight in war." Verses through which God is characterized as a benevolent monarch also come to the foreground. Ps. 67:11, for instance, concludes, "in your goodness, O God, you provided for the needy." Other verses, such as Ps. 67:19 and Ps. 67:33–34, which form the bases of antiphons and responsories

for Ascension Thursday, Pentecost, and Corpus Christi, also appear in multiple Augsburg-affiliated motets.

Given that composers and textual compilers relied on different Bible translations and sources of Latin psalm texts, it is difficult to objectively compare the degree to which certain psalms are adapted through music. My observation is that Ps. 67 is altered more frequently than other psalm texts, as is especially evident where “God” is replaced with “Jesus,” or “Zion” with “heaven” in motets. Ps. 67 makes specific reference to the Israelites’ flight out of Egypt, followed by an account of the physical landscape of Jerusalem and its surrounding regions. In working with this text, writers and composers would have been compelled to confront Jewish history and the physical geography of a Jewish city. This poses significant problems for Christians wanting to read the text as a messianic prophecy. By adapting the psalm to replace certain words, and avoiding lines that situate the poem in a Jewish Jerusalem—as opposed to an ideal, Christian Jerusalem, or Jerusalem as a metaphor for heaven—Christian composers were able to essentially colonize the text and effect a clearly Christian reading. Though all of the Ps. 67 motets are centonates of some type, rubrics and marginalia in the motet books consistently indicate only the Ps. 67 elements. I argue that these margin notes emphasize Christians’ claims on this text as a prophecy of Jesus’s final ascent. This multiconfessional Christian narrative would have been especially important to substantiating Augsburg’s German Jerusalem—that is, Christian Jerusalem—identity.

In the following pages, I provide an overview of the source volumes and settings of Ps. 67 motets, followed by a summary of the psalm’s content and Christian liturgical history. The final section offers a discussion of selected Ps. 67 settings, through which I characterize the psalm’s mid-sixteenth-century profile as a musically-set text. This survey illustrates the three

textual and stylistic tendencies I highlighted above and illuminates the point that, though settings lack overt confessional significance, textual selections and adaptations clearly demonstrate a sense of shared Christian community that excludes Jews.

6.1 SOURCE MATERIALS

I have identified twenty motets in fourteen Augsburg-produced and D-As-held sources that quote or adapt portions of Ps. 67. All of these are in Latin. Thirteen pieces are included in eight sources I have classified as liturgical, while the remaining seven are found in six nonliturgical books. The significant concentration of Ps. 67-based works in liturgical volumes is remarkable, given that a much higher percentage of motets quoting or paraphrasing elements of Pss. 118 and 50 were held in nonliturgical items. This difference is especially pronounced through a comparison between settings of Pss. 50 and 67. As a reminder, only three of the twenty-two music books containing Ps. 50-based motets were classified as liturgical. These held four motets out of twenty-six total Ps. 50 motets. The following chart summarizes this comparison:

	Ps. 50	Ps. 67
Lit. sources	3	8
motets	4	13
Nonlit. Sources	19	6
motets	22	7

While the categorization of liturgical and nonliturgical materials does not limit the possible use of the former in nonliturgical contexts or vice versa, this chart illuminates a clear contrast between the types of sources that most likely contain settings of Ps. 50 versus Ps. 67. Since Ps. 67 appears more often in liturgical prints and manuscripts, polyphonic settings of this text were probably encountered in church.

The source volumes of the twenty total Ps. 67 motets are listed below. The liturgical books appear first, followed by the nonliturgical sources. Materials are arranged by date of production or publication within each group.

Table 6.1: Sources of Motets that Quote or Adapt Ps. 67

Liturgical sources (Tonk Schl/RISM Nr.: <i>Short title</i> [date])	SS. Ulrich & Afra	von Werdenstein	Other Augsburg. prov.
I 90: <i>Choralis Constantinus</i> 2 (1555)	---	X	X
I 91: <i>Choralis Constantinus</i> 3 (1555)	---	X	X
L 857: <i>Patrocinium musices</i> 1 (1573)	---	---	---
P 829: <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 2 (1573)	---	---	X
L 874: <i>Patrocinium musices</i> 3 (1574)	---	---	---
Tonk Schl 23: [proper compositions] (1575)	X	---	---
Tonk Schl 7: [proper compositions] (1576)	X	---	---
Tonk Schl 6: [proper compositions] (1578)	X	---	---
Nonliturgical sources (RISM Nr.: <i>Short title</i> [date])	S. Anna	von Werdenstein	Other Augsburg. prov.
1545 ³ ; 1546 ⁵ : <i>Cantiones</i> (1545; 1546)	---	---	X
1549 ¹¹ : <i>Cantiones selectissimae</i> 2 (1549)	---	---	X
1553 ⁹ : <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 2 (1553)	X	---	---
1555 ⁸ : <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 10 (1555)	X	---	---
C 4155: <i>Cantica</i> 1 (1571)	---	---	---
C 4410: <i>Opus sacrarum cantionum</i> (1576)	X	X	---

While an equal number of Pss. 118 and 67 motets may be found in Augsburg-produced music books, a higher percentage of Ps. 67-based works is found in volumes copied out or printed in the Fuggerstadt relative to sources published elsewhere. Three out of the eight liturgical sources listed above are manuscripts produced for use at the Benedictine monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra. The second and third installments of Formschneider's *Choralis Constantinus*, both issued from Nuremberg in 1555, were published and sold in Augsburg by Georg Willer. Two of the remaining three liturgical sources can be connected to the city in the mid-sixteenth-century: an exemplar of Paminger's *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* 2 (Nuremberg) was sent to the city council in 1573, and Lasso's *Patrocinium musices* 1 (Munich, also 1573) is dedicated to Prince-Bishop

Johann Egolf von Knöringen.³³⁶ Formschneider's *Choralis Constantinus 2* is also dedicated to an Augsburg patron, namely: Johann Jakob Fugger.

Among the nonliturgical sources, one also finds a high percentage of Augsburg-produced volumes. This includes Kriesstein's *Cantiones*, first issued in 1545, and Ulhart's *Cantiones selectissimae 2*, issued in 1549. Both were edited by Augsburg resident, Sigmund Salminger, and Kriesstein's publication is dedicated to Johann Jakob Fugger. Three of the remaining four nonliturgical books can be placed in the hands of an Augsburg individual or institution. Susato's *Ecclesiasticae cantiones 2* and 10 were owned by the church and school of S. Anna, and a copy of Crecquillon's *Opus sacrarum cantionum* was included in von Werdenstein's collection. S. Anna provenance is indicated for a second copy of this book, which is bound together with several motet volumes whose title pages bear the inscription, "sumptu publico."³³⁷

Table 6.2 below lists all twenty compositions that quote or adapt Ps. 67 elements. Motets included in liturgical sources appear first, followed by nonliturgical works. Sources are arranged chronologically within each group. Several of these works are reprinted or copied into manuscripts from earlier sources. Where the same motet appears in multiple Augsburg-produced or D-As-held books, the abbreviation, "rep." is given after the second listing.

³³⁶ Johann Egolf succeeded Otto Truchseß von Waldburg in 1573.

³³⁷ As a reminder, Richard Charteris has shown that this inscription consistently indicates a S. Anna purchase. See Charteris, "A Late Renaissance Music Manuscript Unmasked," 12.

Table 6.2: List of Motets that Quote or Adapt Ps. 67

Liturgical sources (Tonk Schl/RISM Nr.: <i>Short title</i> [date])	Motets	
I 90: <i>Choralis Constantinus</i> 2 (1555)	Isaac: “Alleluia, Dominus in Syna” Isaac: “Psallite Domino” Isaac: “Spiritus Domini”	
I 91: <i>Choralis Constantinus</i> 3 (1555)	Isaac: “Iusti epulentur” Isaac: “Alleluia, Iusti epulentur”	
L 857: <i>Patrocinium musices</i> 1 (1573)	Lasso: “Exsurgat Deus”	
P 829: <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 2 (1573)	(Leo.) Paminger: “Spiritus Domini”	
L 874: <i>Patrocinium musices</i> 3 (1574)	Lasso: “Spiritus Domini”	
Tonk Schl 23: [proper compositions] (1575)	Isaac: “Alleluia, Dominus in Syna” Isaac: “Psallite Domino” Herpol: “Spiritus Domini”	rep. rep. rep.
Tonk Schl 7: [proper compositions] (1576)	Isaac: “Spiritus Domini”	
Tonk Schl 6: [proper compositions] (1578)	Asola: “Alleluia, Dominus in Syna”	
Nonliturgical sources (RISM Nr.: <i>Short title</i> [date])	Motets	
1545 ³ ; 1546 ⁵ : <i>Cantiones</i> (1545; 1546)	de Sermisy: “Quis est iste” Hesdin: “Parasti in dulcedine”	
1549 ¹¹ : <i>Cantiones selectissimae</i> 2 (1549)	Clemens non Papa: “Dominus, Deus exercituum”	
1553 ⁹ : <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 2 (1553)	Crecquillon: “Unus panis”	
1555 ⁸ : <i>Ecclesiasticae cantiones</i> 10 (1555)	Clemens non Papa: “Ascendens Christus”	
C 4155: <i>Cantica</i> 1 (1571)	Corteccia: “Confirma Domine”	
C 4410: <i>Opus sacrarum cantionum</i> (1576)	Crecquillon: “Unus panis”	rep.

Note that there is no liturgical-nonliturgical crossover among the motets that are included in more than one source. Motets first appearing in liturgical prints and manuscripts only resurface in other liturgical volumes. On the other hand, motets first appearing in nonliturgical music books are only contained in other nonliturgical prints. Since this point also holds true for both the Pss. 118 and 50 case studies, I suggest that composers’, publishers’, and users’ reception of motets as liturgical or nonliturgical is fundamentally tied to the source through which these works were first encountered. This indicates that the number of motets having inconsistent print or manuscript designations (as liturgical or nonliturgical) is fairly minimal.

Though one finds more liturgical Ps. 67-based motets in Augsburg-affiliated volumes, several of these are reprints or transcriptions. Only ten discrete works feature among the liturgical music books. One item among the motets in nonliturgical sources also appears twice. Given the high ratio of nonliturgical to liturgical motet volumes with Augsburg affiliations, the tendency for Ps. 67-based motets to be included in sources of the latter category is still quite pronounced. Table 6.2 further illuminates the point that more motets carrying Ps. 67 texts are contained in volumes issued from Augsburg. This includes the *Choralis Constantinus* publications of Georg Willer (five motets in two sources); manuscripts of SS. Ulrich and Afra (five motets in three sources); and prints of Kriesstein/Salminger and Ulhart/Salminger (three motets in two sources). Among these are the only motet books with significant Augsburg ties that contain multiple examples of Ps. 67-based polyphony. All of this supports my position that Ps. 67 held special significance to Augsburg users.

Unlike both Pss. 118 and 50, an examination of the Ps. 67 texts set by composers reveals that a number of artists used the same verses or liturgical chants as bases for their works. Both Isaac and Asola set the same Alleluia verse, “Alleluia, Dominus in Syna,” for instance. Also, Isaac, Paminger, Herpol, and Lasso all composed settings of the “Spiritus Domini.” Notably, the “Spiritus Domini” counts among a very small selection of works Sophonias Paminger identifies as a “moteta” in his *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* publications. This designation presumably reflects flexible usage within cross-denominational Pentecost liturgies. Given that reproduced works, along with works sharing the same texts, make up more than half of the total number of Ps. 67 motets, the specific verses of the psalm that are incorporated into these motets come to the foreground.

6.2 PSALM 67

Ps. 67 is comprised of thirty-six verses including a numbered superscript in the Clementine Vulgate Bible. As one of the longer psalms, by both verse number and word count, it comes as no surprise that none of the motets I found set its complete text. The structure of the psalm is not easily delineated, largely because it lacks an overt central theme. The content generally centers on God's triumphs over diverse foes and his overcoming of various obstacles. God is characterized as an ideal monarch whose reign is marked by military prowess and benevolence toward his people. In James D. G. Dunn's and John William Rogerson's description of this psalm, "God is described as a mighty warrior and king marching triumphantly through history to occupy his sanctuary on Zion in Jerusalem."³³⁸ The location of Zion and the geography of the region surrounding Jerusalem, again, constitute central topics of the text.

Ps. 67 can be parsed into short stanzas of one to four verses each, based on shared themes, imagery, and/or parallelisms, or into larger combinations of these groups. Authors and exegetes have read and reinterpreted the organization of the text in various ways: the NRSV, for instance, groups verses 2–4 (a "summons for God to act"), 5–7 (an "invitation to sing to the God of justice"), 8–15 (acknowledging God's triumphant campaigns), 16–24 (acknowledging God's return to Mount Zion), 25–32 (describing the "tribes of Israel [that] follow in procession"), and 33–36 (describing the nations' "tribute to the victorious Lord").³³⁹ The text may also be divided into eight roughly equal-length stanzas of five verses, with the final verse thirty-six standing alone. Since Ps. 67 elements generally appear as single verses or verse hemistiches in the motets, the music does not support any specific structural concept. Therefore, to simplify the situation

³³⁸ James D. G. Dunn and John William Rogerson, *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2003), 398.

³³⁹ NRSV, 827–828.

the ensuing discussion addresses five-verse segments. The complete Latin and English texts are given below:

[Latin text, Vulg.]

[1] In finem. Psalmus cantici ipsi David.

[2] Exsurgat Deus, et dissipentur inimici ejus; et fugiant qui oderunt eum a facie ejus.

[3] Sicut deficit fumus, deficient; sicut fluit cera a facie ignis, sic pereant peccatores a facie Dei.

[4] Et justi epulentur; et exsultent in conspectu Dei, et delectentur in laetitia.

[5] Cantate Deo, psalmum dicite nomini ejus; iter facite ei qui ascendit super occasum. Dominus nomen illi; exsultate in conspectu ejus. Turbabuntur a facie ejus,

[6] patris orphanorum, et iudicis viduarum; Deus in loco sancto suo.

[7] Deus qui inhabitare facit unius moris in domo; qui educit vinctos in fortitudine, similiter eos qui exasperant, qui habitant in sepulchris.

[8] Deus, cum egredereris in conspectu populi tui, cum pertransires in deserto,

[9] terra mota est, etenim caeli distillaverunt, a facie Dei Sinai, a facie Dei Israel.

[10] Pluviam voluntariam segregabis, Deus, haereditati tuae; et infirmata est, tu vero perfecisti eam.

[11] Animalia tua habitabunt in ea; parasti in dulcedine tua pauperi, Deus.

[12] Dominus dabit verbum evangelizantibus, virtute multa.

[13] Rex virtutum dilecti, dilecti; et speciei domus dividere spolia.

[English translation, NRSV]

[1] To the leader. Of David. A Song.

[2] Let God rise up, let his enemies be scattered; let those who hate him flee before him.

[3] As smoke is driven away, so drive them away; as wax melts before the fire, let the wicked perish before God.

[4] But let the righteous be joyful; let them exult before God; let them be jubilant with joy.

[5] Sing to God, sing praises to his name; lift up a song to him who rides upon the clouds—his name is the Lord—be exultant before him.

[6] Father of orphans and protector of widows is God in his holy habitation.

[7] God gives the desolate a home to live in; he leads out the prisoners to prosperity, but the rebellious live in a parched land.

[8] O God, when you went out before your people, when you marched through the wilderness, *Selah*

[9] the earth quaked, the heavens poured down rain at the presence of God, the God of Sinai, at the presence of God, the God of Israel.

[10] Rain in abundance, O God, you showered abroad; you restored your heritage when it languished;

[11] your flock found a dwelling in it; in your goodness, O God, you provided for the needy.

[12] The Lord gives the command; great is the company of those who bore the tidings:

[13] “The Kings of the armies, they flee, they flee!” The women at home divide the spoil,

[14] Si dormiatis inter medios cleros, pennae columbae deargentatae, et posteriora dorsi ejus in pallore auri.

[15] Dum discernit caelestis reges super eam, nive dealbabuntur in Selmon.

[16] Mons Dei, mons pinguis. Mons coagulatus, mons pinguis:

[17] ut quid suspicamini montes coagulatos? Mons in quo beneplacitum est Deo habitare in eo; etenim Dominus habitabit in finem.

[18] Currus Dei decem millibus multiplex, millia laetantium; Dominus in eis in Sina in sancto.

[19] Ascendisti in altum, cepisti captivitatem, accepisti dona in hominibus; etenim non credentes inhabitare Dominum Deum.

[20] Benedictus Dominus die quotidie: prosperum iter faciet nobis Deus salutarium nostrorum.

[21] Deus noster, Deus salvos faciendi; et Domini, Domini exitus mortis.

[22] Verumtamen Deus confringet capita inimicorum suorum, verticem capilli perambulantium in delictis suis.

[23] Dixit Dominus: Ex Basan convertam, convertam in profundum maris;

[24] ut intingatur pes tuus in sanguine, lingua canum tuorum ex inimicis, ab ipso.

[25] Viderunt ingressus tuos, Deus, ingressus Dei mei, regis mei, qui est in sancto.

[26] Praevenerunt principes conjuncti psallentibus, in medio juvenularum tympanistriarum.

[27] In ecclesiis benedicite Deo Domino de fontibus Israel.

[14] though they stay among the sheepfolds—the wings of a dove covered with silver, its pinions with green gold.

[15] When the Almighty scattered kings there, snow fell on Zalmon.

[16] O mighty mountain, mountain of Bashan; O many-peaked mountain, mountain of Bashan!

[17] Why do you look with envy, O many-peaked mountain, at the mount that God desired for his abode, where the Lord will reside forever?

[18] With mighty chariotry, twice ten thousand, thousands upon thousands, the Lord came from Sinai into the holy place.

[19] You ascended the high mount, leading captives in your train, and receiving gifts from people, even from those who rebel against the Lord God's abiding there.

[20] Blessed be the Lord, who daily bears us up; God is our salvation. *Selah*

[21] Our God is a God of salvation, and to God, the Lord, belongs escape from death.

[22] But God will shatter the heads of his enemies, the hairy crown of those who walk in their guilty ways.

[23] The Lord said, "I will bring them back from Bashan, I will bring them back from the depths of the sea,

[24] so that you may bathe your feet in blood, so that the tongues of your dogs may have their share from the foe."

[25] Your solemn processions are seen, O God, the processions of my God, my King, into the sanctuary—

[26] the singers in front, the musicians last, between them girls playing tambourines:

[27] "Bless God in the great congregation, the Lord, O you who are of Israel's fountain!"

[28] Ibi Benjamin adolescentulus, in mentis excessu; principes Juda, duces eorum; principes Zabulon, principes Nephthali.
 [29] Manda, Deus, virtuti tuae; confirma hoc, Deus, quod operatus es in nobis.

[30] A templo tuo in Jerusalem, tibi offerent reges munera.

[31] Increpa feras arundinis; congregatio taurorum in vaccis populorum; ut excludant eos qui probati sunt argento: dissipa gentes quae bella volunt.

[32] Venient legati ex Aegypto; Aethiopia praeveniet manus ejus Deo.

[33] Regna terrae, cantate Deo; psallite Domino; psallite Deo.

[34] Qui ascendit super caelum caeli, ad orientem: ecce dabit voci suae vocem virtutis.

[35] Date gloriam Deo super Israel; magnificentia ejus et virtus ejus in nubibus.

[36] Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis; Deus Israel ipse dabit virtutem et fortitudinem plebi suae. Benedictus Deus!

[28] There is Benjamin, the least of them, in the lead, the princes of Judah in a body, the princes of Zebulun, the princes of Naphtali.
 [29] Summon your might, O God; show your strength, O God, as you have done for us before.

[30] Because of your temple at Jerusalem kings bear gifts to you.

[31] Rebuke the wild animals that live among the reeds, the herd of bulls with the calves of the peoples. Trample under foot those who lust after tribute; scatter the peoples who delight in war.

[32] Let bronze be brought from Egypt; let Ethiopia hasten to stretch out its hands to God.

[33] Sing to God, O kingdoms of the earth; sing praises to the Lord, *Selah*

[34] O rider in the heavens, the ancient heavens; listen, he sends out his voice, his mighty voice.

[35] Ascribe power to God, whose majesty is over Israel; and whose power is in the skies.

[36] Awesome is God in his sanctuary, the God of Israel; he gives power and strength to his people. Blessed be God!

According to the superscript, Ps. 67 was authored by King David. Though Jesus never spoke the words of this text in the canonical Gospels, Christians interpreted the psalm as a source of messianic prophecy on account of the language of verse 19, “You ascended the high mount, leading captives in your train and receiving gifts from people.” The Apostle Paul references this text in Eph. 4:8, “Therefore it is said, ‘When he ascended on high he made captivity itself a captive; he gave gifts to his people.’” Paul’s rearticulation of the psalm verse no doubt inspired the development of several centonized and adapted versions of Ps. 67:19 and Eph. 4:8 that form part of the Ascension liturgy.

Following the superscript, Ps. 67 begins with a series of petitions to God to scatter and punish the wicked, followed by a summons for the people of Israel to rejoice. Verse 5 also introduces a key theme, which is that there are several aspects to God—both singular and plural—and that he is called by many names. Verses 6–10 serve to characterize God, emphasizing, again, that God has many forms. The verses of this stanza further highlight God’s acts on behalf of the people of Israel.³⁴⁰ Through this section, one also perceives an underlying message about the power of God to defend his chosen. From the “sanctuary” of Jerusalem, the people of God can defend themselves against the weaponry of any foe. Even where there are no weapons to be found, such as in the desert, God’s power will rain down from the sky in his people’s defense. In essence, from this stanza and those that follow, the reader gains a sense of the landscape surrounding Israel, as well as a sense of the character of diverse tribes that dwell in neighboring regions. Based on this reading, one may interpret the psalm as an anti-invasion text. Given Augsburg’s recent war (1546–47) with Charles V, as part of the Schmalkaldic League, this portion of Ps. 67 may have held personal significance to Augsburg residents.

In verses 11–15, the poet turns his attention to the ways in which God’s acts benefit those he favors. Notably, God is not a direct agent in this passage. Instead, he provides land that is both fertile and easily defended. His people therefore benefit from its wealth and strategic location. A series of images feature in verses 16–20 which illustrate God’s power and strength and characterize God’s plural aspects. He is, at once, a singular entity, represented by the mountain, and a group, represented by the chariot made up of or attended by the thousands. This same duality is reflected in verses that describes God as a (single) rider and a (plural) army. This

³⁴⁰ Specifically, the verses follow God’s bringing the Israelites out of Egypt and safely through the wilderness. The following verses, 11–15, could also be read as a sort of timeline, following God’s leading his chosen to the promised land and displacing their foes, and afterwards continuing to watch over them.

theme continues with verses 21–25, but with greater focus on God as a judge and an authority over death, and on his ability to protect his own against powerful adversaries. The people of Bashan are referenced as an example of a foe that could attack from the West. At this point in the text the anti-invasion theme comes to the foreground. Verses 26–30 give the names of the lords of several other tribes. The physical distribution of the tribes is described or implied with respect to Jerusalem, followed by a petition to God to command them. What is also implicit, at this point, is that God will give victory in the mountains, in the forest, and in the wilds, etc. While Jerusalem may be attacked from any side, it is always defensible. Even in the face of an invasion from Egypt or Ethiopia, whose forces would approach through the desert, where there are no natural weapons to be found, God’s power “rains” from above, and so Jerusalem is safe.³⁴¹ Verses 31–35 function like a bookend, reflecting both the content and organization of the opening verses 2–5. The literary device is secondary to the continued military defense focus. The final verse 36 serves as a synopsis of the complete text with the words, “Awesome is God in his sanctuary, the God of Israel; he gives power and strength to his people. Blessed be God!” One reading of this final text proposes that because God has created a sanctuary in the land, and because he is fearsome, those who dwell within the sanctuary are also fearsome and endowed with God’s strength. The reference to God’s chosen capturing their enemies’ spoils reflects the speed with which foes must flee.

Given the central narrative of God’s leading and protecting his people following their departure from Egypt, it is not surprising that several lines from this psalm now feature in a number of standard Jewish diasporic prayers.³⁴² Among Christian sects, a different set of verses

³⁴¹ Notably, these “lords” from the “fountains of Israel” were reinterpreted to be the apostles in the writings of Paul and Matthew.

³⁴² Thanks go to Oren Vinogradov for this insight.

takes on greatest significance. While one might expect to find a good number of chants quoting verse 19, along with other passages that feature in the Christian New Testament, instead one finds an emphasis on structurally significant lines, as was also the case for Ps. 118. All told, my survey turned up fifteen distinct liturgical chants that are based at least in part on Ps. 67.³⁴³ Unlike Ps. 118-based chants, which generally use only Ps. 118 elements or, on rare occasion, extra-biblical texts, a significant number of Ps. 67-based liturgical items incorporate verse material from other psalms and Bible books. Three responsories, for example, use Pss. 149:5, 95:1, and 65:2 in combination with Ps. 67 verses or verse hemistiches. Also, one introit combines Ps. 67:2 with Wisd. 1:7.

Chant responsories tend to use a wide range of Ps. 67 verses and verse hemistiches with responds being drawn from verses 4, 5, 19, 27, 29, 33–34, and 35. Some items even appear to summarize the psalm text in a manner not dissimilar from Wagener’s approach in composing psalm motets: a significant selection of verses are extracted and centonized to form a sort of miniature poetic synopsis. One alleluia verse quotes Ps. 67:29–30, 5, 27, and 33–34, for example. One introit blends verses 2, 6–7, and 36; and another synthesizes verses 2, 8–9, and 20. Notably, all of these verses offer praise, and thereby reduce the diversely themed psalm to a monothematic summary.

As with Pss. 118 and 50, the first verse of Ps. 67 appears most frequently in chant contexts. Also like Pss. 118 and 50, where consecutive verses are used they tend to be drawn from the same stanza—that is, if one accepts a five-verse per stanza parsing of the text. One responsory uses verses 33–34, one communion, an alleluia verses that combines verses 18–19, and one antiphon combines verses 29–30. One alleluia verse quotes the isolated Ps. 67:36, and

³⁴³ These include eight responsories, four introits, four alleluia verses, two offertories, one antiphon, one communion, and one sequence.

one offertory combines verses 36 and 2, the first and final content verses of the Davidian poem. This chant, in particular, illustrates the idea that as parts of the liturgy, the psalms are often characterized or concretized by their first and final verses.

6.3 MOTET SETTINGS OF PS. 67

The following pages investigate a selection of the most textually innovative motets based on Ps. 67 elements. Motets preserved in Augsburg-produced manuscripts and prints come to the foreground, while items contained in sources with insecure Augsburg connections are treated as peripheral. Focusing first on motets contained in liturgical volumes, three tendencies specific to this subgroup emerges: 1) Ps. 67 is often centonized with material from other biblical and extra-biblical sources, 2) Ps. 67 elements are often noticeably adapted, and 3) though verses and verse hemistiches of this psalm appear in diverse liturgies, as a musically-set text, the psalm appears most frequently in connection with shared Christian feasts, namely: the Ascension and Pentecost. Though the texts set in motets contained in Augsburg liturgical music books mostly follow Roman liturgical standards, a key point is that both Catholic and Protestant collections of works only include Ps. 67-based polyphony that could be sung in multiple denominational contexts. Also, where the motet texts do deviate from standard (Catholic) liturgies, the tendency is for these deviations to align with biblical rather than adapted liturgical sources.

Heinrich Isaac wrote five pieces—an alleluia verse and communion for Ascension Thursday, an introit for Pentecost Sunday, and a respond and alleluia verse for the Common of Several Martyrs—that borrow at least one Ps. 67 hemistich. Three of these five works were copied into Augsburg manuscripts: these are the two for the Ascension, preserved in Tonk Schl 23 (1575), and the Pentecost introit, preserved in Tonk Schl 7 (1576). All five compositions

appear in the *Choralis Constantinus* volumes two and three—notably, the two volumes from the series that were edited by Augsburg citizen, Georg Willer. That three of Isaac’s Ps. 67-based motets, along with many other works from the collection, may be found in Augsburg choirbooks strongly suggests that copies of the prints were also, at one time, available in the city. In addition, the inclusion of these motets along with, again, a considerable volume of Isaac’s output even as late as the 1570s, attests to the long-held interest and appreciation of this composer’s music in the city. The dating on these manuscripts is secure, being given in the same hand—Johannes Dreher’s—that inked both manuscripts.

The *Choralis Constantinus* 2 (Nuremberg: Formschneider, 1555), which holds three of the five compositions, is dedicated to the “Magnifico et Generoso viro D. Ioanni Iacobo Fuggero” (Johann Jakob Fugger; 1516–1575), further establishing an Augsburg connection. Johann Jakob was, like his father and his brother, an important patron of the arts in Augsburg. He sponsored much of the artwork done in the Fugger palace, for example, and amassed a considerable library which he eventually sold to his employer, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria.³⁴⁴ The element of social and political authority the dedication brings to the print is further augmented by way of its subtitle, “continens partem primam Historiarum de sanctis, quae diebus festis in templis canuntur. Authore Henrico Isaco, Maximiliani Caesaris quondam Archimusco” (containing the first part of the history of the saints, which are sung in churches on feast days. By the author Heinrich Isaac, former arch-musician of the Emperor Maximilian). In a sense, the sacred authority of the liturgy, on which the included works are based, is aligned with the secular authorities of the empire and the mid-sixteenth-century merchant class, by the evocations of Maximilian I and Johann Jakob Fugger’s names. These secular ties are shed in the 1570s

³⁴⁴ Johann Jakob’s collection ultimately formed the basis for the Bavarian State Library in Munich. Note that, at the time of the sale (1571), Jakob was in Albrecht V’s employ.

manuscripts, of course. The only individuals mentioned by name are all members of the Benedictine monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra: Abbot Jacob Köpplin (whose coat of arms also appears at the beginning of Tonk Schl 7 and midway through Tonk Schl 23), Prior Gregor Gastel, and the aforementioned Dreher.³⁴⁵

Apart from the motet books and Passion settings that were gifted to the Augsburg city council (see chapter two), very few Augsburg manuscripts carry dedications. Therefore, in the context of the Augsburg collection, this difference between the print and manuscript sources of Isaac's three Ps. 67-based motets is not at all unusual. In the case of the partbooks printed by Formschneider, we see a very immediate synthesis of ecclesiastical music, money, and power, put forth in a format that is most accessible to a small group of singers (probably one or two to a part). The choirbooks' identities, on the other hand, are entirely shaped by their monastic use. At 58 cm by 45.5 cm (Tonk Schl 23) and 58 cm by 47 cm (Tonk Schl 7), these books could easily be read by a small choir. Again, the introductory texts give only the names of those who participated in the books' compilation, further asserting an exclusively liturgical significance.

Isaac's alleluia verse, "Dominus in Sina" stands as an example of a liturgical text that puts forward a specifically Christian messianic reading of the poem. It begins with the second hemistich of Ps. 67:18, then continues through the second half of Eph. 4:8. This phrase closely parallels the first hemistich of the aforementioned Ps. 67:19, but follows the text from Ephesians verbatim. The verse, as confirmed by a rubric in the manuscript version ("Officium in die Ascensionis Domini"), forms part of the liturgy for Ascension Thursday. The complete text and translation are given below, followed by the source texts from Ps. 67 and Eph. 4:

³⁴⁵ Jakob Köpplin (abbot), Gregor Gastel (prior), and Johannes Dreher (scribe), played a significant role in building up the Benedictine monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra's collection of polyphonic music.

Isaac, “Alleluia, Dominus in Sina”

Alleluia.

Verse

Dominus in Sina in sancto;

} Ps. 67:18

Ascendens in altum captivam duxit captivitatem.

} Ps. 67:19/Eph. 4:8

This translates as:

Alleluia. [V] The Lord [came] from Sinai into the holy place; you ascended on high, leading captivity captive.³⁴⁶

The opening line of the verse follows the second hemistich of Ps. 67:18 almost verbatim. The only difference is that the psalm includes “in eis” (among them) so that a direct translation of this hemistich would read, “The Lord is among them in Sinai, in the holy place.” The second parallels the first hemistich of Ps. 67:19 but quotes Eph. 4:8. The Clementine Vulgate Bible gives Ps. 67:19 as “Ascendisti in altum, cepisti captivitatem” (You have ascended on high; you have taken hold of captivity). Eph. 4:8 reads “Ascendens in altum, captivam duxit captivitatem” (Ascending on high, he led captivity captive), on the other hand, which is just like Isaac’s verse.

In a sense, the liturgical text pedagogically illustrates a cross-biblical connection by beginning with a close variation on Ps. 67:18, but then quoting, word for word, a passage from the Christian New Testament. Motet settings this type of liturgical text seem to be quite valued in Augsburg. Three settings of the “Alleluia, Dominus in Syna” alone are found in Augsburg-produced manuscripts and prints. I identified more than sixty additional motets that centonize material from the psalms and the four books of the Gospel. Many of these works quote or adapt liturgical texts, and many of the combinations, in turn, derive from Christian Bible/New Testament references to the Psalter. Another frequently-occurring centonization is that of Ps. 3:6

³⁴⁶ Author’s translation, adapted from the NRSV.

with Luke 24:36. I located three polyphonic settings of this specific combination of texts, two of which are included in Augsburg-produced volumes. The Christian exegetical connection, in this case, seems to be more conceptual than literary.

The Augsburg print and manuscript versions of Isaac's "Alleluia" are almost identical. The only difference, in terms of their presentation, is that the lowest voice in the print version is written out in a C4 cleff while Dreher scribed this in F3. A newer setting of the same text, composed by Giammateo Asola, is included in the manuscript Tonk Schl 6. Another choirbook from the Basilica of SS. Ulrich and Afra, this volume is dated 1578, though Clytus Gottwald suggests that Asola's "Alleluia, Dominus in Sina" may have been copied from a 1583 source.³⁴⁷ Both settings are for four voices. Isaac's setting is notated with the flat signature, and the final cadence is on C; Asola's is notated without the flat signature, and the final cadence is on G. Despite similar tonal frameworks, and use of an identical text, Asola's style is notably updated; indeed, the contents of the entire manuscript, Tonk Schl 6, indicate a growing preference for modern, Italianate works among the Augsburg Benedictines. Where slightly older manuscripts, such as Tonk Schl 23 and 7, preserve an early- to mid-sixteenth repertory, predominantly by composers active in modern-day Austria and southern Germany, Tonk Schl 6 holds more contemporary works and exhibits a strong preference for Italianate styles. Asola and Ippolito Chamaterò, who were both active in northern Italy, are well-represented in the volume. Several compositions by Johannes Eccard, who was temporarily a resident in Jakob Fugger's household in Augsburg, are also included. Asola and Chamaterò were both proponents of Tridentine reforms, which may account for the Augsburg Benedictines' interest in their works from the mid-1570s.

³⁴⁷ Tarsia, 1583. See Gottwald, *Die Musikhandschriften*, 80.

Isaac's "Psallite Domino" communion motet also appears in multiple Augsburg music books. These are, again, the *Choralis Constantinus 2* and the manuscript, Tonk Schl 23. The communion is assigned in both sources to the Feast of the Ascension. Unlike the "Alleluia," the "Psallite Domino" texts only adapts material from Ps. 67. The text is given below:

Isaac, "Psallite Domino"

Psallite Domino,	}	Ps. 67:33 (1st half)
Quia ascendit super caelos caelorum, ad orientem, alleluia.	}	Ps. 67:34 (2nd half)

This translates as:

Sing to the Lord, because he ascends to the heaven of heavens, to the east, alleluia.

Like the alleluia verse, this liturgical text deviates only minimally from the Latin Vulgate. "Qui ascendit" (who ascends) becomes "quia ascendit" ("for" or "because he ascends"); the endings of "caelum caeli" are revised, though the meaning remains the same; and the "psallite Deo" imperative, which follows "Psallite Domino" in Ps. 67, is omitted. Apart from some minor differences in spelling, the print and manuscript versions of the motet are nearly identical, with no variations in clefing or pitch center. The only significant change is that the word "quia" is re-rendered as "qui" in the manuscript, to more closely align with the biblical poem. Note that "qui" also appears most frequently in Augsburg chant versions of this text, including in a respond for the Eve of Pentecost from the 1580 antiphoner.

Two more motets by Isaac are included in the *Choralis Constantinus 3*, but are not copied into Augsburg manuscripts. These exhibit similar features to the "Psallite Domino," in that all three use material exclusively drawn from Ps. 67; and in all three motets this material is only minimally adapted. The vol. 3 pieces are settings of the "Justi epulentur" responsory, whose

constituent parts (respond and verse) parallel Ps. 67:4 and 2; and the “Alleluia, justi epulentur” verse, which uses verse 4 only. Both form part of the liturgy for the Common of Several Martyrs, in accordance with the *Breviarium per totum annum* as well as many other liturgical chant books. The responsory is, unusually, composed for five voices. Only five other works from volumes 2 and 3, which together hold more than 230 compositions, are set for five voices; and of these, the responsory is the only example to appear in vol. 3. Since these two motets were not copied into Augsburg manuscripts, I suggest that the Common of Several Martyrs feast was not important enough to the Benedictines to merit polyphony. The patron saints of the Basilica are a confessor (Ulrich) and a virgin martyr (Afra), respectively.

Isaac also set the Pentecost introit, “*Spiritus Domini*,” which may be found in the *Choralis Constantinus* 2 and in the manuscript, Tonk Schl 7. This is, in fact, the first work to be copied into the Benedictine manuscript. Additional settings of the same text, by Homer Herpol and Leonhard Paminger, may also be found in the body of the Augsburg collection. Like the “Alleluia, Dominus in Sina” text, the “*Spiritus Domini*” centonizes material from two different books of the Bible. The antiphon comes from the first hemistich of Wisd. 1:7, while the verse follows consecutive hemistiches from Ps. 67:29–30. A rubric in Tonk Schl 7, “*Officium in die sancto Pentecostes*” affirms the Pentecost association in Augsburg, as does the inclusion of this text in the 1580 antiphoner. A text and translation are given below:

Isaac, “*Spiritus Domini*”

Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum, alleluia, et hoc quod continet omnia scientiam habet vocis, alleluia.	} Wisd. 1:7
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Verse

Confirma hoc, Deus, quod operatus es in nobis;	} Ps. 67:29
a templo sancto tuo quod est in Jerusalem.	} Ps. 67:30

This translates as:

[Antiphon]

The spirit of the Lord has filled the whole world, alleluia: and that, which contains all things, has knowledge [of voice], alleluia.

Verse

Confirm that, God, which you have wrought in us. From your holy temple, which is in Jerusalem.

Unlike the “Alleluia, Dominus in Sina,” in which case a Christian New Testament allusion to Ps. 67 offers a point of contact between the two centonized texts, the “*Spiritus Domini*” does not appear to arise from a direct reference or textual overlap. Rather, the combination gives new meaning to the verse: that “which you have wrought” transforms from a less exact idea of God-given power to, specifically, the Holy Spirit. While this particular combination of texts does not feature in any of the nonliturgical motets, it sets a certain precedent for reinterpreting Ps. 67 by way of cross-biblical centonizations.

The only difference in the presentation of Isaac’s motet, between the print and manuscript sources, is that the altus part is notated in a C3 clef in the former book, and in a C2 clef in the latter. Like Isaac’s composition, Herpol’s “*Spiritus Domini*” setting is composed for four voices, notated with the flat signature, and cadences at the end on C. His work, which is preserved in Tonk Schl 23, uses a nearly identical text, though he includes the “*vocis*” that is lacking in Isaac’s antiphon. Leonhard Paminger’s setting, from his *Cantiones ecclesiasticarum* 2, is composed for six voice parts. It is notated with the flat signature, and both the *prima* and *secunda partes* cadence are on A. His work, like Isaac’s, is presented with a rubric affirming its calendrical ties to Pentecost (“*De festo Pentecostes*”), but unlike Isaac and Herpol’s introits, Paminger’s work is identified as a “*moteta*.” This suggests that the piece was intended for variable usage within the Pentecost season as, perhaps, an offertory or communion piece.

Orlando di Lasso also set liturgical texts for the Feasts of Ascension Thursday and Pentecost Sunday, though these, too, are not to be found in sixteenth-century Augsburg manuscripts or prints. Among these is the Ascension/Pentecost offertory, “Confirma hoc, Deus,” which is based on Ps. 67:29b–30 (complete). Apart from the concluding phrase, “tibi offerent reges munera” (kings will offer presents to you), this text is the same as the above verse from the “Spiritus Domini” introit. The piece is for six voices, notated without the flat signature, and cadences at the end on C. Lasso’s “Exsurgat Deus,” based on Ps. 67:2, may be used as an introit or offertory verse for Lent, the Common of Saints or Martyrs, and Ascension Thursday. It is a four-voice composition, notated with the flat signature, with a final cadence on G. The text follows that of the Clementine Vulgate Bible verbatim.

Another work by Lasso provides a bridge between my discussion of liturgical and nonliturgical Ps. 67-based motets preserved in Augsburg sources. This is the “Congregati sunt,” whose text Peter Bergquist identifies as a responsory for the first Sunday of October. The opening respond also forms part of the liturgy for the Summer Histories, from Maccabees. This unique liturgical text comprises a blend of heavily adapted biblical materials at the beginning (taken from 1 Macc. 5:10, Ps. 58:12, and Sir. 36:2 or 13) and concludes with a psalm verse (the end of Ps. 58:12).³⁴⁸ It is only in a discantus cantus firmus that one locates a quotation from Ps. 67:31. The text is given below, with biblical sources identified to the right. Because Bible elements are heavily adapted, a translation of the complete text follows.

³⁴⁸ Bergquist identifies the Book of Haggai chapter 2, verse 23: “And I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and will destroy the strength of the kingdom of the Gentiles” as the source for the opening passage of this text. I hold that the 1 Maccabees verse is more likely, given the higher degree of textual similarities coupled with the fact that the same phrase forms the opening of a two responsories for the Summer Histories, from Maccabees. See Lasso, *Complete Motets*, vol. 18, xxxii; and Hesbert, ed., *CAO*, nr. 6326.

Lasso, “Congregati sunt”

Congregati sunt inimici nostri, et gloriantur in virtute sua:	}	~1 Macc. 5:10
contere fortitudinem illorum, Domine, et disperge illos:	}	~Ps. 58:12
ut cognoscant, quia non est alius qui pugnet pro nobis, nisi tu,	}	~Sir. 36:2/13
Deus noster:		
disperge illos in virtute tua, et destrue eos, protector noster,	}	Ps. 58:12
Domine.		

2nd discant.

Dissipa gentes quae bella volunt.	}	Ps. 67:31
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Which translates as:

Our enemies are gathered and glorify in their power;
Crush their strength, O Lord, and disperse them,
So that they recognize that there is no other who fights for us except you, our God.
Disperse them in your power and destroy them, O Lord, our protector.

2nd discant.

Scatter the nations who desire war.

The related verbs “gather” and “scatter” appear in all four biblical source texts, and may therefore have served as the literary juncture that facilitated this centonization. The full verse, Sir. 36:13 also begins “*Gather* together all the tribes of Jacob,” (emphasis mine) though this phrase is not heard in the responsory. Lasso’s use of Ps. 67:31, “*Scatter* the nations,” as a cantus firmus could, therefore, be seen as interpretive. Lasso identifies a linguistic element that is shared among the biblical source texts that make up the respond and verse and emphasizes this point of contact through a phrase that shares the same verb. The fact that the second discantus text does not form part of the Summer Histories liturgy further supports the idea that the composer’s choice of the Ps. 67-based cantus firmus phrase is interpretive or instructive.

Lasso’s “Congregati sunt” is not the first motet text we have seen to comprise a series of linguistically- and/or thematically-related phrases. In chapter four I discussed several related

centonate motets whose verse elements included an overlapping word or phrase that facilitate the textual blend. Clemens non Papa's nonliturgical, "Domine, Deus exercituum," for example, which is included in Salminger's *Cantiones selectissimae* (Ulhart, 1549) stands as an example. Both Lasso's and Clemens non Papa's centonates appear to be formed through linguistically related or identical phrases. In Clemens non Papa's piece, these junctures are both biblical and liturgical. Both works are also, consequently, based on liturgical items from the Summer Histories liturgy, from Maccabees.

Nonliturgical works tend to follow or adapt liturgical texts based on Ps. 67, but in such a way that allows for a multiconfessional readership. A significant number of these settings use texts from the psalm that relate to warfare, and to God's or Jesus's defense of his chosen. These works express a set of experiences that would have been shared by Augsburg's residents, though the centonates are vague enough that users of diverse mindsets concerning the recent conflict between Charles V and the Schmalkaldic League and the authority of the Holy Roman Emperor could interpret the motets according to their own perceptions. I suggest that Ps. 67-based motets that were selected for inclusion in Augsburg prints were intentionally chosen on account of this quality. A stylistic element that comes to the foreground through these settings, as with the liturgical items, is the use of artificial structural devices such as canons and *cantus firmi*. Again, the number of Augsburg manuscripts and prints that feature canons and *cantus firmi* motets indicates a particular interest among Augsburg users in these intellect-oriented compositional techniques.

Another piece by Clemens non Papa, the "Domine, Deus exercituum," is included in Salminger's *Cantiones selectissimae* 2 (Ulhart, 1549). As a reminder, the volume was assembled

shortly after Charles V defeated the Schmalkaldic League (1548). The book features works of imperial chapel musicians and is dedicated to the “Illustrissimo Principi Archiduci Maximiliano” (Archduke Maximilian II), giving it an overall magisterial character. The two-sectioned “Domine, Deus exercituum” is composed for four voices (clefs: C1, C3, C4, F4) and is notated without the flat signature. Cadences on E and on A conclude the *prima* and *secunda partes*, respectively. The text is given below, with biblical sources identified to the right. Given that the text uses significantly adapted and extra-biblical materials, a translation follows.

Clemens non Papa, “Domine, Deus exercituum”

Prima pars

Domine, Deus exercituum, fortis et potens in praelio:	}	Ps. 23:8
aspice nos, adiuva nos, et armis tuae potentiae, protege nos.	}	nonbiblical
nam, ecce, inimici nostri congregati sunt adversum nos,	}	1 Macc. 5:10
querentes animas nostras.		

Secunda pars

Igitur Domine dissipa gentes, quae bella volunt,	}	Ps. 67:31
et erue nos ab inimicis nostris,	}	Ps. 58:2/Ps. 135:24
ut cognoscant quia non est alius, qui pugnet pro nobis, nisi tu	}	Sir. 36:2/13
Deus noster.		

Which translates as:

Prima pars

Lord, God of hosts, strong and mighty in battle: look upon us, help us, and by the power of your arm, protect us, for, behold: our enemies are gathered against us, seeking our souls.

Secunda pars

Therefore, Lord, scatter the nations that desire war, and delivery us from our enemies, so that they recognize that there is no other who fights for us except you, our God.

Note that although the second line of the *prima pars* does not appear to be drawn from the Bible, it forms part of an antiphon and a respond for the Summer Histories, from the Prophets and for the eighth of October in the *Breviarium per totum annum* and among other standard liturgies.

Textual connections between Clemens non Papa's text and the October responsory set by Lasso are very clear: both use material from chants for the Summer Histories, both include adapted phrases from 1 Macc. 5:10 and Sir. 36:2/13. 36, and both use a verse hemistich from Ps. 58. Both motets also add petitions ("look upon us," "help us," etc.) that are not part of the liturgical source texts. Even more compelling is the fact that both composers integrate the line that begins, "scatter the nations" from Ps. 67. This verse, as stated above, is not a part of the Summer Histories liturgy (from Maccabees or the Prophets), yet both composers saw fit to integrate this specific text into their motets. Since Clemens non Papa's work predates Lasso's, it is possible that his centonate influenced Lasso. The two composers used the Ps. 67 element quite differently, however, with Clemens non Papa incorporating the text into the main body of the motet and Lasso applying it more subtly as a structural *cantus firmus*.

I view Clemens non Papa's motet text as a dynamic reconstruction of a traditional responsory. Both the liturgical and motet texts begin by setting the proverbial stage as a battlefield. In the case of the responsory, this is done through an opening gloss on 1 Maccabees, resulting in an initial focus on the prayers' foes. In the case of the motet, on the other hand, the initial focus is on God, by way of a gloss on Ps. 23. Both, then, offer petitions, though in the case of the responsory these are very specifically related to the battle, and they are repeated at the end, with only moderate variation. In the case of the motet, the petitions are, at first, more general: "look upon us," "help us," "protect us." These lead to the ominous 1 Macc. passage, giving the motet a much more narrative structure than the responsory, which is further enhanced by the elimination of the restated Ps. 58 material. The motet continues in the *secunda pars* with a series of very specific petitions, all relating to the "new" situation that is introduced at the conclusion

of the *prima pars*. It concludes with the gloss on Sir. 36, which effectively serves as a moral (“no other who fights for use except you, our God”).

Claudin de Sermisy’s “Quis est iste” also combines Ps. 67 material with other texts in a way that seems intentionally open to plural readings. The work is included in Sigmund Salminger’s *Cantiones Septem, sex et quinque vocum* (Kriesstein, 1546). The two-sectioned motet is composed for five voices, with a canonic quinta vox; it is notated with the flat signature, and both *partes* end with a cadence on G. The text is given below, with biblical sources indicated to the right. Again, the text incorporates significantly adapted Bible elements, and so a translation follows.

de Sermisy, “Quis est iste”

Prima pars

Quis est iste qui progreditur quasi aurora consurgens, electus ut sol,	}	~Song of Songs 6:9
cuius imperium super humerum eius:	}	~Isa. 9:6
viae illius, viae pulchrae, et omnes semite eius pacifice:	}	~Prov. 3:17
Dominus prosperum faciet iter eius,	}	~Ps. 67:20
quoniam non venit mittere gladium in terram sed pacem.	}	~Matt. 10:34

Secunda pars

Egredimini et videte filiae Sion, Regem Salomonem,	}	Song of Songs 3:11
exurge in occursum eius, popule meus, et vide:	}	~Ps. 58:6
ecce venit tibi mansuetus,	}	~Matt. 21:5
quoniam non venit mittere gladium in terram, sed pacem.	}	~Matt. 10:34

Which translates as:

Prima pars

Who is he that comes forth like the rising, bright as the sun, whose imperial rule is upon his shoulder? His ways are beautiful ways, and all his paths are peaceable; the Lord will make his way prosperous, for he did not come to send a sword on the ground, but peace.

Secunda pars

Go forth, daughters of Zion, and see King Solomon; rise up to meet him and see: Behold, he comes to you, meek, for he did not come to send a sword on the ground, but peace.

Several biblical adaptations that feature in this motet derive from liturgical chants. The “cuius imperium” (whose imperial rule) variation on Isa. 9:6, for example, is used in a responsory for the fourth Sunday of Advent.³⁴⁹ The antiphon, “Viae viri sancti” for the Common of One Confessor also revises the feminine singular pronouns in Prov. 3:17 to masculine plural.

While liturgical reconfigurations of biblical texts certainly account for some of the textual adaptations de Sermisy employs, I hold that revisions were designed to facilitate the construction of a new, biblically-derived motet poem. Note that the Proverbs passage is not the only text to be glossed with revised pronouns. The opening “Quis est iste” (Who is he) actually reads “Quae est ista” (Who is she) in the Song of Songs. The biblical phrase, “fair as the moon” is also eliminated from the motet text, perhaps because it is too effeminate to be applied to Jesus, Solomon, or another masculine authority. On that note, the identity of the central figure of the text is somewhat vague at first. The Isaiah passage, which predicts the birth of the messiah, could indicate that this is about Jesus. The adapted quote from the Gospel of Matthew undermines this notion, however, as at this point Jesus’s message, “I came not to send peace, but the sword” is transposed: “I came not to send the sword . . . but peace.”

This ambiguity is resolved at the beginning of the *secunda pars*, at which point we find that the subject is King Solomon. That the ambiguous “he” is only identified midway through the piece could imply or encourage listeners to interpret this “he” as the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (implied through the use of “imperium” in the *secunda pars* instead of “principium”) or as Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, whom the book’s dedicatee, Johann Jakob served; or it could refer to a more local authority, such as Johann Jakob himself, or, perhaps, one of Augsburg’s city council members. In any case, the ambiguity at the beginning allows the singer and hearer the

³⁴⁹ The liturgical text applies the phrase, “imperabit cuius” (whose imperial ruling), whereas the Vulgate translation of Isa. 9:6 uses “principatus” (principle rule).

possibility of interpreting this “he” in several ways; and even after Solomon is named, the text encourages users to continue to draw positive parallels between this Old Testament figure and current rulers.

The responsorial-type motet applies a “respond” phrase and the conclusion of both the *prima* and *secunda partes*—in this case, an adaptation of Matt. 10:34. The most salient aspect of the work, beside this point, is that it draws on a huge range of biblical materials. These are, in turn, employed in a wide variety of liturgical contexts. The unaltered Song of Songs chapter 6 excerpt forms part of the liturgy for the Assumption of Mary; and the chapter 3 excerpt is used for the Commemoration of the Crown of Thorns. Considered in tandem with the above-mentioned liturgies for Advent and the Common of One Confessor demonstrate that the Catholic liturgy is not a point of contact for these diverse texts. Where there is some narrative overlap between the Bible books and chapters referenced, on a macro-scale, there is very little shared word choice or textual overlapping on the level of the specific, glossed texts. The Song of Songs chapter 3 concludes with a description of Solomon’s wealth, which relates to the idea of prosperity in the Ps. 67 verse; and Matt. 21 as well as the Song of Songs 3 both make reference to the daughters of Zion. Apart from these, again, the choice of texts seems to have been made, first and foremost, for the combination’s potential exegetical value.

Through this study, I have addressed several centonate motets whose diverse textual elements share like phrases or imagery. In some cases, a common liturgical context may also form a bridge that facilitates certain textual blends. A significant number of liturgically imitative Ps. 67-based centonate motet texts arise from this type of association. An example from the same volume as de Sermisy’s “Quis est” is Hesdin’s “Parasti in dulcedine tua.” Another five-voice work, with second discantus, the piece is composed in two sections; it is notated without the flat

signature, and both *partes* cadence on G. Most, though not all, of the texts incorporated into this motet are also associated with the Corpus Christi liturgy. The text is given below, with biblical sources identified to the right.

Hesdin, “Parasti in dulcedine tua”

Prima pars

Parasti in dulcedine tua pauperi, dulcissime Iesu;	}	~Ps. 67:11
panem, omne delectamentum, in se habentem, alleluia:	}	~Wisd. 16:20
hic est panis pinguis ager, qui de coelo descendit delicias prebens	}	~Gen. 49:20/~John
regibus, alleluia.	}	6:33/50/59

Secunda pars

Coeleste est hoc manna, quod huius mundi peragrantes deserta,	}	~1 Kings 19:5–8/~John
ad montem Dei, Oreb, perducit foeliciter:	}	6:31/49/59
ergo, dulcissime Iesu, qui pascens et pabulum angelico nos pane	}	nonbiblical
satiatos, perduc ad salutiferum convivium, alleluia.	}	

Which translates as:

Prima pars

You have provided, in your sweetness, for the poor, sweetest Jesus; the bread, having in it all that delights, alleluia. This is the bread of fertile ground, which descended from heaven offering delights to kings, alleluia.

Secunda pars

Heavenly is this manna that leads the world successfully through the desert to the mountain of God, Horeb: Therefore, sweetest Jesus, who, for feeding and fodder, has satisfied us with angelic bread, lead us to the salutary banquet, alleluia.

Going beyond the clear thematic relationships between the above excerpts, the liturgy of the Feast of Corpus Christi also offers a point of contact for the texts that make up the *prima pars*. In the context of the Coprus Christi celebration, the opening Ps. 67:11 adaptation serves as a verse, the Wisd. 16:20 gloss is used as a responsory versicle, and the Gen. 49:20 adaptation forms an antiphon. The texts are not a part of a single liturgical text, though I hold that their synthesis in the body of Hesdin’s motet is directly tied to their shared significance to the Corpus Christi feast.

The *secunda pars* excerpts from 1 Kings 19, on the other hand, and from John 6 are not applied in this context. Also, the extra-biblical concluding phrase that begins, “therefore, sweetest Jesus” constitutes an adaptation of an antiphon for the Feast of John the Baptist,³⁵⁰ and echoes a prayer of thanksgiving by S. Thomas Aquinas, to be said after any Mass.³⁵¹ Some textual connections, on the level of specific word choice and phrasing, can also be found. Various adjectives for “sweetness” (*suavitatem* and *dulcedinem*), for example, feature in Wisd. 20 as descriptors for both God and the bread he provides.

Neither a common liturgical context, nor closely-related language can account for all of the connections apparent in these five phrases of the motet. A current of common images—most notably, bread—coupled with a set of background concepts deepens our reading of this highly exegetical text. For one, note that the first two quotations clearly reference materials from the Hebrew Bible, but lack a close Christian Bible/New Testament parallel. These are from the poetical books of Psalms and Wisdom. Moving into the third and final phrase of the *prima pars*, however, we find a text that references both Hebrew and Christian Bible verses. In the case of the former, from Genesis, the context is a form of blessing or a statement of providence uttered by Jacob, the father of Aser (Asher) on his deathbed: “his bread shall be fat.”³⁵² In the case of the latter, from the Gospel of John, we see the apostle hearkening back to and reinterpreting this benediction as the promise of salvation, made possible by the sacrifice of Christ. Note that the language used in the actual motet, which draws from both Hebrew and Christian Bible elements,

³⁵⁰ This reads: “perduc me ad convivium epularum tuarum; tu es enim Christus filius Dei vivi” (lead me to the courses of your banquet; for you are the Christ, the son of the living God).

³⁵¹ The final stanza of this text begins: “And I pray that you will lead me, a sinner, to the banquet.”

³⁵² A direct translation of the Clementine Vulgate Bible text for Ps. 67:16 describes the mountain of God as a “fat mountain” (*mons pinguis*), implying a place of abundance. A link between Gen. 49:20 and Ps. 67:16 may be inferred, though this is less apparent from the NRSV translation.

emphasizes a cross-biblical connection in a way that present but far less obvious in liturgical chants. In the liturgical chants, the word “pinguis,” meaning “fat,” is usually replaced with “vivus,” meaning “[of] life.”

The *secunda pars* centonizations present an even more compelling exegetical idea. Like the conclusion of the *prima pars*, this section’s opening text brings together elements from across the Hebrew and Christian scriptures. In the case of the former, we find a reference to the story of the prophet, Elias (Elijah), which is narrated in 1 and 2 Kings. In 1 Kings 19 Elias flees from the priestess, Jezebel, after ordering the deaths of her priests, and then goes out into the wilderness where he prays for death. Instead, an angel brings him food and drink, imbued with the power of God; after two days of feasting and rest, Elias is able to travel for forty days and nights—a journey that ultimately brings him to Mount Horeb, where Moses received the Ten Commandments. I suspect that John is actually referring to God’s providing for the people of Israel, following their escape from Egypt where he writes, “our fathers did eat manna in the desert . . . [God] gave them bread from heaven,” rather than the story of Elias. In that case, the connection made between the narrative of 1 Kings and the Gospel of John may reflect the composer, Hesdin’s, interpretation of this passage. There is an additional implicit connection between God’s providing for his people (whether the Israelites or Elias) in the desert and Jesus feeding the five thousand (also recounted in John, chapter 6), which comes through in final part of the text: “Jesus . . . has satisfied us with angelic bread.” The centonate provides a wealth of material for contemplation and reflection by the hermeneutically engaged user.

Another interesting cross-biblical connection that is made here comes from the underlying idea in 1 Kings 19 that God’s gifts of bread and water made Elias himself powerful—powerful enough to walk for forty days and nights without rest. This same concept underlies

much of Ps. 67, whose core message is about how those within God’s “sanctuary” of Jerusalem are fearsome both because they are protected by God and because they have, themselves, become imbued with God’s strength through his favor. Notably, wherever “God” appears in the Old Testament excerpts of the motet, Jesus’s name is substituted. This confirms a Christian orientation and also indicates a Christian claim on the Hebrew Bible narratives that form the backdrop of the motet text. Given the concentration of Corpus Christi-based elements in, especially, the *prima pars*, one might be inclined to interpret this motet as confessionally Catholic. The text does not include adaptations or centonizations that support Catholic views on transubstantiation or other Catholic-specific doctrine concerning the Eucharist, however, and so I suggest that the motet be read as non-denominational.

A contrasting example, based exclusively on Corpus Christi materials, is Thomas Crecquillon’s “Unus panis,” which is included Susato’s *Cantiones ecclesiasticarum 2*. The piece is for four voices and is notated with the flat signature. Final cadences for both of its two sections are on F. Like Hesdin’s “Parasti in dulcedine,” the text of the “Unus panis” does not follow a single biblical or liturgical source, but draws instead on texts for the Feast of Corpus Christi: it uses a Corpus Christi respond as its *prima pars* and employs a combination of verses and versicles for the same feast as its *secunda pars*. The text is given below, with biblical sources identified to the right. A translation follows.

Crecquillon, “Unus panis”

Prima pars

Unus panis et unum corpus multi sumus, omnes qui de uno pane et de uno calice participamus. } 1 Cor. 10:17

Secunda pars

Parasti in dulcedine tua pauperi, dulcissime Ihesu; } ~Ps. 67:11
 panem de celo, omne dilectamentum, in se habentem, alleluya. } ~Wisd. 16:20

Which translates as:

Prima pars

We who are many are one bread and one body; all who partake of one bread and of one chalice.

Secunda pars

You have provided, in your sweetness, for the poor, sweetest Jesus;
The bread of heaven, having in it all that delights, alleluia.

The adaptations made to the 1 Cor. 10 excerpt in the *prima pars* follow the text of the Corpus Christi respond, “Unus panis” verbatim. The verse that normally follows this respond effectively restates the respond text, with only a few word substitutions. While this repetition might make sense in a liturgical setting, it would sound redundant in the context of a drawn-out motet. That Crecquillon opted to centonize two related liturgical chants to create the *secunda pars* suggests that he, like Hesdin, was more interested in the poetic value of his text than in its liturgical applicability—though I would not dismiss the notion that the motet could have been used in a flexible location (as an offertory or communion piece) within the Corpus Christi service. The idea that Crecquillon’s motet was intended for liturgical use is called into question by its inclusion in the composer’s later anthology, *Cantiones sacrarum* (Leuven: Phalèse, 1576). Though this book includes predominantly biblically- and liturgically-texted works, it also preserves several occasional motets and at least one motet setting a contemporary psalm paraphrase by Reinier Snoy (see chapter three).

The two texts that make up the *secunda pars* of Crecquillon’s “Unus panis” are also used by Hesdin at the opening of his piece. The only difference between the two shared excerpts is Hesdin does not include the phrase, “de coelo” in his second line, as does Crecquillon, perhaps because these words are included in Hesdin’s third line, which is adapted from Gen. 49. While “de coelo” appears in both the Wisd. 16 and Gen. 49 verses, it would have been redundant for

Hesdin to include it twice. As a reminder, from the above, the “Parasti in dulcedine” passage forms a verse for Corpus Christi, while the “Panem de caelo” phrase, followed by the respond, “omne delectamentum” are part of the same (albeit incomplete) responsory for this feast.

Although Crecquillon’s motet does not follow a single, complete text from the liturgy, it seems to be much more liturgically viable than Hesdin’s. For one, all of its constituent textual elements are heard as a part of this feast. For another, Crecquillon does not engage to nearly the same extent as Hesdin in revising or remapping the respond and verse materials he borrows. For a third, apart from the substitution of “God” with “Jesus” at the opening of the *secunda pars*, which is also done in the liturgical model for this passage, the motet is not as hermeneutically engaging as Hesdin’s. Since Hesdin’s motet predates Crecquillon’s, Hesdin’s choice to blend Ps. 67 and Wisd. 16 elements may have influenced Crecquillon’s centonization. In that case, as with Clemens non Papa and Lasso’s nonliturgical motets, discussed above, another existing, exegetically open, nonliturgical composition, may have influenced or inspired the construction of another liturgically imitative representation.

Another example of a liturgically imitative work whose text derives exclusively from liturgical elements of a single ecclesiastical feast is Clemens non Papa’s “Ascendens, Christus.” In this case, all of the centonized texts may be linked to the celebration of Ascension Thursday. The motet is composed for five voices; is notated with the flat signature, and the final cadence is on F. The motet is included in Susato’s *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* 10 (Antwerp, 1555). The text is given below, with biblical sources indicated to the right. A translation follows.

Clemens non Papa, “Ascendens, Christus”

Prima pars

Ascendens Christus in altum, alleluya; captivam duxit
captivitatem: dedit dona hominibus, alleluya.

} ~Eph. 4:8/~Ps. 67:19

Secunda pars

Ascendo ad patrem meum et Deum vestrum, Deum meum et Deum vestrum, alleluia. } John 20:17

Which translates as:

Prima pars

Christ ascends on high, alleluia; he led captivity captive; he gave gifts to men, alleluia.

Secunda pars

“I am ascending to my father and your God, to my God and your God,” alleluia.

Although the *prima pars* text follows Eph. 4:8 quite closely, the motet is foregrounded with the rubric, “Psalm Lxvii.” This reinforces a cross-biblical reading, despite the added “Christus” which appears in neither Eph. 4:8 nor the Ps. 67:19. The inclusion of the name, “Christus,” coupled with the marginia identifying a Hebrew Bible/Old Testament source text strongly asserts Christian interpretation of this psalm as a messianic prophecy.

The *prima pars* material is used as both a respond and an alleluia verse for Ascension Thursday. The *secunda pars*, which quotes a passage from John, is also used as an Ascension Thursday antiphon. Both the antiphon and Clementine Bible use “patrem meum et patrem vestrum” (to my father and your father) rather than “patrem meum et Deum vestrum” (to my father and your God), though the adapted phrase appears twice in Clemens non Papa’s motet. The subtle revision could simply be a mistake, or it could emphasize the difference between Jesus’s and Mary Magdalene’s—and, by extension, all mortals’—relationship with God. Note that the perspective shift between the *prima* and *secunda partes* from the third to the first person. While the motet begins with a third-person description of Jesus’s ascent into heaven in the *secunda pars* the choir speaks with the voice of Christ or, perhaps, with the voice of the faithful, now in unison with the messiah. This shift could be interpreted as an affirmation that Christ is the

messiah whose coming is foretold through Ps. 67, among other messianic prophecy-type texts, or it could be seen as the singers' roles eliding with that of Christ, as they pronounce that they, too, will ascend "to my father and your God."

Though sixteenth-century Augsburg provenance for the copy of Francesco Corteccia's *Cantica 1* (Venice: Gardano, 1571) cannot be established, the Ps. 67-based "Confirma, Domine" motet included in this source merits brief attention on the grounds that it provides an interesting contrast to the above discussed works. The six-voice motet is notated in the flat signature, and the final cadence is on F. It is organized as a single-part motet with a structural cantus firmus. This motet's text begins, like the above work, with a quotation from Ps. 67, but from that point tracks more like Clemens non Papa's and Hesdin's highly amalgamated works, blending elements from no fewer than four and perhaps as many as six discrete psalms. While various texts incorporated into this motet are also used in diverse liturgies, they do not come together as part of one temporal or sanctoral occasion. Therefore, I suggest the centonization is designed to be read as poetry and exegesis. The text is given below, with biblical sources indicated to the right. A translation follows.

Corteccia, "Confirma, Domine"

Confirma, Domine, quod operatus es in nobis,	} ~Ps. 67:29
et ne avertas faciem tuam a servo tuo:	} ~Ps. 26:9/~Ps. 68:18
intret postulatio mea in conspectu tuo,	} Ps. 118:170
ut enarrent tota die magnitudinem tuam.	} ~ Ps. 70:8

Quinta vox

Confirma, Domine, quod operatus es in nobis.	} ~Ps. 67:29
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Which translates as:

Confirm, O Lord, what you have wrought in us, and do not turn your face away from your servant. Let my request come before you, so that they may recount your greatness all day long.

Quinta vox

Confirm, O Lord, what you have wrought in us.

While I have discussed several motet texts already that centonize materials from a comparable number of biblical sources, this is the first work to comprise exclusively psalm texts and, in fact, the only one I have found, within the scope of to Ps. 67-based motets, to use only the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. It is also the only aggregate psalm motet to incorporate a Ps. 67 verse without putting forward a messianic reading. An antiphon for Pentecost Sunday, which follows a close variation on the second hemistich of Ps. 67:29, “*Confirma hoc, Deus*” may be found in the *Breviarium per totum annum*, as also the “*Ne avertas*” respond, which in that same source is assigned to Passion Sunday. A versicle that begins “*Intret oratio mea,*” which closely parallels Ps. 87:3, and the first hemistich of Ps. 118:170 both appear in antiphoners as liturgical texts for Friday ferial offices. This text also forms the second half of an offertory for the Saturday following the first Sunday of Lent (“*Domine, Deus salutis meae*”). Though the latter text was set by Lasso, I have found no Augsburg sources, liturgical or otherwise, to use it. In any case, given that the liturgies with which these different texts are associated, this background clearly did not influence their coming together in the body of this motet. The motet also uses a cantus firmus text based on Ps. 67.

Certain words and phrases are shared among the six psalms. For one, the phrase, “*conspectu tuo*” (in your sight) or the related “*conspectu ejus*” (in his sight) appears frequently in both Pss. 67 and 68. The phrases, “*confirmatus sum*” (I am strengthened/I am confirmed) and “*confirmatus est*” (it is strong) also appears in Pss. 70, 87, and 118; and the image of God’s face turning either towards or away from the speaker features in a number of texts, including Pss. 87 and 118. These linguistics are relatively superficial, however, and do not tend to appear in verses

that have close proximity to the actual quoted or paraphrased material. Another possible point of contact I considered was the weekly recitation of the psalter, according to the Benedictine and Roman orders. Notably, within the former tradition, Pss. 67, 68, and 70 are all recited during the Wednesday matins offices; however, Pss. 26, 87, and 118 are read or sung at various points in the Divine Office. I therefore conclude that Corteccia created a text based on content rather than on shared liturgical contact. As a reminder, latter basis of Ps. 67 motets appears to have been more often applied in the motets that are included in Augsburg-produced books; the two approaches to creating Ps. 67 centonates are both open to interpretation and reflection, but of a very different sort.

One facet of the text that immediately jumps out is that the perspective is constantly shifting. While the first line combines you/us, the second and third lines switches to the first person view, and the fourth, to the third person plural. While the resulting poetry is, perhaps, less aesthetically pleasing, by retaining the pronouns of a biblical source, the composer or textual compiler makes it somewhat easier for the user to recall or match this text with its biblical source.

All told, case studies on Pss. 118, 50, and 67 yield profiles of three very different musically-set psalms. A substantial number of Ps. 118 centonates are based on shared imagery and language. Also, a concentration among the Ps. 118 motet texts feature structurally significant verses from this gargantuan acrostic. I interpret this to indicate a more intellual, Bible literacy-oriented interest in this psalm text that is more akin to reading and solving a riddle than hearing and interpreting a sermon. This is somewhat confirmed by the fact that very few Ps. 118 centonates blend with texts from the Christian New Testament. Artists and users were, apparently, less

interested in this text as a potential source of messianic prophecy, and instead composers crafted works geared toward biblically literate readers who may or may not have any sort of interpretive experience or inclination. Elements of Ps. 50, on the other hand, are often centonized with other psalms and, to a lesser extent, texts from across the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament based on related content. These combinations invite more exegetically engaged readings than appears to be the case for either Ps. 118 or 67. The Ps. 50 motet texts are additionally more pathos-oriented, and would not require any sort of deep reading in order to be personally meaningful to users. Certain Pss. 118 and 50 motets also incorporate extra-biblical materials from meditative-type writings, though no examples of this type of composition were located among the Ps. 67 settings. Finally, Ps. 67 centonates blend with a significant number of cross-biblical texts and predominantly arise from combinations of liturgically adapted versions of the psalm text. Portions of the psalm, which was interpreted by Christians as a messianic prophecy, were incorporated into of several feasts, most significantly those associated with Christ (Ascension, Pentecost, and Corpus Christi). Both the longstanding liturgical tradition and newly formed centonates of the sixteenth century suggest that Christian readers refigured Ps. 67 in order to repurpose the Jewish narratives and locations addressed in the poem.

A key question that arises from my discussion of Ps. 67 settings is: what is the relationship between the psalm text and the tendencies that emerge from analyses of the motets? The text by itself would appeal to Augsburg readers. It features a military theme, and the city had recently survived a war. It discusses the rule of a benevolent divine king, who could have been seen as ideal (Christ), or as embodied by Charles V, depending on one's perspective. In brief, the text includes material with which Augsburg residents of diverse perspectives could easily relate. Beyond these points, the text is very difficult. It features a diversity of themes, an unclear

structure, and a wide range of immediate and large-scale parallelisms. Given the city's interest in complicated puzzle canons and motets based on artificial organizational strategies, a certain affinity for the text may arise from the fact that it is intellectually challenging. A different set of challenges derive from Ps. 118 and 50 settings, which invite speculation from more biblically well-versed and/or hermeneutically active users. A final aspect of the Ps. 67 motets is that the psalm elements are often adapted or centonized with other materials in a manner which confirms a specifically Christian reading. This tendency is far less pronounced through settings of Pss. 118 and 50. Within the context of a politically and religiously unstable landscape, psalm motets in general remain open to plural readers of diverse confessional and religious orientations. Ps. 67 is distinct in that motet settings appear intentionally oriented toward a broad but exclusively Christian community.

CONCLUSIONS

In his keynote address, “Beyond the Confessionalism Paradigm,” presented at the “Mapping the Post-Tridentine Motet” conference in 2015, Christian Thomas Leitmeir emphasized the historical interest in confessional determinacy (Blume, Fellerer, etc.) and pointed out how modern scholars’ thinking along confessional lines continues to be influenced by these authors.³⁵³ The sources I explore in this dissertation confirm Leitmeir’s and others’ (Körndle, Fisher, Frandsen, etc.) arguments that confessionalism constitutes only one thread in a much larger fabric of individual and institutional or communal identities that are expressed through mid-sixteenth-century music. In presenting a significant counterargument to the “confessionalism paradigm,” this dissertation contributes to our knowledge of the impact of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation on sacred music of this period.

From its outset, two factors indicate the value of this study and invite further consideration and reflection. These are the beauty and excellence of the repertory and the pivotal role of the Psalter in worship and debate across religions. Musical works incorporated into this dissertation, such as Lasso’s “Miserere mei, Deus” and Clemens non Papa’s “Tristitia obsedit me,” count among the most esteemed masterworks of the mid- to late-Renaissance. Moreover, the interpretive or intellectual puzzles proposed through the output of lesser-known artists, such as Wagener, Gastritz, and Paminger, challenge our perceptions of their works as having limited

³⁵³ Christian Thomas Leitmeir, “Beyond the Confessionalism Paradigm,” *Proceedings of the Post-Tridentine Motet Conference* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, forthcoming).

importance to sacred music scholarship. The prominent use of the Psalter in Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant religious ceremonies (public and private), publications (sermons, commentaries, and dialogues), and interreligious debates further suggests that an investigation of musically set psalms would be worthwhile. This dissertation deepens our understanding of the relationship between motets and the Davidian Psalter.

Psalm texts were set to music in various ways. Among the most familiar categories or types are: 1) straight settings of one or a few consecutive verses from a single psalm, minimally adapted (antiphon-type motets); 2) two-sectioned settings that incorporate one or a few psalm verses, with one verse or hemistich concluding both the *prima* and *secunda partes* to form an AB:CB structure (responsory-type motets)—the first verse of the psalm text often initiates the *secunda pars* in such works, and they may centonize psalm verses with texts from another Bible book or with nonbiblical material; 3) free settings of several verses of a single psalm, chosen (apparently) in a manner that summarizes the complete psalm text, brings forth or emphasizes a central theme, or invites an exegetical re-reading; 4) motets setting psalm-based poetry or prose; and 5) centonates blending elements of many different psalms. While the antiphon and responsory types are, by far, the most common—especially those that follow a liturgical text—other categories speak to diverse readings of the Psalter and urge further scrutiny. In the course of analyzing the motets produced in Augsburg and held at the D-As, I saw far more individual nuance in terms of textual selection, centonization, text setting, use of paratexts, etc., than appears on the surface.

A wide range of emotions and ideas are expressed through the psalms: harking back to Athanasius's description, "The words of [the Psalter] include the whole life of man, all

conditions of the mind and movements of thought.”³⁵⁴ My thesis reveals that composers gravitated not only toward the more expressive psalm texts, such as the penitential psalms, but were also drawn to psalms with unique architectural aspects, and that, in general, the organization of psalm texts played a key role in composers’ selections of verses. Humanist interests in the scripture and in other literary works of antiquity prompted a revival in Hebrew learning. This is reflected through several Hebrew-texted volumes issued by Augsburg printers in the mid-sixteenth century (including a Hebrew-Latin-German translation of the seven penitential psalms) and by the temporary presence of a Hebrew school in the city.³⁵⁵ In chapter four, I suggest that Hebrew literacy played a role in the veritable explosion of Ps. 118 settings that appear in mid-sixteenth-century prints. I propose that these works, like riddle canons, provided an opportunity for composers and users to demonstrate their intellect, Bible knowledge, and/or Hebrew fluency through recognizing and identifying the structurally significant verses that make up this gargantuan acrostic poem.

Given their eloquent language and the range of sentiments and concepts presented through the psalms, coupled with the fact that psalms are quoted more often than any other Hebrew Bible/Old Testament text in the Christian New Testament, it is not at all surprising that the number of psalm motets produced and held in mid-sixteenth-century Augsburg outnumber musical settings of any other part of the scripture. This study further shows that musical articulations of psalm texts—much like textual (re-)articulations, through psalm paraphrases—invited a degree of individual engagement that is less apparent in settings of other Bible

³⁵⁴ Athanasius, *Letter to Marcellinus on the Interpretation of the Psalms*, 27:42, quoted in Steele, “The Latin Psalm Motet,” 141.

³⁵⁵ The translation is by Johann Böschenstein, a leading exponent of the revival of Hebrew learning. It was published in Augsburg in 1526.

passages. Even clearly demarcated liturgical sources, such as Leonhard Paminger's *Ecclesiasticae cantiones* series, include a small selection of experimental psalm settings that are not based on known liturgical sources. This situation suggests a literal reading, on the part of composers and users, of Athanasius's invitation to "choose material enough from the psalms and offer to God what they contain" as equivalent to personal prayer.³⁵⁶

The psalms are a good place to look for diverse modes of interaction with and interpretation of the Bible because the Psalter was so widely used. That composers and also singers, listeners, and readers of motets recognized the potential of the psalms to reflect a huge range of emotional, intellectual, and spiritual ideas is clearly demonstrated by the textual and musical analyses this dissertation provides. Musically set texts were accessible to people of varying literacies, and allowed users to engage with the psalms through the medium of music on diverse levels. Composers and users could access the scripture through a variety of means: vernacular Bible translations, public preaching, and so forth. Widespread knowledge of the Bible, which afforded the potential for interactions with musically set Bible texts, is testified in many sources. For example, in his trenchant Luther biography, the German humanist and Protestant opponent Johannes Cochlaeus (1479–1552) laments,

Yet, even before the Emser's work had seen the light of day, Luther's *New Testament* was issued by printers to such an extent and [distributed] in such great numbers that even tailors and shoemakers, indeed even women and other simple-minded idiots adopted this new Lutheran gospel; they, having learned to read only a little bit of German on a gingerbread cookie, [studied it] with great enthusiasm and took the [Lutheran gospel] to be equal to a fount of all truth. Many carry it around with them in their bosoms and have learned it by heart. Therefore, within only a few months, they amass so much skill and experience that they are not afraid to dispute the Holy Scripture on matters of faith and

³⁵⁶ Athanasius, *Letter to Marcellinus on the Interpretation of the Psalms*, 27:42, quoted in Steele, "The Latin Psalm Motet," 142.

the gospel, not only with common Catholic laymen but also with priests and monks and with masters and doctors [of divinity].³⁵⁷

If people of diverse literacies were, indeed, carrying Luther's Bible about "in their bosoms" and learning it by heart, it is not at all a stretch to assume that those same people could have recognized at least German translations of the psalms and been equipped to discuss them. Citizens of cities and towns that hosted Latin schools, such as Augsburg, had the additional capacity to recognize and engage with Latin-texted psalm motets.

Conversations about the Bible were not limited to discussions among (Christian) tailors, shoemakers, priests, and monks, but also took place between Christians and Jews. In the context of a discussion on Jewish-Christian discourse in Eastern Europe, writing on the Polish-Lithuanian Jew,³⁵⁸ Isaac of Troki (c1533–c1594), Marian Bodian states that he "engaged throughout his adult life in debates with Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and antitrinitarians—'with anyone who wanted to debate with me,' as he put it."³⁵⁹ An anonymous mid-sixteenth-century Jewish writer offers advice on how to deal, specifically, with Lutherans: "Their faith is [based on] our prophets and holy writings, and if we did not have prophets, then they would have no proof or anything to say." The author further warns, "Do not begin and talk

³⁵⁷ "Eh dann aber Embsers arbeit an tag gegeben/war Luthers new Testament durch die Büchtrucker dermassen gemehrt/und in so grosser Anzahl außgesprengt/Also/daß auch Schneider und Schüster/Ja auch Weiber und andere einfältige Idioten/souil deren diß new Lutherisch Euangelium angenommen/die auch nur etwas wenigs Teutsch auff ein Lebzelten lesen gelehrt/dieselbe gleich als ein Bronnen aller warheit mit höchster begird lasen/Etliche trügen dasselbe mit sich im Büsen herumb/und lehrnten es außwendig. Daher massen sie inen volgends inner wenig Monaten souil Geschickligkeit und Erfahrung selbs zu/daß sie nicht scheuch trügen/nicht allein mit den Catholischen gemeinen Leyen/sonder auch mit Priestern unnd München/also auch Magistern unnd Doctorn der heiligen Schrifft vom Glauben und Euangelio zu disputieren." Author's translation. Johannes Cochlaeus, *Historia Martini Lutheri, Das ist, Kurtze Beschreibung seiner Handlungen vnd Geschriffen* (Ingolstadt: Sartorius, 1582), 121–122.

³⁵⁸ Karaites approached the Tanakh "from the perspective of its imagined audience, that is: Jews living before the destruction of the Second Temple." Oren Vinogradov, personal conversation.

³⁵⁹ Mariam Bodian, "The Reformation and the Jews," in *Rethinking European Jewish History*, Jeremy Cohen and Moshe Rosman, eds., (Portland, OR: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2009), 128.

to them [using references] from the Torah, the Prophets and the Writings. . . . speak to them as if there were no book in the world.”³⁶⁰ Debra Kaplan suggests that the author’s fear of Protestant perceptions of the Bible—as the principal authority in matters of faith and judgment—prompted this admonition. These illustrations confirm that Jews and Christians of diverse sects and perspectives were conversing about religious matters, and support the more general notion that lay conversations about the Bible took place regularly.

That composers of psalm motets in the mid-sixteenth century—in particular, those recognized as “musical poets”—were sensitive to texts and sought to express them through musical-rhetorical techniques is well established.³⁶¹ The idea that textual selections or centonizations may, in themselves, suggest or invite individual readings of the psalms is new, however. The poetic elegance of the psalm texts, for one, and their frequent re-invocation through the Christian New Testament presents a wellspring of materials for composers and users to uncover or identify, and from which to formulate powerful, personal, and/or exegetical re-interpretations.

At this juncture, several questions arise. First, how did previous interactions with the Psalter, through music, literature, and other artistic and discursive media, shape mid-sixteenth-century composers’ and users’ interpretations of the psalms? Also, what did composers and users gain from reading or re-reading psalms through music? Based on the comparison in the introduction between psalm motets identified by Nowacki and Steele, the mid-sixteenth century marks a watershed in musical treatment of psalm texts. Even approaching the situation with a

³⁶⁰ Debra Kaplan, “Sharing Conversations: A Jewish Polemic against Martin Luther,” in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, vol. 103 (Gütersloh, Germany: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2012), 57.

³⁶¹ Perceived relationships between the sermon and musical settings of the scripture were confirmed in several letters discussed in chapter two. See also Lowinsky, “Musical Genius” and Feldman, “The Composer as Exegete.”

more limited definition than I have applied, such as that of Nowacki, Mateer, or Steele, where only complete or nearly-complete settings of psalms are recognized as psalm motets, the surviving oeuvre of works would still number in the hundreds. I suggest that psalm motets—in particular, those that depart from straight settings of complete texts, and from settings based on liturgical items—offered a platform for personal expression that was potentially liberated from political or religious/sectarian beliefs. While this does not prevent the communication of confessionally or otherwise culturally informed ideas, the intense variety in surviving psalm motets strongly suggests that these works be viewed as individual rather than institutional interpretations of the psalms.

But, did religious and sociocultural developments produce a change in approaches to composing psalm motets? Concerning confessionality, the sources explored in this dissertation suggest that the answer is no. In fact, the idea of a gradual confessional divide from the Reformation onwards is completely overridden by the evidence of many psalm motet texts, paratexts, and other testimony—for example, the inclusion of Marian and Eucharistic works in Protestant-leaning sources; Catholic use of Protestant Bible translations; etc. Also, developments and improvements in music printing, among other factors, gave rise to new forms of interaction with the scripture—for example, through performance of devotional works in the home.

Humanism afforded the user a degree of interpretive authority that was new. Humanist thinking is not consistently demonstrated through psalm motets—in fact, some motets indicate the influence of medieval exegesis. Motets that mimic antiphon and responsory models produce straightforward messianic readings of psalms through centonizations with Christian New Testament verses and form medieval-type prophecy-fulfillment narratives. Other works are noticeably oriented toward humanism, however. The latter tend to be rhetorically engaged,

blending texts that carry common language or word choice, like themes, and may propose challenging intellectual or exegetical puzzles. These motets beg the question, “what element(s) do the musically set texts share?” A plurality of individual approaches to setting psalm texts indicates the possibility that interpretation or exegesis was also taking place orally among users.

Changes in methods of setting psalm texts cannot be attributed—at least not exclusively—to the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Both of these movements developed over the course of many decades, and impacted the cultures of different cities and towns in widely disparate ways. The (re-)interpretation and execution of Tridentine reforms was still taking place a full century after the Council of Trent disbanded, and Protestant sects continued to fracture and redefine themselves. The period of the mid-sixteenth century remained a time of discussion and negotiation of personal and institutional beliefs. Though the publication and promulgation of books such as the Roman breviary and missal (issued in 1568 and 1570, respectively), and the Lutheran Book of Concord (issued in 1580) bespeak a gradual clarification and concretization of religious dogma, on a local level confessional identities and ideas remained inconcrete. The situation changed in the early 1580s, at which time more lucid forms and expressions of Catholic and Protestant identities produced friction in Augsburg. Religious ideas articulated through motets prior to this decade arise from individual rather than institutional concepts of confessional faith, however. This explains the diversity in treatment of psalms and, indeed, other Bible texts, even among individuals of the same region, educational background, and/or confessional orientation.

Close readings of textual selections and centonizations seem to show evidence of individual ideologies. Textual omissions may also reflect confessional ideas or beliefs. Some motets seem Catholic- or Protestant-oriented, while others appear more secular than

ecclesiastical. But, by and large, they emerge from a space of individual reflection and re-articulation of personally determined ideas about the source texts. Psalm motets participated in concurrent biblical and confessional dialogues in a manner not at all unlike a modern legal debate: where a lawyer today would rely on past judicial decisions to make a case, the texts of psalm motets are almost exclusively derived from the scripture. In other words, motets express newly formed ideas about faith while relying on preexisting canonical texts. Textual repetition, selection, omission, and centonization, as well as marginalia and other paratexts invite further reading or study of the psalms from which the motet texts are drawn, the two effectively commenting on each other in the hands of a hermeneutically active reader. The motets examined in this study are not generally addressed to Catholics or Protestants (though there do appear to be some exceptions), nor are they restrictively oriented toward lay or clerical users. Indeed, even the sacrosanct nature of the Psalter is at times brought into question through musical settings, centonatizations, paratexts, etc. This does not limit their potential to offer individualized interpretations of the Bible, nor are these interpretations religiously confined. Jews, Catholics, and Protestants all placed a high valued on the Psalter, even relative to other Bible books.³⁶² Neither is praying or singing of the psalms generally controversial—though this argument breaks down where one considers the confessional significance attached to certain Bible translations. By and large, no consistent confessional or ideological interpretation can be inferred from analyses of psalm motet texts, text-setting techniques, or other salient factors. There is no fundamental agenda shared among composers of like sects or experiences: in brief, psalm motets indicate

³⁶² The Psalter is one of the first books to be translated, for instance: Luther and Eck's translation of the complete Psalter were among the first German Bible publications they produced. Also, Jerome and Augustine offered commentaries on all 150 psalm texts.

individual readership on the part of composers and users and for the most part lack a political or confessional argument.

There is no direct relationship between psalm motet compositions and performances and the principal objectives of the Counter Reformation (purging heresy and clarifying doctrine). This is not to say that the Reformation and Counter-Reformation did not impact the composition or the use of these works. Paratexts associated with a few Latin psalm settings do indicate a familiarity on the part of composers with German and/or Hebrew Bible translations. A limited selection of Latin-texted works include marginalia based on the Hebrew numbering of the psalms.³⁶³ These marginalia facilitate readers' access to translations of these texts in their native tongue. Given that Tridentine reformers preferred to keep the laity at a distance from the scripture, this use of marginalia indicates a Protestant agenda.

Motet settings of psalm texts indicate a wide range of interests in the psalms' structures, content, and emotion. Some compositions stress beginning and ending lines of overall texts or strophes; others, which set lines having similar or closely related word choice. Clearly, composers interpreted different elements as characteristic or critical to each psalm's central message/identity. Diverse examples of all of these approaches, among others, are discussed throughout this dissertation. Most psalm motets present a condensed form of a complete psalm text or blend textual elements of psalms with other biblical or nonbiblical literature. They may, therefore, be seen as crystallizations of ideas about psalms on which the musical setting elaborates after the fashion of psalm-based poetry or prose. Whatever concept or message the

³⁶³ Adding to the examples discussed in this dissertation, Sixtus Senensis (1520–1569), a converted Jew, applies the Hebrew numbering system in referring to Ps. 31, in the context of a discussion on Savonarola's prison meditations on Pss. 50 and 30: "Finally, on the day before he was led to his death, he wrote, while experiencing the dreadful terrors of imprisonment and the shortness of time before his imminent execution, meditations in Latin discourse on Psalms thirty-one [*sic*] and fifty." Quoted in Patrick Macey, *Bonfire Songs*, 162.

text and music communicate together is left for the user to parse or ignore. The open invitation for hermeneutic reading on the part of users is generally more in line with humanist thinking than concurrent religious movements, and mimics a Socratic approach: textual selections, centonizations, text-setting techniques, paratexts, and so forth indirectly pose more questions than they yield answers. Notably, many of the composers addressed in this study held positions as teachers or rectors (Wagener, Gastritz, Paminger, Rotenbacher, etc.). The training and experience they received is reflected in their text-oriented, individualized, and possibly pedagogical interactions with the Psalter through music. Principal authors whose texts would have featured in their education—Aristotle, Plato, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, etc.—were also shared among Catholics and Protestants.

To whom is the message, lecture, or riddle of the psalm motet proposed? Psalm commentaries, sermons, and paraphrases were part of southern Germany's cultural inheritance at this time. Numerous examples composed by church fathers such as Augustine and Jerome, as well as more recent authors—Savonarola, Erasmus, Luther, and so forth—were issued in great abundance in Augsburg, both in German and Latin. Indeed, even some rabbinical commentaries appeared in print. In a sense, the composers who wrote psalm motets, as well as the singers, listeners, and readers who took notice and spared these works critical thought engaged in a centuries-old process of learning the Psalter through the exploration and reflection of extracted elements. The psalm motet functions more like Augustine or Savonarola's psalm meditations than their commentaries, however. For one, motets and meditative works are accessible to users of both modest and elite literacy. For another, the psalm texts employed in motets and meditations are fully integrated within a larger context—in the first case the music and in the second, the literary backdrop. Ultimately these pieces were produced and marketed toward a

very broad audience: clergy, laity, patricians, merchants, professionals, and students. Evidence of plural usage is very clear given which music books we can securely place in the hands of individual and institutional owners in Augsburg. This invites earnest speculation on the question of whether composers or readers sought a common ground.

Reading and analyzing psalm motet texts invariably prompted a deeper, more involved investigation than I initially anticipated. Layers of texts—musical, literary, and external (paratexts)—carry the potential to enrich users’ experiences with the psalms. Always, there is more to be seen and understood, even considering the most straightforward motet settings. Certain works afford a gratifying “solution” where two texts are centonized based on common language, themes, and so forth. Even before a more illuminating exegesis may be processed, the superficial “riddles” of these centonates provide their own reward. One is left with a desire to read more and to continue to reflect on the musical and textual “clues” these works put forth. Yet, while careful scrutiny of one psalm motet may result in a feeling of certainty that one now knows how to approach the next, this logic is constantly thwarted. Since no standard model for these intellectually and spiritually scintillating pieces exists, a different approach is required for each. The reader must constantly navigate new paths in parsing these works.

Where do we go from here? My focus on the musical output and holdings of a biconfessional city no doubt shaped my results. A similar methodology, applied to the study and analysis of a Catholic or Protestant city’s associated motet books has the potential to produce very different results from those I offer, and would constitute a worthy counterpart to this dissertation. Also, I suggest a closer look at the relationship between dedicatees as religious and secular authorities and print contents. My dissertation touches on matters of music patronage on a collection-by-collection basis, but it does not offer a large-scale discussion of the potential

correlation between dedicatees and psalm (or other Bible) motets that are included. It would be very interesting to see what psalm texts, if any, became more or less valued as bases for motets in an increasingly secularized, mercantile space. Last but not least, given that I chose to focus on the most frequently-set psalm texts, I suggest that a study of less frequently used psalms also merits discussion. Ps. 22, for instance, select verses of which form part of the Office of the Dead liturgy, appears only rarely in nonliturgical Latin motets, yet it features in a high concentration of German psalm settings. Other psalms, such as the epithalamium Ps. 44, appear in almost exclusively Latin liturgical volumes. While the most frequently-set psalms that constitute a major focus of this study tell a story of community and shared experience, psalms that appear less frequently or in more limited contexts potentially spin a very different tale.

FINIS.

APPENDIX I: MUSICAL SOURCES

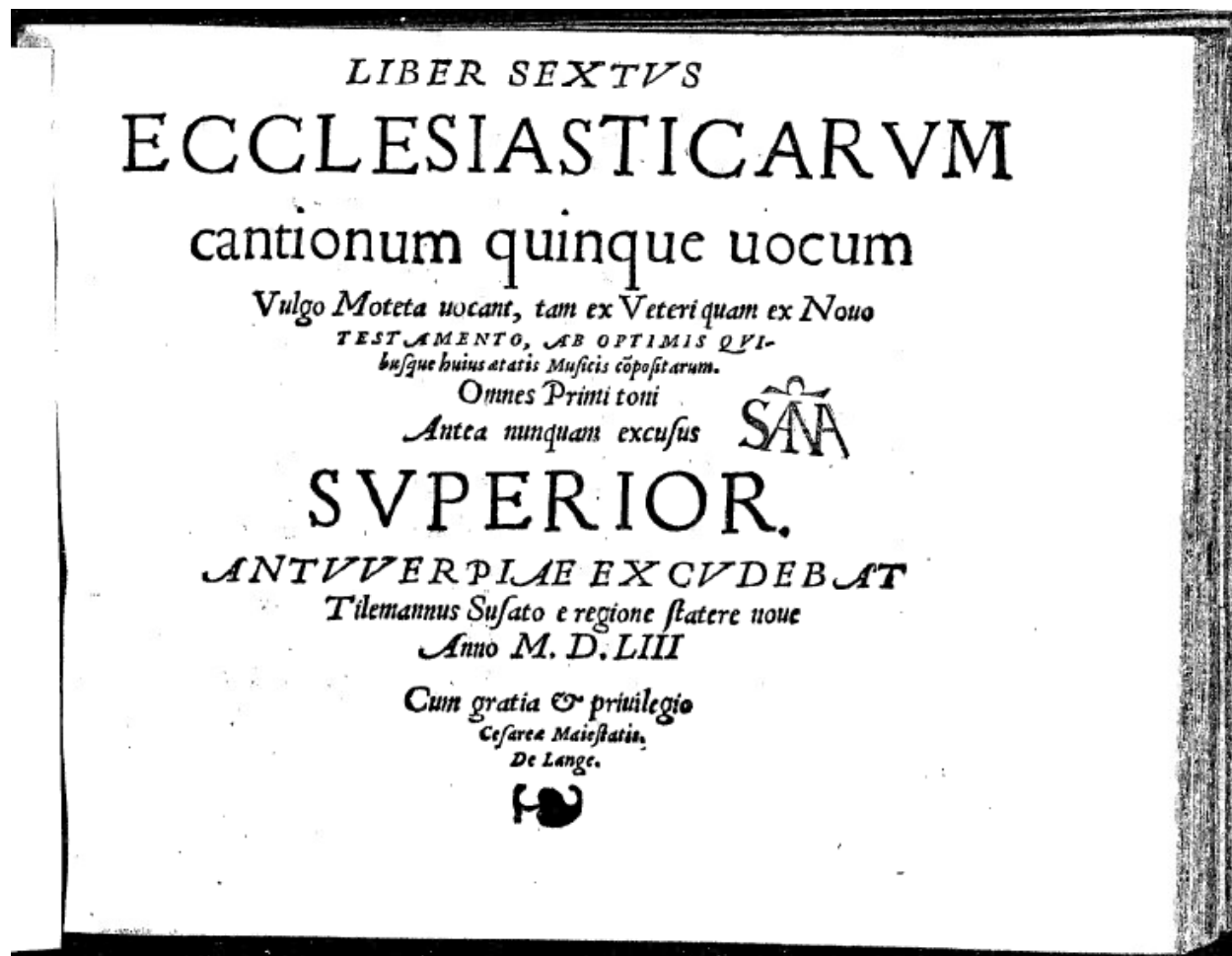
The following four tables list all sources of polyphonic music cited and consulted for this project and provide basic details thereof (RISM numbers, local library signatures, short titles, printers', publishers', and editors' names, production/publication dates, the names of all attributed composers, and superscripts indicating provenance). The materials are grouped by source type. Manuscripts produced in Augsburg are listed in Table A; Prints produced in Augsburg are listed in Table B; Prints held at the D-As are listed in Table C; and additional prints held at the D-Mbs and at the Episcopal Central Library in Regensburg are listed in Table D. Short titles for the manuscripts follow Gottwald.³⁶⁴ Short titles for the prints derive from the source materials, though I have adapted these so that volume numbers consistently appear as Arabic numerals, and keywords concerning content (cantiones, motetta, modulationes, etc.) are given in the nominative case. RISM sigla are based on the A I series unless otherwise indicated. Wherever possible, composers' names have been standardized to match *NG(2)*.

One of the primary contributions of this dissertation is that I am able to establish or suggest mid-sixteenth-century Augsburg provenance for a number of sources whose initial Augsburg owners'/users' identities have been unexplored. Stamps and inscriptions on the title pages and interiors of several volumes indicate ownership by Anhausen (governed in the sixteenth century by Augsburg prince-bishops), S. Anna, S. Salvator, SS. Ulrich and Afra, Johann Georg von Werdensten, and a selection of other individuals and institutions. My approach in determining Augsburg provenance was significantly informed by Richard Charteris's scholarship, and by a suggestion from Barbara Eichner. Charteris places a small

³⁶⁴ See Gottwald, *Die Musikhandschriften*.

selection of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century volumes in the hands of S. Anna students and instructors which include the S. Anna monogram (“SANA”; see Appendix I Figure A), the phrase, “sumptu publico,” or preceptor Adam Gumpelzhaimer’s initials, “A. G. T. B.” (*Adamus Gumpelzhaimerus Trostbergensis/Trospergius Boius/Bavarus*) on the cover.

Appendix I Figure A: S. Anna Monogram (“SANA”) on the *Ecclesiasticarum cantionum 6* title page (Antwerp: Susato, 1553; editor: Tielman Susato)³⁶⁵



I have identified several more volumes with the S. Anna monogram and the “sumptu publico” inscription. These are indicated with a superscript A in the left-most column of the tables below.

³⁶⁵ Courtesy of the D-As.

Eichner recommended that I look at groups of partbooks that are bound together, as this binding may indicate common sixteenth- or seventeenth-century provenance for these volumes. Books that are bound together with securely identified S. Anna sources are indicated with a superscript [A]. Other books bound with Augsburg-produced manuscripts are indicated with a superscript [O]. In both cases, brackets show tentative Augsburg ownership.

Sixteenth-century Augsburg connections can also be established for publications and anthologies featuring the work of a single, Augsburg-based artist. These sources are indicated with a superscript C. One can also assume that exemplars of books dedicated to Augsburg patrons were sent to those personages. These are indicated with a superscript D. Exemplars offered to the Augsburg city council are indicated with a superscript R. Items published by the Augsburg bookseller, Georg Willer, are indicated with a superscript Wr. Finally, items assembled by the Augsburg canon and collector, Johann Georg von Werdenstein, are indicated with a superscript Ws. Werdenstein's name is generally inscribed on the title page of the tenor and/or bassus partbooks of the volumes he owned (see Appendix I Figure B). Since Augsburg provenance only needs to be established for the sources presented in Tables B–D, a summary of these indicators is offered before Table B.

Appendix I Figure B: Johann Georg von Werdenstein's Inscription on the *Sacrae cantiones planae novae* title page (Nuremberg: Gerlach, 1574; composer: Michael Tonsor)³⁶⁶



Appendix I Table A: Manuscripts Produced in Augsburg

Call No. (D-As)	Short Title	Provenance	Date	Attr. Composer(s)
Tonk Schl 15	Choralpassion und Auferstehungs-historie (a 4)	Augsburg	1566	Haupt
Tonk Schl 16	Choralpassion (a 4)	Augsburg	1568	Meiland
Tonk Schl 13 (= Cim 75)	Magnificat-kompositionen (incl. 2 motets) (a 4-6)	Augsburg: Benedictine monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra	1568	Lasso

³⁶⁶ Courtesy of the D-Mbs.

Tonk Schl 273–278	Motetten (a 4–6)	Augsburg	1570– 1571, 1598	Clemens non Papa, Erbach, Hollander, Lasso, Palestrina, Utendal, Vaet, de Wert
Tonk Schl 23	Propriumskompositionen (a 4–6)	Augsburg: Benedictine monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra	1575	Herpol, Isaac, de Kerle
Tonk Schl 7	Propriumskompositionen (a 4–6)	Augsburg: Benedictine monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra	1576	Gastel, Isaac, de Kerle, de Silva
Tonk Schl 8	Kompositionen zur Vesper (a 4–6)	Augsburg: Benedictine monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra	1577	de Kerle, de Vento
Tonk Schl 6	Propriumskompositionen (a 4–6)	Augsburg: Benedictine monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra	1578	Asola, Chamaterò, Eccard
Tonk Schl 24	Vesperpsalmen und -hymnen (a 4–6)	Augsburg: Benedictine monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra	1584– 1585	Lasso
Tonk Schl 355–359	Zinsmeister: Motette (a 5)	Augsburg	16th c.[2]	Zinsmeister

The following chart summarizes indicators of provenance relevant to Tables B–D:

- A Item owned by S. Anna (Augsburg church and school)
- [A] Item potentially owned by S. Anna (Augsburg church and school); materials bound together w/ S. Anna partbooks
- C Anthology of works by an Augsburg-based composer
- D Item dedicated to one or more Augsburg residents
- R Item sent to the Augsburg City Council
- Wr Item published by Georg Willer (Augsburg bookseller)
- Ws Item owned by Johann Georg von Werdenstein (Augsburg Cathedral canon, collector)
- [O] Other Augsburg provenance indicated; materials bound together w/ one or more Augsburg prints or manuscripts

Appendix I Table B: Prints Produced in Augsburg

RISM No.	Call No. (D-Mbs)	Short Title	Printer, Publisher/Editor	Date	Attr. Composer(s)
(B I) 1540 ⁷	Mus.pr. 142	Selectissimae necnon familiarissimae cantiones (a 3–8)	Kriesstein, Salminger	1540	Appenzeller, Archadelt, Arthopius, Bauldeweyn, Conseil, Courtois, Danckerts, Dietrich, Févin, Frosch, Ghiselin, Gombert, Jacquet of Mantua, Maistre Jhan, Josquin, Lemlin, Mahu, Mouton, Richafort, Senfl, de Sermisy, de Silva, Susato, Unterholtzer,

					Verdelot, Werrecore, Willaert (motets only)
K 2967	Mus.pr. 45	Concentus novi (a 3–6, 8)	Kriesstein, Kugelmann	1540	Blanckenmüller, Heugel, Kugelmann, Schnellinger, Stoltzer
(B I) 1545 ²	4 Mus.pr. 106, Tonk Schl 420–423 (D-As)	Concentus (a 4–6, 8)	Ulhart, Salminger	1545	Appenzeller, Baston, Blanckenmüller, Brätel, Canis, Courtois, Danckerts, Dietrich, Finck, Gascongne, Heugel, Jacotin, Maistre Jhan, Josquin, Lupus, Morales, Mouton, Payen, Piéton, Schnellinger, Senfl, Susato, Turchant, Villiers, Willaert, van Wilder, Zinsmeister
(B I) 1545 ³ , 1546 ⁵	4 Mus.pr. 102, 4 Mus.pr. 94, Tonk Schl 118– 122, Tonk Schl 420–424 (D-As)	Cantiones (a 5–7)	Kriesstein, Salminger	1545, 1546	Appenzeller, Bauldeweyn, Conseil, Crecquillon, Dietrich, Góis, Gombert, Hesdin, Heugel, Jacquet of Mantua, Maistre Jhan, Jordan, Josquin, Lupi, Lupus, Morales, Richafort, de Sermisy, Susato, Vinders, Willaert
D 3019	2 Mus.pr. 156- 9/10, 4 Tonk 460 (D- As)	Canon: Laudate Dominum omnes gentes (a 4)	Ulhart, Salminger	1547	Dietrich
(B I) 1548 ²	4 Mus.pr. 106, 4 Mus.pr. 101	Cantiones selectissimae 1 (a 4)	Ulhart, Salminger	1548	Canis, Crecquillon, Lestainnier, Payen
B 4210	2 Mus.pr. 156-1/8	Canon: Ecce quam bonum (a 8)	Ulhart, Salminger	1548	Brätel
(B I) 1549 ¹¹	4 Mus.pr. 106, 4 Mus.pr. 101, Tonk Schl 118–121 (D-As)	Cantiones selectissimae 2 (a 4)	Ulhart, Salminger	1549	Clemens non Papa, Maessens

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F 2041	2 Mus.pr. 156-1/8	Canon: Dic io pean (a 6)	Kriesstein, Salminger	c1550	Frosch	
none	2 Mus.pr. 156-1/8	Canons: Recordare Domine, Sicut lilium, and Domine nonne bonum (a 4)	Ulhart, Salminger	c1550	Clemens non Papa, Rogier	
C 3203	4 Mus.pr. 74-1/2, Mus.pr. 2013.21 3-1/2	Cantiones sacrae 1 (a 4– 6)	Ulhart	1559	de Cleve	
C 3204	4 Mus.pr. 74-1/2, Mus.pr. 2013.21 3-1/2	Cantiones sacrae 2 (a 4– 6)	Ulhart	1559	de Cleve	
B 880	4 Mus.pr. 175	Cantiones sacrae (a 4)	Ulhart	1560	(Bar.) Lupus	D
PP 646a	4 Mus.pr. 60153, 2 Mus.pr. 2005.35	Motet: Quemque suum commendat opus (a 5)	Ulhart	c1575	Paix	C
C 3205	4 Mus.pr. 105, Tonk 697 1–6 (D-As)	Cantiones seu harmoniae sacrae (a 4–8, 10)	Ulhart/Reinheckel	1579– 1580	de Cleve	ws
H 4905	4 Mus.pr. 53	Litaniae, textus triplex (a 4)	Wörli	1582	Haym	

Appendix I Table C: Prints Held at the Augsburg State and City Library (D-As)

RISM No.	Call No. (D-As)	Short Title	Printer, Ed./Pub.	Print Location	Date	Attr. Composer(s)
R 1196	Tonk Schl 400–403	Responsoria 1 (a 4)	Rhau	Wittenberg	1543	Resinarius
R 1196	Tonk Schl 400–403	Responsoria 2 (a 4)	Rhau	Wittenberg	1543	Resinarius
(B I) 1544 ⁶	Tonk Schl 406–410	Motecta 1 (a 5)	Gardano	Venice	1544	Barré, Billon, Canis, Certon, Ferrabosco, Gardano, Jacquet of Mantua, Jarsin, de Rore, Perissone, Willaert

D 3018	Tonk Schl 400–403	Novum opus musicum (a 4)	Rhau	Wittenberg	1544	Dietrich	
(B I) 1545 ⁶	Tonk Schl 107–108	Bicinia 1 (a 2)	Rhau	Wittenberg	1545	Brumel, Dietrich, Eckel, Févin, Forster, Greiter, Josquin, Layolle, Mouton, Pipelare, Roselli, la Rue, Sampson, Senfl, Stoltzer	
(B I) 1545 ⁷	Tonk Schl 107–108	Bicinia 2 (a 2)	Rhau	Wittenberg	1545	Batra, Brumel, Dietrich, Févin, Heller, Isaac, Mouton, Obecht, la Rue, Scotto, Verdelot, Willaert	
R 2474	Tonk Schl 298–301, Tonk Schl 406–410	Motetta (a 5)	Gardano	Venice	1545	de Rore	[O]
(B I) 1549 ⁸	Tonk Schl 406–410	Motetta 3 (a 5)	Gardano	Venice	1549	Baston, Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon, Jacquet of Mantua, Nasco, Perissone, de Rore, Schaffen, de Sermisy, Viola, Willaert, Zarlino	
(B I) 1551 ²⁰	Tonk Schl 104	Bergkreyen (a 2–3)	Berg & Neuber, Rotenbucher	Nuremberg	1551	Erich, Fortius, Heller, Rebhun, Schwartz, Stoltzer	
(B I) 1553 ⁸	Tonk Schl 113–116	Ecclesiasticae cantiones 1 (a 4)	Susato	Antwerp	1553	Clemens non Papa, de Cleve, Crecquillon, de Hollande, Guyot, Payen, Willaert	A
(B I) 1553 ⁹	Tonk Schl 113–116	Ecclesiasticae cantiones 2 (a 4)	Susato	Antwerp	1553	Appenzeller, Canis, Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon, Hellinck, de Latre, Peudargent, Piéton, Scelutus, Souliaert, Vaet, Willaert	A
(B I) 1553 ¹⁰	Tonk Schl 113–116	Ecclesiasticae cantiones 3 (a 4)	Susato	Antwerp	1553	Baston, de Cleve, Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon, Guyot, Hellinck, Hequest, de Hollande, Jonckers, Jordan, Maessens, Manchicourt, Vaet	A
(B I) 1553 ¹²	Tonk Schl 113–117, Tonk Schl 297–301	Ecclesiasticae cantiones 5 (a 5)	Susato	Antwerp	1553	Baston, Canis, Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon, de Hollande/Hollander, Louys, Manchicourt, Moreau	A [O]

(B I) 1553 ¹³	Tonk Schl 113–117	Ecclesiasticae cantiones 6 (a 5)	Susato	Antwerp	1553	Barbion, Brumen, Claux, Clemens non Papa, Cobrise, Crecquillon, de Hollande/Hollander, Louys, Lupi, Moreau, le Roy	A
(B I) 1553 ¹⁴	Tonk Schl 113–117	Ecclesiasticae cantiones 7 (a 5)	Susato	Antwerp	1553	Appenzeller, Canis, Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon, Gallus, Guyot, Hollander, Louys, Lupi, Manchicourt, Potier	A
(B I) 1553 ¹⁵	Tonk Schl 113–117	Ecclesiasticae cantiones 8 (a 5)	Susato	Antwerp	1553	Baston, Canis, Certon, Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon, Domin, Larchier, Lescuyer, Louys, Moreau, de Rore	A
(B I) 1554 ⁸	Tonk Schl 113–116	Ecclesiasticae cantiones 4 (a 4)	Susato	Antwerp	1554	Appenzeller, Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon, Crespel, Curingen, Galli, Gombert, Goudimel, Guyot, Morel, Vaet, van Wilder	A
(B I) 1554 ⁹	Tonk Schl 113–117	Ecclesiasticae cantiones 9 (a 5)	Susato	Antwerp	1554	Cabbiliau, Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon, Crespel, Gallus, Louys, Manchicourt, Rogier, Susato, Vaet	A
L 1059	Tonk Schl 118–122	Lamentationes aliquot Jeremiae (a 5–6)	Baethen	Maastricht	1554	de Latre	
(B I) 1555 ⁸	Tonk Schl 113–117	Ecclesiasticae cantiones 10 (a 5)	Susato	Antwerp	1555	Bracqueniers, Canis, Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon, Crespel, Gallus, Gheens, Guyot, Hollander, Lupi, Moreau, Scelutus	A
(B I) 1555 ⁹	Tonk Schl 113–117	Ecclesiasticae cantiones 11 (a 5)	Susato	Antwerp	1555	Appenzeller, Canis, Chastelain, Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon, Guyot, Hollander, Louys, Richafort	A
(B I) 1557 ³	Tonk Schl 113–117	Ecclesiasticae cantiones 12 (a 5)	Susato	Antwerp	1557	Appenzeller, Barbion, Baston, Gombert, Hauweel, Havericq, Hecquet, Hollander, Jordan, Moreau, Vinders, Willaert	A
(B I) 1557 ⁷	Tonk Schl 27	Lamentationes Jeremiae Prophetarum (a 3– 5)	Le Roy & Ballard	Paris	1557	Arcadelt, Carpentras, Festa, Févin, de Sermisy	
(B I) 1560 ¹	Tonk Schl 572	Tricinia 1 (a 3)	Berg & Neuber	Nuremberg	1560	Ducis, Gero, Isaac, Jacotin, Janequin,	

						Moulu, Mouton, Richafort, Sampson, Stoltzer, Unterholtzer, Willart
(B I) 1560 ¹	Tonk Schl 572	Tricinia 2 (a 3)	Berg & Neuber	Nuremberg	1560	Appenzeller, Baston, Canis, Certon, Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon, Góis, Gombert, Jacotin, Janequin, Morales, Paminger, Phinot, de Sermisy, Verdelot
C 3536	Tonk Schl 118–122	Modulationes 1 (a 5)	Scotto	Venice	1560	Contino
C 3537	Tonk Schl 118–122	Modulationes 2 (a 5)	Scotto	Venice	1560	Contino
P 5323	Tonk Schl 118–121	Motet: De obitu viri . . . Domini Philippi Melanthonis (a 4)	Rhau	Wittenberg	1560	Praetorius
K 445	Tonk Schl 263	Preces speciales (a 4)	Gardano	Venice	1562	de Kerle
K 446	Tonk Schl 49	Sex missae suavissimis modulationibus 1 (a 5)	Gardano	Venice	1562	de Kerle
V 27	Tonk Schl 118–123	Modulationes 2 (a 5–6)	Gardano	Venice	1562	Vaet
O 135	Tonk Schl 79	Musices 1 (a 4– 6)	Gardano	Venice	1565	Ortiz
L 815	Tonk Schl 273–278	Selectissimae cantiones 1 (a 4–5)	Gerlach	Nuremberg	1568	Lasso
L 816	Tonk Schl 273–277	Selectissimae cantiones 2 (a 6–8, 10)	Gerlach	Nuremberg	1568	Lasso
L 818	Tonk Schl 118–123	Sacrae concentus 5 (a 6)	Correggio (Merulo), Bonagiunta	Venice	1568	Lasso
L 820	Tonk Schl 273–277	Cantiones (a 5)	Berg	Munich	1569	Lasso
L 827	Tonk Schl 118–122	Motecta 6 (a 5)	Correggio (Merulo)	Venice	1569	Lasso
L 832	Tonk Schl 273–277	Sacrae cantiones (a 5)	Gerlach	Nuremberg	1570	Lasso
L 833	Tonk Schl 273–278	Selectiones aliquot cantonum sacrarum (a 6)	Berg	Munich	1570	Lasso

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U 119	Tonk Schl 118–121	Septem psalmi poenitentiales (a 4)	Gerlach	Nuremberg	1570	Utendal	Ws
C 4155	Tonk Schl 118–123	Cantica 1 (a 6)	Gardano	Venice	1571	Corteccia	
C 4156	Tonk Schl 118–122	Cantica 1 (a 5)	Gardano	Venice	1571	Corteccia	
K 989	Tonk Schl 140–144	Dulcissimae quaedam cantiones (a 5– 7)	Gerlach	Nuremberg	1571	Knöfel	[A] Ws
L 844	Tonk Schl 140–144	Moduli (a 5)	Phalèse	Leuven	1571	Lasso	A
L 846	Tonk Schl 140–144	Moduli 1 (a 5)	Phalèse	Leuven	1571	Lasso	A
A 405	Tonk Schl 118–122	Canones, et echo 1 (a 5–6, 8)	Gardano	Venice	1572	(Lo.) Agostini	
L 851	Tonk Schl 118–122, Tonk Schl 273–277	Fasciculus aliquot cantionum sacrarum (a 5)	Berg	Munich	1572	Lasso	
L 853	Tonk Schl 118–122	Sacrae cantiones 2 (a 5–6)	Gardano	Venice	1572	Lasso	
L 854	Tonk Schl 140–144	Moduli 2 (a 5)	Phalèse	Leuven	1572	Lasso	A
R 259	Tonk Schl 118–121	Cantiunculae pascales (a 4–6)	Berg	Munich	1572	Rasch	
L 857	Tonk Schl 55	Patrocinium musices 1 (a 4– 6)	Berg	Munich	1573	Lasso	
P 828, (B I) 1573 ²	Tonk Schl 363	Ecclesiasticae cantiones 1 (a 4–6, 8)	Gerlach	Nuremberg	1573	(Leo.) Paminger	R
P 829, (B I) 1573 ³	Tonk Schl 362, 366	Ecclesiasticae cantiones 2 (a 4–6)	Gerlach	Nuremberg	1573	(Leo.) Paminger	R
K 452	Tonk Schl 118–123, Tonk Schl 140–144	Egregia cantio (a 6)	Gerlach	Nuremberg	1574	de Kerle	[A] C D
L 874	Tonk Schl 57	Patrocinium musices 3 (a 5)	Berg	Munich	1574	Lasso	D

L 875	Tonk Schl 118–121	Sacrae cantiones 1 (a 5)	Gardano	Venice	1574	Lasso	
T 965	Tonk Schl 140–144	Sacrae cantiones (a 4–6)	Gerlach	Nuremberg	1574	Tonsor	[A] Ws
L 877	Tonk Schl 58	Patrocinium musices 4 (a 5)	Berg	Munich	1575	Lasso	
C 4410	Tonk Schl 140–144	Opus sacrarum cantonum (a 4–6, 8)	Phalèse	Leuven	1576	Crecquillon	[A] Ws
L 1287	Tonk Schl 279–284	Motectae sacrae (a 4–6, 8)	Gerlach	Nuremberg	1576	Lechner	Ws
P 830, (B I) 1576 ¹	Tonk Schl 364–365	Ecclesiasticae cantiones 3 (a 4–6)	Gerlach	Nuremberg	1576	Paminger (most works by Leo.; 3 by Balth., 7 by Soph., 2 by Sig.)	
S 2107	Tonk Schl 140–144	Sacrae cantiones (a 5–6)	Gerlach	Nuremberg	1576	Schramm	[A]
L 903	Tonk Schl 105–107?	Motteta (a 3)	Berg	Munich	1577	Lasso	
U 125	Tonk Schl 140–144	Sacrae cantiones 3 (a 5–6)	Gerlach	Nuremberg	1577	Utendal	[A] Ws
D 1080	Tonk Schl 31	Patrocinium musices (a 4)	Berg	Munich	1578	Daser	
I 38	Tonk Schl 257–261	Sacrae cantiones varii styli 2 (a 5)	Scotto	Venice	1578	Infantas	
I 39	Tonk Schl 257–262	Sacrae cantiones varii styli 3 (a 6–8)	Scotto	Venice	1579	Infantas	
I 40	Tonk Schl 259	Plura modulationum genera	Scotto	Venice	1579	Infantas	
L 1295	Tonk Schl 279–284	Sacrae cantiones 2 (a 5–6, 8)	Gerlach	Nuremberg	1581	Lechner	Ws
(B I) 1585 ¹	Tonk Schl 291–296	Sacrae cantiones (a 5–8)	Gerlach, Lindner	Nuremberg	1585	Cardilli, Corfini, Cornet, Dorati, Faignient, Ferrabosco, Guami, Infantas, Marazzi, Massaino, Merulo, Palestrina, Pennequin, Praenestino, Zallamella	A
F 206	Tonk Schl 118–122	Motecta 2 (a 5–6, 8)	Gardano	Venice	1585	Felis, Rodio	
M 2194	Tonk Schl 118–122	Motecta 3 (a 5– 6)	Gardano	Venice	1585	del Mel, della Sala	

Appendix I Table D: Additional Prints Held at the Bavarian State Library in Munich (D-Mbs) and at the Episcopal Central Library in Regensburg (D-Rp)

RISM No.	Inst.: Call No.	Short Title	Printer, Ed./Pub.	Print Location	Date	Attr. Composer(s)	
I 90	D-Mbs: 4 Mus.pr. 123-1/3	Choralis Constantinus 2 (a 4)	Formschneider, Willer	Nuremberg	1555	Isaac	Wr Ws D
I 91	D-Mbs: 4 Mus.pr. 123-1/3	Choralis Constantinus 3 (a 4)	Formschneider, Willer	Nuremberg	1555	Isaac	Wr Ws
W 5	D-Rp	Acht deutsche Psalmen (a 4–5)	?	Erfurt?	1565	Wagener	R Ws
G 565	D-Mbs: 4 Mus.pr. 98	Novae harmonicae cantiones (a 5)	Neuber	Nuremberg	1569	Gastritz	R
L 852	D-Mbs: Mus.pr. 9222	Sacrae cantiones (a 5)	Berg	Munich	1572	Lasso	D

APPENDIX II: PSALM MOTETS

The primary objective of this appendix is to identify specific psalm quotations and adaptations that are used in mid-sixteenth-century Augsburg polyphony. This data is presented in collusion with any biblical or liturgical information that is presented in the manuscripts and prints themselves. I was able to identify the sources of most nonbiblical texts set as motets, but to maintain a focus on psalms and other Bible elements, these materials are simply indicated as “non-bibl.” in the tables below. Additional details on nonbiblical sources of motet texts will be available through my website (megankeagen.com).

The following four tables list all polyphonic works I found that quote or adapt psalm texts. The organization follows that of Appendix I. For mixed volumes, composers’ names are given per line item. For anthologies these form part of the italicized header. Concerning the identification of Bible elements, the abbreviation “frag.” denotes a verse hemistich or partial hemistich; “adapt.” and “sig. adapt.” indicates a text that deviates substantially from the Clementine Vulgate Bible. Diplomatic transcriptions of rubrics and marginalia are also provided. Where differing rubrics are given to the same effect between indices, partbooks, etc.—for example, “De Nativitate Marie Officium” and “Nativitatis Marie Officium”—only one appears here. I have generally defaulted to the index of the superius/discantus.

Note that Ps. 105:1, which begins, “Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus,” is always followed with an asterisk. This serves as a reminder that the same verse, or a close variation thereof, also appears at the introduction of Pss. 106, 117, and 135, as well as in Ps. 117:29, 1 Chron. 16:34, 2 Chron. 5:13, and Dan. 3:89. Ps. 117:26, which reads “Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini,” is also followed with an asterisk. The same phrase appears in Matt. 21:9, Matt.

23:39, Mark 11:19, Luke 13:35, Luke 19:38, and John 12:13, and, additionally, makes up a part of the Sanctus of the Mass Ordinary.

Appendix II Table A: Psalm Motets in Augsburg Manuscripts

Item No.	Composer: Short Title/Incipit	Quoted/Adapted Material (biblical)	Rubrics and Other Relevant Marginalia (biblical and liturgical)
<i>Tonk Schl 273–278: Motetten (a 4–6)</i>			
3	Lasso: Quam magnificata sunt	1a: Ps. 91:6–7; 2a: Ps. 93:12	none
6	Lasso: Timor et tremor	Ps. 54:6,5, Ps. 56:2; 2a: Ps. 54:2/Ps. 60:2, Ps. 30:4/Ps. 70:3, Ps. 70:7, Ps. 30:2/Ps. 30:18/Ps. 70:1 (all frag.)	none
18	Lasso: Domine, Dominus noster	Ps. 8:2–10	none
23	Lasso: Domine non est	1a: Ps. 130:1–2 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 130:2 (frag.)–3	none
24	Lasso: Gustate et videte	1a: Ps. 33:9–10; 2a: Ps. 33:11	none
26	Lasso: Quam benignus es	1a: Lam. 3:25–26 (paraph.); 2a: non-bibl. text, Ps. 145:5–6 (frag.)	none
40	Lasso: (Laetentur) coeli et exultet	1a: Ps. 95:11–12 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 95:12–13 (frag.)	none
41/45	Lasso: (Proba) me Deus	Ps. 138:23–24	none
<i>Tonk Schl 23: Propriumkompositionen (a 4–6)</i>			
1	Isaac: Puer natus	1a: Isa. 9:6 (adapt.); 2a: Ps. 97:1	Officium de nativitate Christi
4	Isaac: Viderunt omnes	Isa. 52:10b/Ps. 97:3 (frag.)	Officium de nativitate Christi
5	Isaac: Puer natus	1a: Isa. 9:6 (adapt.); 2a: Ps. 97:1	Officium in die circumcisionis Domini
8	Isaac: Ecce advenit	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 71:2 (frag.)	Officium in festo epiphaniae Domini
12	Isaac: Suscepimus Deus	1a: Ps. 47:10–11; 2a: Ps. 47:2,3 (frag.); 3a: Ps. 47:2 (frag.)	Officium in die purificationis Beatae Mariae virginis
16	Isaac: Os iusti meditabitur	1a: Ps. 36:30–31 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 36:1	Officium in festo S. Benedicti abbatis
18	Isaac: Beatus vir	1a: Ps. 111:1; 2a: Ps. 111:2; 3a: Ps. 111:3	Officium in festo S. Benedicti abbatis
19	Isaac: Rorate celi	1a: Isa. 45:8a; 2a: Ps. 18:2	Officium de Annuntiatione B. M. virginis
21	Isaac: Vultum tuum	1a: Ps. 44:13 (frag.), 15–16 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 44:2 (frag.)	Officium de Annuntiatione B. M. virginis
23	Anon: Vidi aquam	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 105:1*; 3a: Gloria Patri	none
27	Isaac: Resurrexi et adhuc	1a: Ps. 138:18 (frag.), Ps. 138:5 (frag.), Ps. 138:6 (frag.), + non-bibl. texts intermixed; 2a: Ps. 138:1; 3a: Ps. 138:2	Officium de gloriosa Christi resurrectione
31	Isaac: Terribilis est	1a: Gen. 28:17,22 (paraph.); 2a: Ps. 83:2–3 (frag.)	Officium de dedicatione templi
32	Isaac: Alleluia, vox exultationis	Ps. 117:15	Officium de dedicatione templi
35	Isaac: Viri Galilei	1a: Acts 1:11; 2a: Ps. 46:2 (frag.); 3a: Ps. 46:2 (frag.)	Officium in die ascensionis Domini

36	Isaac: Alleluia, Dominus in Syna	Eph. 4:8/Ps. 67:18 (frag.)–19 (frag.)	Officium in die ascensionis Domini
38	Isaac: Psallite Domino	Ps. 67:33 (frag.)–34	Officium in die ascensionis Domini
39	Herpol: Spiritus Domini	1a: Wisd. 1:7; 2a: Ps. 67:29 (frag.)/Ps. 67:30 (frag.)	Officium in die sancto penthecostos
47	de Kerle: Cibavit eos	1a: Ps. 80:17; 2a: Ps. 80:2	Officium in festo corporis Christi
52	Anon: Requiem aeternam	RM Introit: 1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 64:2–3	Officium pro omnibus fidelibus defunctoris
54	Anon: Si ambulem in medio	1a: Ps. 22:4 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 22:4 (frag.); 3a: Ps. 22:4 (frag.)	Officium pro omnibus fidelibus defunctoris
60	de Kerle: Te Deum laudamus	Te Deum: Isa. 6:3b, Ps. 27:9, Ps. 144:2, Ps. 122:3 (frag.), Ps. 32:22, Ps. 30:2/Ps. 70:1; non-bibl. texts intermixed	none
62/62	Anon: Te decet hymnus tibi gloria	Ps. 64:2 (frag.), non-bibl. text	none
<i>Tonk Schl 7: Propriumskompositionen (a 4–6)</i>			
1	Isaac: Spiritus Domini	1a: Wisd. 1:7; 2a: Ps. 67:29 (frag.)–30 (frag.)	Officium in die sancto pentecostes
5	Isaac: Asperges me	Ps. 50:9,3 (frag.), Gloria Patri	none
10	Isaac: Cibavit eos	1a: Ps. 80:17; 2a: Ps. 80:2	Officium in sacro sancto die corporis Jhesu Christi
14	Isaac: Statuit ei Dominus	1a: Sir. 45:30 (adapt.); 2a: Ps. 88:2 (frag.)	Officium in festo sanctissimi patroni nostri Udalrici episcopi
15	Isaac: Alleluia, Iuravit Dominus	Ps. 109:4	Officium in festo sanctissimi patroni nostri Udalrici episcopi
18	Isaac: Gaudeamus omnes	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 44:2 (frag.)	Officium in festo sanctissimae Affrae martyris
19	Isaac: Alleluia, Diffusa est	Ps. 44:3 (frag.)	Officium in festo sanctissimae Affrae martyris
25	Isaac: Diffusa est gratia	Ps. 44:3 (frag.)	Officium in festo assumptionis Beatae Mariae virginis
34	Isaac: Iudicant sancti gentes	1a: Wisd. 3:8, 2a: Ps. 80:2	Officium de sanctis nostris hic quiescentibus
37	Isaac: Anima nostra	Ps. 123:7 (frag.)	Officium de sanctis nostris hic quiescentibus
38	Anon: Statuit ei Dominus	1a: Sir. 45:30; 2a: Ps. 131:1	Officium in festo sancti Simperti episcopi et patroni nostri
39	Anon: Alleluia, Iuravit Dominus	Ps. 109:4	Officium in festo sancti Simperti episcopi et patroni nostri
42	Isaac: Letabitur iustus	1a: Ps. 63:11; 2a: Ps. 63:2	Officium de sancto Narcisso martyre et confessore patrono nostro
43	Anon: Alleluia, Letabitur iustus	Ps. 63:11	Officium de sancto Narcisso martyre et confessore patrono nostro
46	Isaac: Gaudeamus omnes	non-bibl. text, Ps. 32:1	Officium in festo sacratissimo Omnium sanctorum
48	Isaac: Principatus potestates	1a: Ps. 22:4 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 22:4 (frag.)	Officium pro omnibus fidelibus defunctis
50	de Kerle: Requiem aeternam	RM Introit: 1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 64:2–3	Officium pro omnibus fidelibus defunctis
62	de Kerle: Deus Israel coniugat	Tob. 7:15 (frag.), Tob. 8:19 (frag.), Ps. 127:1	Officium in nuptiis
63/63	Andreas de Silva: Te Deum laudamus	Te Deum: Isa. 6:3b, Ps. 27:9, Ps. 144:2, Ps. 122:3 (frag.), Ps. 32:22,	none

		Ps. 30:2/Ps. 70:1; non-bibl. texts intermixed	
<i>Tonk Schl 8: Kompositionen zur Vesper (a 4–6)</i>			
1	de Kerle?: Domine ad adiuuandum	1a: Ps. 39:14 (frag.)/Ps. 69:2 (frag.), Gloria Patri; 2a: non-bibl. text	Ad vespervas
2	de Kerle?: Domine ad adiuuandum	1a: Ps. 39:14 (frag.)/Ps. 69:2 (frag.), Gloria Patri; 2a: non-bibl. text	Ad vespervas
5	de Kerle: Viderunt omnes	Isa. 52:10 (frag.)/Ps. 97:3 (frag.)	In vigilia sacratissimae nativitatis Christi
35	de Kerle: Verbo Domini	Ps. 32:6 (frag.)	In festo sanctissimae trinitatis
38	de Kerle: Educas panem de terra	Ps. 103:14 (frag.)	In festo corporis Christi
42	de Kerle: Tu es sacerdos	Ps. 109:4 (frag.)/Heb. 5:6 (frag.)/Heb. 7:17 (frag.)/Heb. 7:21 (frag.)	In festo sanctissimi patroni nostri Udalrici episcopi
61	Anon: Tu es sacerdos	Ps. 109:4 (frag.)/Heb. 5:6 (frag.)/Heb. 7:17 (frag.)/Heb. 7:21 (frag.)	In festo sancti Simperti episcopi
64	de Kerle: Magna est gloria eius	Ps. 20:6 (frag.)	In festo sancti Narcissi episcopi et martyris
71	Anon: Quam dulcia faucibus	1a: Ps. 118:103, Gloria Patri (1st half); 3a: Prov. 5:3 (frag.)/Song of Songs 4:11 (frag.)	De sanctis infra pascha
73/74	Anon: Te aeternum patrem (= Te Deum laudamus)	Te Deum: Isa. 6:3b, Ps. 27:9, Ps. 144:2, Ps. 122:3 (frag.), Ps. 32:22, Ps. 30:2/Ps. 70:1; non-bibl. texts intermixed	none
<i>Tonk Schl 6: Propriumskompositionen (a 4–6)</i>			
1	Chamaterò: Puer natus	1a: Isa. 9:6 (adapt.); 2a: Ps. 97:1; 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae in die salutiferi nativitatis Christi
2	Chamaterò: Etenim sederunt principes	1a: Ps. 118:23 (frag.), Ps. 118:86 (frag.)/Ps. 108:26 (frag.), Ps. 118:23 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 118:1; 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae de sancto Stephano protomartyre
3	Chamaterò: In medio ecclesiae	1a: Sir. 15:5; 2a: Ps. 91:2; 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae de sancto Joanne evangelista
4	Chamaterò: Vultum tuum	1a: Ps. 44:13 (frag.), 15–16 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 44:2 (frag.); 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae de circumcissione Jesu Christi
5	Chamaterò: Ecce advenit	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 71:2; 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae in festo epiphaniae Domini
6	Chamaterò: Suscepimus Deus	1a: Ps. 47:10–11; 2a: Ps. 47:2; 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae de purificatione Beatae Mariae virginis
7	Asola: Os iusti meditabitur	1a: Ps. 36:30–31a; 2a: Ps. 36:1; Gloria Patri	Introitus missae de sancto Benedicto abbate
8	Eccard: Vultum tuum	1a: Ps. 44:13 (frag.), 15–16 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 44:2 (frag.); 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae de annunciatione Beatae Mariae virginis
9	Chamaterò: Resurrexi et adhuc	1a: Ps. 138:18, 5–6 (all frag.); 2a: Ps. 138:1–2; 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae in die sacro paschae
10	Chamaterò: Introduxit vos Dominus	1a: Bar. 1:20/Exod. 13:5, Exod. 13:9 (all frag.); 2a: Ps. 104:1; 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae feria secunda paschae
11	Chamaterò: Aqua sapientiae	1a: Sir. 15:3 (frag.), Sir. 47:13 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 104:1; 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae feria tertia paschae
12	Eccard: Terribilis est	1a: Gen. 28:17, 22 (paraph.); 2a: Ps. 83:2–3 (frag.); 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae in festo Dedicacionis Ecclesiae

15	Asola: Cibavit eos	1a: Ps. 80:17; 2a: Ps. 80:2; 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae feria secunda pentecostes
16	Chamaterò: Accipite iocunditatem	1a: 4 Esd. 2:36–37; 2a: Ps. 77:1; 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae feria tertia pentecostes
18	Chamaterò: Cibavit eos	1a: Ps. 80:17; 2a: Ps. 80:2; 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae in solempni festo corporis Christi
19	Chamaterò: De ventre matris	1a: Isa. 49:1–2; 2a: Ps. 91:2; 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae de sancto Joanne Baptista
20	Chamaterò: Nunc scio vere	1a: Acts 12:11; 2a: Ps. 138:1–2; 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae de sanctis apostolis Petro et Paulo
21	Sola: Statuit ei Dominus	1a: Sir. 45:30; 2a: Ps. 131:1; 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae de sancto Udalrico episcopo
22	Chamaterò: Mihi autem nimis	1a: Ps. 138:17; 2a: Ps. 138:1–2; 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae de sancto Jacobo Apostolo
23	Asola: Gaudeamus omnes	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 44:2 (frag.); 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae de sancta Affra martyre
24	Chamaterò: Gaudeamus omnes	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 44:2 (frag.); 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae de assumptione beatae Mariae virginis
27	Asola: Nos autem gloriari	1a: Gal. 6:14 (frag.), non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 66:2; 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae in festivitibus sanctae crucis
28	Chamaterò: Gaudeamus omnes	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 32:1; Gloria Patri	Introitus missae in festivitate omnium sanctorum
30	Asola: Protexisti me	1a: Ps. 63:3; 2a: Ps. 63:2; 3a: Gloria Patri	Introitus missae de sanctis infra pascha
36	Asola: Haec dies quam fecit	Ps. 117:24	Graduale in die pasche
37	Asola: Alleluia, Dominus in Syna	Eph. 4:8/Ps. 67:18 (frag.)–19 (frag.)	Alleluia de ascensione Domini
43/46	Asola: Alleluia, Gloria et honore	Ps. 8:6/Heb. 2:7	Alleluia de uno martyre

The manuscript, Tonk Schl 24 contains an additional 163 strophic *falsobordone*-style psalm settings for 4–6 voices. These include complete renditions of the vespers psalms Pss. 109 (13 settings), 110 (10 settings), 111 (10 settings), 112 (29 settings), 113 (5 settings), 115 (4 settings), 116 (12 settings), 121 (6 settings), 122 (1 setting), 125 (1 setting), 126 (7 settings), 127 (1 setting), 129 (2 settings), 131 (5 settings), 138 (1 setting), 145 (12 settings), 146 (12 settings), 147 (25 settings), and partial renditions of Ps. 118 (3 items, all setting verses 129–152 or octaves 17–19). Eight settings of Pss. 112, 116, and 145 share the same musical material—that is, the texts are underlaid beneath the same lines—and four more settings of Pss. 112 and 116 share notation. Eight settings of Pss. 146 and 147 share notation.

The manuscript begins with four short settings of Ps. 39:14/Ps. 69:2. A Gloria Patri is appended to each, followed by an alleluia (3 settings) or a Lenten Gospel acclamation (1 setting). The different melodies and pitch centers of these incipitory lines are designed for use on different liturgical occasions. The manuscript focuses on establishing a soundscape for twenty-six annual feasts, including Christmas, Easter, Epiphany, Ascension, Pentecost, and Corpus Christi. There is a particular concentration of music for Marian feasts: one finds as much musical material for the Feast of the Purification of Mary as for both Christmas and Christmas Eve combined, for example. One also notes a considerable volume of works dedicated to the feasts of Augsburg saints, Ulrich and Afra, Narcissus, and Simpert. Items for these occasions are supplemented with general material for feasts of one or more confessors, martyrs, virgins, etc. The book concludes with a small selection of works for the dedication of a church.

Appendix II Table B: Psalm Motets in Augsburg Prints

Item No.	Composer: Short Title/Incipit	Quoted/Adapted Material (biblical)	Rubrics and Other Relevant Marginalia (biblical and liturgical)
<i>(B 1) 1540⁷: Selectissimae necnon familiarissimae cantiones (a 3–8)</i>			
6	Dietrich: In pace in idipsum	Ps. 4:9	none
9	Jacquet of Mantua: Repleatur os meum	Ps. 70:8–9	none
13	Arthopius: Salutem ex inimicis	Luke 1:71, Ps. 78:9 (frag.)	none
84	Conseil: Effunde iram	Ps. 78:6–8	none
85/90	de Silva: Fac mecum	Ps. 85:17, Ps. 115:7 (frag.)–8	none
<i>K 2967: Conventus novi (a 3–6, 8)</i>			
5	Anon: In exitu Israel	Ps. 113:1–9 (odd vv. only)	none
17	Anon: Nun lob mein seel den Herren	German: Ps. 103:1–22, adapt. (LXX: Ps. 102)	Psal. 103
28	Kugelman: Nun lob mein seel den Herren	German: Ps. 103:1–22, adapt. (LXX: Ps. 102)	Psal. 103
29	Heugel: Ach Herr, wie ist meiner feind so vil	German: Ps. 3:1–8, adapt. (LXX: Ps. 3)	Psal. 3
30	Stoltzer: Herr, wie langg willst du	German: 1a: Ps. 13:1–2; 2a: Ps. 13:3–4; 3a: Ps. 13:5–6 (LXX: Ps. 12)	Psal. 13, Psal. 12 (print error?)
31	Kugelman: Nun lob mein seel den Herren	German: Ps. 103:1–22, adapt. (LXX: Ps. 102)	Psal. 103

36	Blanckenmüller: O Herre Gott begnade mich	German: Ps. 51:1–19, adapt. (LXX: Ps. 50)	Psal. 51
37	Blanckenmüller?: Auss tieffer not schrey ich zu dir	German: abbr. poem of Martin Luther, based on Ps. 130 (LXX: Ps. 129)	Psal. 130
39/39	Kugelman: Nun lob mein seel den Herren	German: Ps. 103:1–22, adapt. (LXX: Ps. 102)	Psal. 103
<i>(B I) 1545²: Conventus (a 4–6, 8)</i>			
3	Danckerts: Laetamini in Domino	Ps. 31:11, non-bibl. text; 2nd discant.: non-bibl. text	none
13	Susato: Domine da nobis	1a: Ps. 59:13–14/Ps. 107:13–14; 2a: Ps. 61:6–8	none
15	Appenzeller: Peccantem me	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 53:3, non-bibl. text	none
28	Baston: Delectare in Domino	Ps. 36:4–5,4 (frag.)	none
29	Courtois: Venite populi	1a: Ps. 45:9–10 (frag.), Ps. 2:2/Acts 4:26, non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 148:12, Ps. 32:3, Isa. 6:3 (frag.), + non-bibl. texts intermixed	none
32	Mouton: Alleluia, Confitemini Domino	1a: Ps. 105:1*, Ps. 112:1–2 (frag.); 2a: John 20:19,20 (frag.), non-bibl. text	none
34/36	Piéton: Pax vobis	1a: Luke 24:36,39 (frag.); 2a: Luke 24:39 (frag.), Ps. 3:6 (adapt.)	none
<i>(B I) 1545³, 1546³: Cantiones (a 5–7)</i>			
4	Maistre Jhan: Benedicat te Dominus	1a: Jth. 13:22, Ps. 1:3, + non-bibl. text; 2a: Jth. 13:25 + non-bibl. text; tenor: Ps. 144:2	none
6	Willaert: Obsecro Domine	1a: Exod. 4:13, Exod. 3:7 (frag.), non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 79:2 (frag.), non-bibl. text	none
10	de Sermisy: Quis est iste	1a: Song of Songs 6:9, Isa. 9:6, Prov. 3:17, Ps. 67:20 (adapt.), Matt.10:34; 2a: Song of Songs 3:11, Ps. 58:6, Matt. 21:5, Matt. 10:34	none
17	Maistre Jhan: Si dereliqui te	1a: non-bibl. text, Ps. 8:7–9; 2a: Ps. 8:2/10	none
18	Lupus: Ne proicias	1a: Ps. 70:9; 2a: Ps. 76:6, Ps. 91:11, Ps. 4:9, Ps. 141:6	none
19	Conseil: Ego sum qui sum	1a: Exod. 3:14, non-bibl. text, Ps. 1:2, Ps. 3:6 (adapt.); 2a: John 20:19/26/Luke 24:36, Luke 24:39	none
20	Appenzeller: Benedic Domine	1a: 1 Kings 8:44/2 Chron. 6:34/38 (all frag.), 2 Chron. 6:21 (paraph.); 2a: Ps. 83:5, 2 Chron. 6:21 (paraph.)	none
24	Heugel: En qui honesta	1a: Ps. 132:1–2 (adapt.); 2a: Ps. 132:3,1 (adapt.)	none
26	Lupus: Laudate Dominum	1a: Ps. 116:1, Ps. 112:1, Ps. 134:1,3 (frag.), Ps. 146:1; 2a: Ps. 148:1–4 (frag.),7, Ps. 150:1	none
30	Crecquillon: Signum salutis	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 117:22/Matt. 21:42/Mark 12:10/Luke	none

		20:17/1 Pet. 2:7 (all frag.), non-bibl. text	
31/32	Hesdin: Parasti in dulcedine	1a: Ps. 67:11 (frag.), Wisd. 16:20 (frag.), John 6:31/50/59 (adapt.); 2a: John 6:31/50/59 (adapt.), Exod. 3:1 (adapt.), non-bibl. text	none
<i>D 3019: Canon: Laudate Dominum omnes gentes (a 4); single work by Dietrich</i>			
1/1	Laudate Dominum	Ps. 116:1–2	none
<i>(B I) 1548²: Cantiones selectissimae 1 (a 4)</i>			
2	Canis: Domine da nobis	Ps. 59:13–14/Ps. 107:13–14 (adapt.); 2a: Ps. 61:6–8 (adapt.)	none
3	Canis: Veni ad liberandum	1a: Ps. 79:4/8/20, Ps. 101:16; 2a: Ps. 84:8, Ps. 105:4 (frag.), Isa. 60:2 (frag.)	none
6	Crecquillon: Servus tuus	1a: Ps. 118:125,73 (frag.), Ps. 18:9; 2a: Ps. 118:130, Prov. 2:6	none
8	Crecquillon: Virgo gloriosa	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: non-bibl. text, Ps. 118:80	none
9	Crecquillon: Domine, Pater	1a: Sir. 23:1/4, Isa. 2:22; 2a: Ps. 35:12, Sir. 23:5	none
13	Payen: Domine, Deus salutis	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 118:120 (frag.), non-bibl. text, Ps. 19:6 (frag.)/Ps. 50:14 (frag.)	none
15	Payen: Confitemur delicta	1a: non-bibl. text, Jth. 7:19/Ps. 105:6; 2a: Ps. 105:47/1 Chron. 16:35, Ps. 105:4 (adapt.)	none
16	Lestainnier: Domine, Deus omnipotens	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 50:3, + non-bibl. text	none
17/17	Lestainnier: Heu me Domine	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 6:4, non-bibl. text	none
<i>B 4210: Canon: Ecce quam bonum (a 8); single work by Brätel</i>			
1/1	Ecce quam bonum	Ps. 132:1, non-bibl. text	none
<i>(B I) 1549¹¹: Cantiones selectissimae 2 (a 4)</i>			
4	Clemens non Papa: Conserva me	1a: Ps. 15:1, Ps. 85:4, Ps. 141:8, Ps. 69:6, Ps. 50:13, Job. 14:16; 2a: Ps. 12:5, Ps. 108:26, + non-bibl. text	none
4	Clemens non Papa: Dominus, Deus exercituum	1a: Ps. 23:8 (frag.), + non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 67:31 (frag.), Ps. 135:24 (frag.), Sir. 36:2/13	none
11/13	Clemens non Papa: Impulsus eversus	1a: Ps. 117:13,6; 2a: Ps. 117:18,21/28 (frag.)	none
<i>C 3203: Cantiones sacrae 1 (a 4–6); all works by de Cleve</i>			
9	Tribulatio et angustia	Ps. 118:143, Ps. 114:3 (frag.)–4 (frag.)	none
11	Mirabilia testimonia tua	Ps. 118:129–131	none
14	Domine Iesu Christe	1a: non-bibl. text, Ps. 24:16/Ps. 85:16/Ps. 118:132 (all frag.), Ps. 118:25/65/107 (frag.)/Luke 2:29 (frag.); 2a: Ezek. 33:11 (adapt.)	none
15/17	Domine clamavi	1a: Ps. 140:1, non-bibl. text, Ps. 50:6 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 24:18, non-bibl. text, Ps. 50:6 (frag.)	none
<i>C 3204: Cantiones sacrae 2 (a 4–6); all works by de Cleve</i>			
3	Miserere mei	1a: Ps. 50:3; 2a: Ps. 50:4–6 (frag.)	none

4	Adiuva nos	Ps. 78:9	none
8	Deus, quis similis	1a: Ps. 82:2–12 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 82:12 (frag.)–19	none
10	Timete Dominum	1a: Ps. 33:10; 2a: Ps. 33:11	none
11/19	Inclina, Domine	1a: Ps. 85:1–4; 2a: Ps. 85:10,12	none
<i>B 880: Cantiones sacrae (a 4); all works by (Bar.) Lupus</i>			
2	Fratres sobrii estote	1 Pet. 5:8–9 (frag.), Ps. 40:11 (frag.)	none
11/16	Exortum est	Ps. 111:4	none
<i>C 3205: Cantiones seu harmoniae sacrae (a 4–8, 10); all works by de Cleve</i>			
2	Deus in adiutorium	Ps. 69:2, Gloria Patri	none
3	Laudate Dominum	Ps. 116:1–2	none
4	Domine ne in furore	1a: Ps. 6:2–4; 2a: Ps. 6:5–6, Ps. 37:22	none
5	Beati quorum remissae	1a: Ps. 31:1–4; 2a: Ps. 31:5	none
6	Domine ne in furore	Ps. 37:2–6, 22–23	Tertius psal. peni.
8	Usquequo, Domine	1a: Ps. 12:1–4 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 12:4 (frag.)–6	none
12	Laudate Dominum	Ps. 116:1–2, Gloria Patri	Cum gla.
18	Erravi sicut ovis	1a: Ps. 118:176; 2a: Ps. 24:7 (frag.), Ps. 118:176 (frag.)	none
27/27	Es wel uns Gott genedig sein	German: poem of Martin Luther, based on Ps. 67 (LXX: Ps. 66)	none

Appendix II Table C: Psalm Motets in Prints Held at the Augsburg State and City Library (D-As)

Item No.	Composer: Short Title/Incipit	Quoted/Adapted Material (biblical)	Rubrics and Other Relevant Marginalia (biblical and liturgical)
<i>R 1196: Responsoria 1 (a 4); all works by Resinarius</i>			
3	Docebit nos	intro.: Isa. 2:3 (frag.); respond: Isa. 2:3 (frag.); verse: Ps. 49:2–3 (frag.)	Dominica tertia adventus; Esa. 2., Psalmo 49 (verse)
7	Diligam te	intro.: Ps. 17:2; respond: Ps. 17:3 (frag.); verse: Ps. 17:4	Dominica post octavas Epiphaniae; Psalmo 17
8	In toto corde	intro.: Ps. 118:10 (frag.); respond: Ps. 118:10 (frag.); verse: Ps. 118:153	In Septuagesima ad primas Vesperas; Psalmo 118
14	Spes mea	intro.: Ps. 70:5 (frag.); respond: Ps. 70:5 (frag.); verse: Ps. 70:6 (frag.)	Ad secundas Vesperas Do. Invocavit; Psalmo 70
16	Adiutor meus	intro.: Ps. 26:9; respond: Ps. 26:9; verse: Ps. 26:9 (all frag.)	Ad secundas Vesperas Do. Reminiscere; Psalmo 26
18	Illumina oculos	respond: Ps. 12:4–5 (both frag.); verse: Ps. 87:2	Ad Completorium Do. Oculi; Psalmo 13
19	Esto nobis	intro.: non-bibl. text: respond: Ps. 60:4; verse: Ps. 60:4 (both frag.)	Ad secundas Vesperas Do. Oculi; Psalmo 60
20	Audi Israel	intro.: Tob. 4:2/Deut. 4:1/Deut. 6:3 (frag.); respond: Bar. 1:20/Exod. 13:5/Deut. 6:3 (frag.); verse: Ps. 80:9 (frag.)–10	Dominica Letare; Deut. 6.
21	Educ de carcere	intro.: Ps. 141:8; respond: Ps. 141:8; verse: Ps. 141:5 (all frag.)	Ad secundas Vesperas Do. Letare; Psalmo 141
22	In te lactatus	intro.: Ps. 21:11–12 (frag.); respond: Ps. 21:12 (frag.); verse: Ps. 21:21	Dominica Iudica; Psalmo 22

23	In pace in idipsum	intro.: Ps. 4:9 (frag.); respond: Ps. 4:9 (frag.); verse: Ps. 131:4	Ad Completorium Do. Iudica; Psalmo 4
24	Circumdederunt me	intro.: non-bibl. text; respond: non-bibl. text; verse: Ps. 21:12 (frag.)	Ad secundas Vesperas; Psalmo 21
42/43	Laudabilis populus	intro.: Isa. 19:25 (frag.); respond: Isa. 19:25 (frag.); verse: Ps. 32:12	Ex Historia Prophetarum; Esa. 19. (respond), Psal. 32. (verse)
<i>R 1196: Responsoria 2 (a 4); all works by Resinarius</i>			
1	Vir iste in populo	Num. 12:3 (adapt.), Acts 6:8 (adapt.); respond: non-bibl. text; verse: Ps. 108:4	Andreae Apostoli; Hieremia 37 et 42, Num. 12
7	Panem angelorum	intro: Ps. 77:25 (frag.), non-bibl. text; respond: 1 Kings 17:6 (adapt.), non-bibl. text; verse: non-bibl. text	Pauli primi Heremitaie et Antonii; 3 Regum 17
13	Gaudete iusti	intro: Ps. 32:1; respond: Ps. 32:1; verse: Ps. 111:7 (frag.)	Tempore Pascali, de Martyribus; Psal. 32, Psal. 111 (verse)
21	Levita Laurentius	intro: non-bibl. text; respond: non-bibl. text; verse: 2 Cor. 9:9/Ps. 111:9	De sancto Laurentio; Psal. 111 (verse)
25	Posuisti, Domine	intro: Ps. 20:4 (frag); respond: Ps. 20:6 (frag.); verse: non-bibl. text	Venceslai Martyris
33	Cives sanctorum	intro: Eph. 2:19 (frag.), non-bibl. text; respond: non-bibl. text; verse: Ps. 18:5/Rom. 10:18 (frag.)	Communia sanctorum, Apostolorum; Ephe. 2
37	Iustus germinabit	intro: Ps. 91:13–14 (adapt.); respond: Ps. 20:6 (frag.); verse: Ps. 91:14	Communia sanctorum, Unius Martyris
38/38	Regnum mundi	intro: non-bibl. text; respond: non-bibl. text; verse: Ps. 44:2 (frag.)	Sanctarum Virginum
<i>(B I) 1544⁶: Motecta 1 (a 5)</i>			
7	de Rore: In die tribulationis	Ps. 76:3,5,7, Matt. 24:8	none
8	Barré: Congregati sunt	1 Macc. 5:10 (adapt.), Ps. 58:12 (frag.), Sir. 36:2/13, Ps. 58:12 (frag.), Sir. 36:2/13; 5.v.: Sir. 50:25 (frag.: Da pacem, Domine)	none
14	Jacquet of Mantua: Tribularer si nescirem	1a: Ezek. 33:11, + non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 93:19, non-bibl. text; tenor + 5v: Ps. 41:6/12/Ps. 42:6 (frag.)	none
15	de Rore: Tribularer si nescirem	1a: Ezek. 33:11, + non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 93:19, non-bibl. text	none
16	Ferrabosco: Usquequo, Domine	1a: Ps. 12:1–4 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 12:4 (frag.)–6	none
17	Barré: Audite celi	1a: Deut. 32:1, Ps. 30:12–13 (frag.), Ps. 21:14, Ps. 70:11; 2a: Ps. 65:16, Ps. 3:5, Ps. 30:16 (adapt.), Ps. 115:3, Ps. 103:33, Ps. 105:1*	none
22	Jarsin: Ecce quam bonum	Ps. 132:1, Ps. 35:9–10, Ps. 132:1	none
24/24	Gardano: In mari vie	Ps. 76:20–21, Neh. 9:11 (frag.)–12 (frag.)	none
<i>D 3018: Novum opus musicum (a 4); all works by Dietrich</i>			
115/ 115	Te Deum laudamus	Te Deum: Isa. 6:3b, Ps. 27:9, Ps. 144:2, Ps. 122:3 (frag.), Ps. 32:22, Ps. 30:2/Ps. 70:1; several non-bibl. texts intermixed	Canticum Augustini et Ambrosii

<i>(B I) 1545⁶: Bicinia 1 (a 2)</i>			
30	Greiter: Domine non secundum	Ps. 102:10	none
31	Stoltzer: Domine non secundum	Ps. 102:10	none
32	Stoltzer: Domine ne memineris	Ps. 78:8	none
36	Brumel: Dominus dissipat	Ps. 32:10–11	none
37	Anon: Domine, Deus meus	Ps. 7:2–3,9	none
38	Layolle: Auditam fac	Ps. 142:8–12, Gloria Patri	none
39	Stoltzer: Quoniam ipse liberavit	Ps. 90:3	none
40	Févin: Benedictus qui venit	Ps. 117:26* (frag.)	none
42	Anon: Dirige nos	Ps. 24:5, Ps. 78:8	none
43	Pipelare: Virga tua	Ps. 22:4 (frag.)	none
52	Josquin: Exaudi, Domine	Ps. 26:7,9 (frag.),11,14	none
59	Anon: Dominus protector	Ps. 26:1,3,2 (all frag.)	none
60	Brumel: Vias tuas	Ps. 24:4 (frag.)–5,16,20	none
61	Févin: Quis est homo	Ps. 33:13,15	none
62	Roselli: Benedictus qui venit	Ps. 117:26* (frag.)	none
64	Anon: Fidelis Dominus	Ps. 144:13 (frag.),19 (frag.),20	none
70	Stoltzer: Oculi Domini	Ps. 33:16–17	none
71	Mouton: Nolite confidere	Ps. 145:2 (frag.)–3, Ps. 117:8	none
72	la Rue: Non salvatur	Ps. 32:16–18 (frag.),19	none
77	Anon: Ad Dominum	Ps. 119:1–7 (frag.)	none
78	la Rue: Miserere mei	Ps. 55:2,4 (frag.)	none
79	Senfl: Convertite nos	Ps. 84:5,8	none
80	Forster: Timete Dominum	Ps. 33:10–11, Ps. 36:25	none
82	Brumel: Benedictus qui venit	Ps. 117:26* (frag.)	none
83	Anon: Deus meus eripe	Ps. 70:4–5	none
86/97	Anon: Laudate Dominum	Ps. 116:1–2	none
<i>(B I) 1545⁷: Bicinia 2 (a 2)</i>			
43	Scotto: Audi filia	1a: Ps. 44:11–12; 2a: Ps. 44:5,3 (frag.)	none
50	Févin: In eternum	Ps. 118:89–90	none
51	Févin: Beatus homo	Ps. 93:12	none
58	Anon: Confitebor tibi	Ps. 85:12–13 (frag.)	none
61	Anon: In tribulatione mea	Ps. 85:7	none
74	la Rue: Miserere mei	Ps. 85:3–4 (frag.),5 (frag.)	none
76	Anon: Benedictus qui venit	Ps. 117:26* (frag.)	none
78	Anon: Servite, Domino	Ps. 2:11–12	none
121	Josquin: Diligam te	Ps. 17:2–3	none

126	Anon: Vivit Deus meus	Ps. 17:47–48	none
127	Anon: Ne timueris	Ps. 48:17–18	none
134	Anon: Domine quis habitabit	1a: Ps. 14:1–3 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 14:3 (frag.)–4a; 3a: Ps. 14:4 (frag.)–5	none
135	Mouton: Libera animam meam	Ps. 17:18/48,3 (adapt.)	none
139	Willaert: Exaudi, Deus	Ps. 30:3–4/Ps. 63:2–3 (sig. adapt.)	none
142/ 144	Anon: Ista est speciosa	Ps. 44:3/5 (sig. adapt.)	none
<i>R 2474: Motetta (a 5); all works by de Rore</i>			
3	In convertendo	1a: Ps. 125:1–3; 2a: Ps. 125:4–7	none
7	In Domino confido	1a: Ps. 10:2–4; 2a: Ps. 10:5–8	none
8	Tribularer si nescirem	1a: Ezek. 33:11, + non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 93:19, non-bibl. text	none
9	Exaudiat me	1a: Ps. 19:2–6; 2a: Ps. 19:7–9	none
11	Usquequo, Domine	1a: Ps. 12:1–4 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 12:4 (frag.)–6	none
13	Cantantibus organis	1a: non-bibl. text, Ps. 118:80 (adapt.); 2a: non-bibl. text, Ps. 118:80 (adapt.)	none
15	Quid gloriaris	1a: Ps. 51:3–7; 2a: Ps. 51:8–11	none
16	Levavi oculos	1a: Ps. 120:1–4; 2a: Ps. 120:5–8	none
17	Domine quis habitabit	1a: Ps. 14:1–3; 2a: Ps. 14:4–5	none
18/19	Vias tuas	1a: Ps. 24:4 (frag.), Ps. 26:12 (frag.), Ps. 24:5 (adapt.); 2a: Ps. 142:8 (frag.)–10 (frag.)	none
<i>(B I) 1549⁸: Motetta 3 (a 5)</i>			
2	Perissone: Ad te, Domine	1a: Ps. 24:1–3 (adapt.), Ps. 30:3/Ps. 70:2/Ps. 101:3, Wisd. 9:5 (frag.)/Ps. 142:12 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 39:2, Job 14:14, Ps. 17:21/25/2 Sam. 22:21, Ps. 31:6/Ps. 144:15, Ps. 116:1–2 (all frag., adapt.)	none
3	Clemens non Papa: Iob tonso capite	1a: Job 1:20–21 (both frag.); 2a: Job 1:21/Ps. 112:2, Ps. 112:2 (all frag.)	none
5	Baston: Confitebor tibi	1a: Ps. 85:12–13 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 85:13,13 (both frag.)	none
6	Schaffen: Miser ubi parebo	1a: Isa. 38:15 (paraph.), Deut. 21:22 (paraph.), non-bibl. text; 2a: non-bibl. text, Ezek. 33:11 (paraph.), Ps. 84:5 (frag.)	none
18	Crecquillon: Dirige gressus meos	1a: Ps. 16:5, Ps. 138:24, Ps. 118:36; 2a: Ps. 118:37, Ps. 142:10 (frag.)	none
20	de Sermisy: Esto mihi	1a: non-bibl. text, Ps. 60:4, Ps. 118:128,43; 2a: Ps. 33:23, Ps. 118:116, Ps. 142:12, Ps. 118:43	none
21/22	Jacquet of Mantua: Domine secundum	non-bibl. text, Ps. 50:3 (frag.),4,3 (frag.)	none
<i>(B I) 1551²⁰: Bergkreyen (a 2–3) – see APPENDIX V –</i>			
<i>(B I) 1553⁸: Ecclesiasticae cantiones I (a 4)</i>			
7	Clemens non Papa: Erravi sicut ovis	1a: Ps. 118:176; 2a: Ps. 24:7 frag.), Ps. 50:6 (frag.)	Psalmo CXVIII Aproprinque (1a); Psalmo XXIII (2a)
8	Anon: Tribulationes civitatum	Jth. 7:19/Ps. 105:6, + non-bibl. text	Tempore angustia

9	Clemens non Papa: Exaudi, Domine	1a: Ps. 54:2, + non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 54:3, + non-bibl. text; 3a: non-bibl. text	Psalmus LIIII
10	Clemens non Papa: Voce mea	1a: Ps. 3:5–7 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 3:7 (frag.)–9	none
11	Clemens non Papa: Heu mihi	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 6:4, non-bibl. text	Pro peccatis
12	Clemens non Papa: Tristitia obsedit	1a: Ps. 138:22/Lam. 1:2 (both frag.), + non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 50:3 (frag.), non-bibl. text	Tempore angustia
14/22	Clemens non Papa: Timor et tremor	Ps. 54:6 (frag.), Jon. 3:2,5–6 (adapt.), Jon. 3:7 (frag.), 8 (frag.), + non-bibl. text	Ione. III capite
<i>(B I) 1553⁹: Ecclesiasticae cantiones 2 (a 4)</i>			
3	Clemens non Papa: Circumdederunt me	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 21:12 (frag.), non-bibl. text	none
7	Crecquillon: Os loquentium	Ps. 62:12 (frag.), non-bibl. text, Ps. 124:1, Ps. 36:39 (frag.)	Psalmo LXII
9	de Latre: O Domine adiuva	Ps. 118:117 (frag.), Ps. 90:3/Rom. 7:24 (adapt.), non-bibl. text; 2a: non-bibl. text, Isa. 25:8/Rom. 6:23 (sig. adapt.)	none
10	Anon: Peccantem me	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 53:3, non-bibl. text	Psalmus LIII (2a)
13	Peudargent: Te Deum patrem	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: non-bibl. text, Ps. 112:2	De sancto Trinitate
15	Crecquillon: Unus panis	1a: 1 Cor. 10:17; 2a: Ps. 67:11 (frag.), Wisd. 16:20 (frag.)	none
23/24	Clemens non Papa: Deus stetit	1a: Ps. 81:1, non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 81:6 (adapt.), Matt. 5:48 (adapt.)	Psalmus LXXXI
<i>(B I) 1553¹⁰: Ecclesiasticae cantiones 3 (a 4)</i>			
9	Anon: Vidi Iherusalem	Apoc. 21:2, Jth. 10:19 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 44:14 (frag.)–15 (frag.), Jth. 10:19 (frag.)	Apocalipsis XXI
10	Manchicourt: Benedic anima mea	1a: Ps. 102:2–6; 2a: Ps. 102:8–11	none
12	Anon: Posuit coronam	1a: Isa. 61:10 (adapt.), non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 34:1–2, non-bibl. text	Psalmus XXXIII (2a)
14	Maessens: O praeclarum nomen	non-bibl. text, Rom. 10:13/Acts 2:21 (adapt.); 2a: Ps. 102:1, Rom. 10:13/Acts 2:21 (adapt.)	none
18	Clemens (non Pap): Confundantur omnes	Jer. 17:18 (frag.), Ps. 54:16, Jer. 17:18 (frag.), non-bibl. text, Ps. 21:8 (frag.), Ps. 61:7/Ps. 69:6/Ps. 108:26; 2a: Ps. 21:12 (frag.), non-bibl. text	none
23	Vaet: Laetatus sum	1a: Ps. 121:1–5; 2a: Ps. 121:6–9	none
24/24	Anon: Iubilare Deo	1a: Ps. 99:2–3 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 99:3 (frag.)–5	none
<i>(B I) 1553¹²: Ecclesiasticae cantiones 5 (a 5)</i>			
3	de Hollande/Hollander: Benedic Domine	1 Kings 8:44b/2 Chron. 6:34 (frag.)/38 (frag.), 2 Chron. 6:21 (paraph.); 2a: Ps. 83:5, 2 Chron. 6:21 (paraph.)	Cap. VI Paralipomenon

4	Crecquillon: Exaudiat te	1a: Ps. 19:2–6; 2a: Ps. 19:7–9	Psalmus XIX
9	Canis: Domine, Deus omnipotens	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 50:3 (frag.), + non-bibl. text	none
11/16	Louys: Cantate Domino	1a: Ps. 95:1–3; 2a: Ps. 95:4–5	none
<i>(B I) 1553¹³: Ecclesiasticae cantiones 6 (a 5)</i>			
2	Clemens non Papa: In te, Domine	Ps. 30:2–3 (frag.),6	Psalmus XXX
6	Louys: Cantate Domino	1a: Ps. 95:1–3; 2a: Ps. 95:4–5	Psalmus XCV
10/16	Anon: Corona aurea	1a: Sir. 45:14; 2a: Ps. 20:4, Sir. 45:14 (frag.)	De confessore
<i>(B I) 1553¹⁴: Ecclesiasticae cantiones 7 (a 5)</i>			
2	Clemens non Papa: Domine non est	1a: Ps. 130:1–2 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 130:2 (frag.)–3	Psalmus CXXX
3	Anon: Domine quid multiplicati	1a: Ps. 3:2–4; 2a: Ps. 3:5–6; 3a: Ps. 3:7–9	Psalmus III
8	Canis: Invocavi nomen tuum	1a: Lam. 3:55–56 (adapt.); 2a: Ps. 144:2 (frag.); 3a: Ps. 17:7 (frag.)	none
11/16	Crecquillon: Ne proicias	1a: Ps. 70:9; 2a: Ps. 76:6, Ps. 91:11; 3a: Ps. 4:9, Ps. 141:6	none
<i>(B I) 1553¹⁵: Ecclesiasticae cantiones 8 (a 5)</i>			
3	Anon: Ne reminiscaris	Tob. 3:3 (adapt.), Joel 2:17, Apoc. 5:9 (frag.), Ps. 84:6 (frag.)	none
12	Baston: Qui confidunt	Ps. 124:1–2	Psalmus Cxxiii
13	Certon: Deus, in nomine	1a: Ps. 53:3–6; 2a: Ps. 53:7–9; 5v: non-bibl. text	Psalmus Liii
17	Anon: Domine ne longe	1a: Ps. 21:20,22; 2a: Ps. 21:2	Psalmus xxi
19/20	Larchier: Laudemus puerum	1a: Luke 2:13 (adapt.),14, Ps. 117:26* (frag.); 2a: Isa. 9:6, Ps. 2:7/Acts 13:33/Heb. 1:5/Heb. 5:5 (all frag.), non-bibl. text; tenor: Ps. 2:7/Acts 13:33/Heb. 1:5/Heb. 5:5 (all frag.)	In nativitate Domini
<i>(B I) 1554⁸: Ecclesiasticae cantiones 4 (a 4)</i>			
3	Galli: Quid retribuam	1a: Ps. 115:3–4; 2a: Ps. 115:7–8	Psalmo CXV
7	Goudimel: Domine quid multiplicati	1a: Ps. 3:2–5; 2a: Ps. 3:6–9	none
9	Curingen: Usquequo, Domine	1a: Ps. 12:1–4 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 12:4 (frag.)–6 (frag.)	Psalmus XII
12	Guyot: Dominus regnavit	1a: Ps. 92:1–2; 2a: Ps. 92:3–5	Psalmus XCII
16	Crespel: Benedicam Dominum	1a: Ps. 33:2–5; 2a: Ps. 33:6–9	Psalmus XXXIII
18	Appenzeller: Beati omnes	1a: Ps. 127:1–3; 2a: Ps. 127:4–6	none
19	Vaet: Domine exaudi orationem	1a: Ps. 101:2–4; 2a: Tob. 3:3 (adapt.), Joel 2:17, Apoc. 5:9 (frag.), Ps. 84:6 (frag.)	Psalmus Centesimus Primus
22/22	Anon: Usquequo, Domine	Ps. 12:1–4 (frag.)	Psalmus XII
<i>(B I) 1554⁹: Ecclesiasticae cantiones 9 (a 5)</i>			
2	Clemens non Papa: Orante sancto Clemente	1a: non-bibl. text, Ps. 45:5 (frag.); 2a: Apoc. 14:1 (adapt.), non-bibl. text	De sancto Clemente

4	Galli: Ex altare	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 103:14–15 (both frag.)	none
7	Vaet: Miserere mei	1a: Ps. 50:3; 2a: Ps. 50:7, Ps. 50:3 (frag.)	none
10	Clemens non Papa: Iob tonso capite	1a: Job 1:20–21 (both frag.); 2a: Job 1:21/Ps. 112:2, Ps. 112:2 (all frag.)	none
17	Louys: Miserere mei	1a: Ps. 6:3; 2a: Ps. 6:5	Psalmo Sexto
18	Crecquillon: Te Deum laudamus	Te Deum: Isa. 6:3b, Ps. 27:9, Ps. 144:2, Ps. 122:3 (frag.), Ps. 32:22, Ps. 30:2/Ps. 70:1; several non-bibl. texts intermixed; 5v: non-bibl. text	Gratiarum actio
19	Louys: Tota die contristatus	1a: Ps. 37:7 (frag.), Ps. 6:4 (adapt.), Ps. 37:12 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 58:2	Psalmo LVIII
20/20	Susato: Peccata mea	Ps. 37:3, Ps. 6:3/Jer. 17:14 (all frag.), + non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 50:5–6 (frag.)	Psalmo XXXVII
<i>(B I) 1555⁸: Ecclesiasticae cantiones 10 (a 5)</i>			
2	Canis: Audi filia	1a: Ps. 44:11–12 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 44:5 (frag.), 17	Psalmo Xliiii
5	Clemens non Papa: Ascendens Christus	Eph. 4:8/Ps. 67:19 (adapt.); 2a: John 20:17 (frag.)	Psalmo Lxvii
10/17	Clemens non Papa: Veni electa mea	1a: Song of Songs 2:10 (adapt.), Ps. 44:12 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 44:11, 12 (both frag.)	De beate Virgine
<i>(B I) 1555⁹: Ecclesiasticae cantiones 11 (a 5)</i>			
3	Canis: Ego dormivi	1a: Ps. 3:6, Exod. 3:14, non-bibl. text; Ps. 1:2; 2a: Ps. 138:1–2, 18	none
5	Crecquillon: Deus virtutem	1a: Ps. 79:15; 2a: Ps. 79:16	none
13/18	Louys: Domine non est	1a: Ps. 130:1–2 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 130:2 (frag.)–3	Psalmus Cxxx
<i>(B I) 1557³: Ecclesiasticae cantiones 12 (a 5)</i>			
6	Appenzeller: Cor mundum crea	Ps. 50:12, Ps. 118:80	none
7	Baston: Discedite a me	Ps. 6:9–10	none
10	Vinders: Laudate pueri	1a: Ps. 112:1, Ps. 134:1, 3 (frag.), Ps. 146:1; 2a: Ps. 148:1–4 (frag.), 7, Ps. 150:1; 5v: non-bibl. text	none
14	Jordan: Haec est dies	1a: Ps. 117:24, Ps. 106:2, Ps. 117:24 (frag.); 2a: 1 Cor. 5:8, 7 (frag.), Ps. 117:24 (frag.)	Tempore Pascae
16/17	Hecquet/Moreau: Deus misereatur	1a: Ps. 66:2–4; 2a: Ps. 66:5–8	none
<i>(B I) 1560¹: Tricinia 1 (a 3)</i>			
1	Stoltzer: In Domino confido	1a: Ps. 10:2–4; 2a: Ps. 10:5–8	none
13	Anon: Beati omnes	1a: Ps. 127:1–3; 2a: Ps. 127:4–6	none
14	Anon: Effunde iram	Ps. 78:6–8	none
15/50	Anon: Illumina oculos	1a: Ps. 12:4 (frag.)–5 (frag.), Ps. 30:6, Ps. 38:5; 2a: Ps. 85:17, Ps. 115:7 (frag.)–8, Ps. 141:5–6	none
+++	Additional strophic works (German) based on Pss. texts		

<i>(B I) 1560¹: Tricinia 2 (a 3)</i>			
1	Verdelot: Ecce enim Deus	Ps. 53:6	none
2	Clemens non Papa: Contristatus sum	Ps. 54:3 (frag.), non-bibl. text	none
3	Morales: In die tribulationis	Ps. 85:7–11	none
4	Phinot: Memor fui	Ps. 118:55–59	none
5	Jacotin: Deduc me	Ps. 85:11,13	none
7	de Sermisy: Viderunt omnes	Ps. 97:3 (frag.)–6 (frag.)	none
8	Góis: In die tribulationis	Ps. 76:3,5,7 (frag.), Matt. 24:8	none
9	de Sermisy: Universae viae tuae	Ps. 24:10 (frag.), Ps. 30:8 (frag.), Ps. 56:11	none
12	de Sermisy: Spes mea	Ps. 21:10 (frag.), Ps. 34:3 (frag.), Ps. 118:43 (frag.), Ps. 15:5, Ps. 118:43 (frag.)	none
14	(Leo.) Paminger: Domine non secundum	1a: Ps. 102:10; 2a: Ps. 78:8; 3a: Ps. 78:9	none
19	(Leo.) Paminger: Der Herr ist mein Hirt	German: Ps. 23:1 (LXX: Ps. 22:2)	Der 23. Psalm
24	(Leo.) Paminger: Herr zeyg mir deine weg	German: Ps. 25:4 (LXX: Ps. 24:5)	Der 25. Psalm
25	(Leo.) Paminger: Kombt her kinder	German: Ps. 34:11 (LXX: Ps. 33:12)	Der 34. Psalm
38	Clemens non Papa: Selig ist die man	Dutch: Ps. 1 (LXX: Ps. 1)	Der 1. Psalm
39	Clemens non Papa: Verhoort min geclag	Dutch: Ps. 5 (LXX: Ps. 5)	Der 5. Psalm
40	Clemens non Papa: Zu God al myn	Dutch: Ps. 10 (LXX: Ps. 9?)	Der 10. Psalm
41	Clemens non Papa: O Heer wilt myn	Dutch: Ps. 11 (LXX: Ps. 10)	Der 11. Psalm
42	Clemens non Papa: O Heer verhort doch	Dutch: Ps. 16 (LXX: Ps. 15)	Der 16. Psalm
43	Clemens non Papa: Gods glori ende heerlicheyt	Dutch: Ps. 18 (LXX: Ps. 17)	Der 18. Psalm
44	Clemens non Papa: Die coninc sal hem	Dutch: Ps. 20 (LXX: Ps. 19)	Der 20. Psalm
45	Clemens non Papa: Waer omb wout ghi mi	Dutch: Ps. 21 (LXX: Ps. 20)	Der 21. Psalm
46	Clemens non Papa: Ick heb ghestelt op	Dutch: Ps. 30 (LXX: Ps. 29)	Der 30. Psalm
47	Clemens non Papa: God myns ghenadich	Dutch: Ps. 51 (LXX: Ps. 50)	Der 51. Psalm
48	Clemens non Papa: O Heer doe ghi oms	Dutch: Ps. 59 (LXX: Ps. 58)	Der 59. Psalm
49	Clemens non Papa: Heere lieue Heere	Dutch: Ps. 60 (LXX: Ps. 59)	Der 60. Psalm
50	Clemens non Papa: Vrol[i]ck en bly	Dutch: Ps. 65 (LXX: Ps. 64)	Der 65. Psalm
51	Clemens non Papa: Waer om wilt ghi ons	Dutch: Ps. 73 (LXX: Ps. 72)	Der 73. Psalm

52/52	Clemens non Papa: Die Heyden quamen	Dutch: Ps. 78 (LXX: Ps. 77)	Der 78. Psalm
<i>C 3536: Modulationes 1 (a 5)</i>			
3/22	Contino: Laetentur coeli	1a: 1 Chron. 16:31/Ps. 95:11, non-bibl. text, Ps. 117:24, John 20:20 (all frag.); 2a: Ps. 105:1*, Ps. 117:16 (frag.), Ps. 3:6 (adapt.), Ps. 138:18 (frag.)	none
<i>K 445: Preces speciales (a 4); all works by de Kerle</i>			
1	Suscipiant Domine	intro: Ps. 71:3–4 (adapt.), Rom. 15:6; verse 1: Ps. 30:17, Eph. 4:12 (both frag.); respond 1: Ps. 71:4; verse 2: Ps. 17:36 (frag.); respond 2: Ps. 71:4; verse 3: non-bibl. text, 2 Cor. 12:20/Gal. 5:20, Ps. 17:36 (both frag.); respond 3: Rom. 15:6; Gloria Patri; Kyrie	Primum Responsorium
2	Descendat Domine	intro: non-bibl. text, Ps. 132:2 (adapt.), non-bibl. text, Ps. 132:1 (adapt.), Ps. 34:18 (adapt.), Eph. 4:11 (frag.), 2 Sam. 7:21 (frag.)/Ps. 19:5 (frag.); verse 1: Eph. 2:20; respond 1: non-bibl. text, Ps. 132:a (adapt.); verse 2: non-bibl. text; respond 2: Ps. 34:18 (adapt.); verse 3: non-bibl.; respond 3: Eph. 4:11, 2 Sam. 7:21/Ps. 19:5 (all frag.); Gloria Patri; Kyrie	Secundum Responsorium
3	Exaudi, Deus	intro: Dan. 9:17–18; verse 1: Dan. 9:19; respond 1: Dan. 9:18 (frag.); verse 2: Dan. 9:19 (frag.); respond 2: Dan. 9:18 (frag.); verse 3: Ps. 30:3, Ps. 142:1 (both frag.); respond 3: Dan. 9:18 (frag.); Gloria Patri; Kyrie	Tertium Responsorium
4	Salvos nos fac	Ps. 105:47 (frag.), non-bibl. text, Eph. 5:30 (adapt.), Ps. 105:47 (frag.), 8 (adapt.), Matt. 5:16; verse 1: Eph. 4:14–15; respond 1: Eph. 5:30 (adapt.), Ps. 105:47 (frag.); verse 2: non-bibl.; respond 2: Ps. 105:8 (adapt.); verse 3: 1 Cor. 1:10 (adapt.); respond 3: Matt. 5:16; Gloria Patri; "Kyrie"	Quartum Responsorium
5	Simus, Domine, renati	intro: non-bibl. text, John 17:23,21,26,23 (adapt.), Ps. 21:28; verse 1: Acts 4:32 (adapt.), John 17:26; respond 1: non-bibl. text, Eph. 4:5–6,1–2 (frag.); verse 2: Eph. 4:2 (frag.)–4; respond 2: John 17:21,23 (adapt.); verse 3: non-bibl. text, non-bibl.; respond 3: Ps. 21:28; Gloria Patri; Kyrie	Quintum Responsorium
7	Congregati sunt	intro: 1 Macc. 5:10 (adapt.), Ps. 58:12 (frag.), Sir. 36:2/13; verse 1: Ps. 82:3–4; respond 1: Ps. 58:12 (frag.); verse 2: Ps. 73:3,22–23;	Septimum Responsorium

		respond 2: Ps. 58:12 (frag.); verse 3: Ps. 73:19?; respond 3: Sir. 36:2/13; Gloria Patri; Kyrie	
9/10	Domine rex	intro: Esther 13:9, non-bibl. phrase, Ps. 43:26/Ps. 78:9 (both frag.); verse 1: Jth. 9:16; respond 1: non-bibl. text, Ps. 43:26/Ps. 78:9 (both frag.); verse 2: non-bibl.; respond 2: non-bibl.; verse 3: Esther 13:17; respond 3: Ps. Ps. 43:26/Ps. 78:9 (both frag.); Gloria Patri; Kyrie	Nonum Responsorium
<i>K 446: Sex missae suavissimis modulationibus 1 (a 5); all works by de Kerle</i>			
16	Requiem eternam	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 64:2–3	Missa pro defunctis
18/34	In ambulem	1a: Ps. 22:4 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 22:4 (frag.)	Missa pro Defunctis, Tractus
<i>V 27: Modulationes 2 (a 5–6); all works by Vaet</i>			
2	Mater digna	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Luke 18:13 (frag.), + non-bibl. text; 5v: 1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 50:3/Ps. 55:2/Ps. 56:2 (all frag.)	none
7/15	Iustus germinabit	1a: Ps. 91: 13–14 (adapt.); 2a: Ps. 91:14 (adapt.)	none
<i>O 135: Musices 1 (a 4–6); all works by Ortiz</i>			
43	Dixit Dominus	Ps. 109:1,2,4,6, Gloria Patri	Ad vespas psalmus
44	Confitebor tibi	Ps. 110:1,3,5 (frag.)–6,8,9(frag.)–10 (frag.), Gloria Patri	Ad vespas psalmus
45	Beatus vir	Ps. 111:1,3,5–6,7 (frag.)–8,10, Gloria Patri	Ad vespas psalmus
46	Laudate pueri	Ps. 112:1,3,5–6,8, Gloria Patri	Ad vespas psalmus
47	Laudate Dominum	Ps. 116:1, Gloria Patri	Ad vespas psalmus
48	Cum invocarem	Ps. 4:2 (frag.),3–9 (odd vv. only), Gloria Patri	Ad completorium, psalmus
49	In te, Domine	Ps. 30:2,3 (frag.),5, Gloria Patri	Ad completorium, psalmus
50	Qui habitat	Ps. 90:1–15 (odd vv. only), Gloria Patri	Ad completorium, psalmus
51	Ecce nunc benedicite	Ps. 133:1,2, Gloria Patri	Ad completorium psalmus
69/69	Te Deum laudamus	Te Deum: Isa. 6:3b, Ps. 27:9, Ps. 144:2, Ps. 122:3 (frag.), Ps. 32:22, Ps. 30:2/Ps. 70:1; several non-bibl. texts intermixed	none
<i>L 815: Selectissimae cantiones 1 (a 4–5); all works by Lasso</i>			
1	Beati omnes	1a: Ps. 127:1–3; 2a: Ps. 127:4–6	none
4	Ad te, Domine	1a: Ps. 24:1–2,7 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 24:4 (frag.)–5	none
5	Domine, probasti me	1a: Ps. 138:1–3; 2a: Ps. 138:5–6	none
6	Quid gloriaris	1a: Ps. 51:3–6; 2a: Ps. 51:7–9 (frag.)	none
7	Dominus scit	Ps. 93:11, Ps. 58:17	none
8	Si ambulavero	Ps. 137:7	none
14	Cantate Domino	1a: Ps. 97:1–3 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 97:3 (frag.)–4	none
15	Deus canticum novum	1a: Ps. 143:9; 2a: Ps. 91:5	none
16	Deus noster refugium	Ps. 45:2	none
21	Super flumina Babylonis [S U su P E R per]	1a: Ps. 136:? (frag.); 2a: Ps. 136:1	none

25	Bonitatem fecisti	Ps. 118:65,68	none
27	Laudate Dominum	1a: Ps. 148:1–6; 2a: Ps. 148:7–11; 3a: Ps. 148:12–13,14 (frag.), Ps. 150:1; 4a: Ps. 150:2–5	none
31	Tu, Domine, benignus	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 24:16 (frag.),18 (frag.), Ps. 85:1; 2nd tenor: Ps. 140:1	none
34	Quis est homo	Ps. 24:12–13	none
40	Cognovi, Domine	1a: Ps. 118:75; 2a: Ps. 118:77	none
41	Iniquos odio	1a: Ps. 118:113–114; 2a: Ps. 118:115	none
42	Deus, in nomine	1a: Ps. 53:3–5; 2a: Ps. 53:6–9	none
43	Beatus vir	Ps. 111:1–10, Gloria Patri	none
47/50	Inclina, Domine	Ps. 85:1,4	none
<i>L 816: Selectissimae cantiones 2 (a 6–8, 10); all works by Lasso</i>			
3	Lauda Ierusalem	1a: Ps. 147:1–3; 2a: Ps. 147:4–6; 3a: Ps. 147:7–8; 4a: Ps. 147:9	none
5	Domine, deduc me	1a: Ps. 5:9–10; 2a: Ps. 5:11 (frag.)	none
7	Quare tristis es	Ps. 41:6/12/Ps. 42:5, Ps. 41:9 (all frag.)	none
9	Concupiscendo concupiscit	1a: non-bibl. text, Ps. 50:17; 2a: Ps. 144:1	none
12	Iunior fui	1a: Ps. 36:25–26; 2a: Ps. 36:27,37	none
15	Homo, cum in honore	Ps. 48:13/21; 2nd altus: non-bibl. text	none
17	Dominus mihi adiutor	1a: Ps. 117:6–7; 2a: Ps. 117:8–9	none
18	Infelix ego	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: non-bibl. text; 3a: non-bibl. text, Ps. 50:3 (frag.)	none
19	Anni nostri	Ps. 89:9 (frag.)–10 (frag.)	none
23	Beatus qui intelligit	1a: Ps. 40:2–3; 2a: Ps. 40:4–5	none
26	Iubilate Deo	1a: Ps. 99:2–3 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 99:3 (frag.)–5; 2nd tenor: Rom. 8:31 (frag.)	none
29	Locutus sum	1a: Ps. 38:5; 2a: Ps. 85:17	none
30	Beatus vir	Ps. 1:1–6, Gloria Patri	none
37	Te Deum laudamus	Te Deum: Isa. 6:3b, Ps. 27:9, Ps. 144:2, Ps. 122:3 (frag.), Ps. 32:22, Ps. 30:2/Ps. 70:1; several non-bibl. texts intermixed	none
39	Laudate pueri	Ps. 112:1–9	none
41	Laudate Dominum	1a: Ps. 146:1–4; 2a: Ps. 146:5–6; 3a: Ps. 146:7–9; 4a: Ps. 146:10–11	none
43	In convertendo	1a: Ps. 125:1–3; 2a: Ps. 125:4–7	none
44	Deus misereatur	Ps. 66:2–8	none
45/46	Levavi oculos	Ps. 120:1–8	none
<i>L 818 Sacrae concertus 5 (a 6); all works by Lasso</i>			
1	Tu, Domine, benignus	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 24:16,18, Ps. 85:1 (all frag.); 2nd tenor: Ps. 140:1	none
4	Bonitatem fecisti	Ps. 118:65,68	none
9	Laudate Dominum	1a: Ps. 148:1–6; 2a: Ps. 148:7–11; 3a: Ps. 148:12–13,14 (frag.), Ps. 150:1; 4a: Ps. 150:2–5	none

11	Iubilate Deo	1a: Ps. 99:2–3 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 99:3 (frag.)–5; 2nd tenor: Rom. 8:31 (frag.)	none
12	Beatus qui intelligit	1a: Ps. 40:2–3; 2a: Ps. 40:4–5	none
13/13	In convertendo	1a: Ps. 125:1–3; 2a: Ps. 125:4–7	none
<i>L 820: Cantiones (a 5); all works by Lasso</i>			
6	Credidi propter	1a: Ps. 115:1–4; 2a: Ps. 115:5–10	none
10	Vidi impium	Ps. 36:35–36	none
14/14	Quemadmodum desiderat	Ps. 41:2–3	none
<i>L 827 Motecta 6 (a 5); all works by Lasso</i>			
6	Credidi propter	1a: Ps. 115:1–4; 2a: Ps. 115:5–10	none
10	Vidi impium	Ps. 36:35–36	none
14/14	Quemadmodum desiderat	Ps. 41:2–3	none
<i>L 832: Sacrae cantiones (a 5); all works by Lasso</i>			
1	Confitemini Domino	1a: Ps. 104:1–2 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 104:2 (frag.)–3	none
5	Deus, qui sedes	Ps. 9:5,10,35 (paraph.)	none
9	Exaudi, Domine	1a: Ps. 26:7–8; 2a: Ps. 26:9	none
11	O Domine salvum	1a: Ps. 117:25–26 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 117:17	none
12	Adversum me	Ps. 68:13	none
13	Quam benignus es	1a: Lam. 3:25–26 (paraph.); 2a: Ps. 145:5–6 (paraph.)	none
14	In me transierunt	Ps. 87:17, Ps. 37:11 (frag.),18 (frag.),22	none
15	Nisi Dominus	1a: Ps. 126:1–2 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 126:2 (frag.)–5	none
17	Legem pone mihi	1a: Ps. 118:33; 2a: Ps. 118:34	none
18	Illustra faciem	Ps. 30:17–18 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 30:20 (frag.)	none
21	Confundantur superbi	1a: Ps. 118:78; 2a: Ps. 118:80	none
24/25	Benedicam Dominum	1a: Ps. 33:2; 2a: Ps. 33:3	none
<i>L 833: Selectiones aliquot cantionum sacrarum (a 6); all works by Lasso</i>			
1	Benedic anima mea	1a: Ps. 102:1–4; 2a: Ps. 102:5–9; 3a: Ps. 102:10–14 (frag.); 4a: Ps. 102:14 (frag.)–19; 5a: Ps. 102:20–22	none
3	Quare tristis es	Ps. 41:6/12/Ps. 42:5, Ps. 41:9 (all frag.)	none
4	Ego sum qui sum	1a: Exod. 3:14, non-bibl. text, Ps. 1:2, Ps. 3:6 (adapt.); 2a: Ps. 3:6 (adapt.)	none
7	Clamaverunt ad Dominum	Ps. 106:13–15	none
8	Cum invocarem	1a: Ps. 4:2–5; 2a: Ps. 4:6; 3a: Ps. 4:7–10	none
10	Ad te levavi	1a: Ps. 122:1–2; 2a: Ps. 122:3–4	none
11	Dixit Dominus	Ps. 109:1–7	none
12/13	Confitebor tibi	Ps. 137:1–3	none
<i>U 119: Septem psalmi poenitentiales (a 4); all works by Utendal</i>			
1	Domine ne in furore	1a: Ps. 6:2–4; 2a: Ps. 6:5–8; 3a: Ps. 6:9–11	Psalmus poenitentialis primus

2	Beati quorum remissae	1a: Ps. 31:1–4; 2a: Ps. 31:5–7; 3a: Ps. 31:8–9; 4a: Ps. 31:10–11	Psalmus poenitentialis secundus
3	Domine ne in furore	1a: Ps. 37:2–6; 2a: Ps. 37:7–11; 3a: Ps. 37:12–15; 4a: Ps. 37:16–19; 5a: Ps. 37:20–21; 6a: Ps. 37:22–23	Psalmus poenitentialis tertius
4	Miserere mei	1a: Ps. 50:3–5; 2a: Ps. 50:6–8; 3a: Ps. 50:9–11; 4a: Ps. 50:12–15; 5a: Ps. 50:16–19; 6a: Ps. 50:20–21	Psalmus poenitentialis quartus
5	Domine exaudi orationem	1a: Ps. 101:2–3; 2a: Ps. 101:4–6; 3a: Ps. 101:7–11; 4a: Ps. 101:12–14; 5a: Ps. 101:15–18; 6a: Ps. 101:19–23; 7a: Ps. 101:24–25; 8a: Ps. 101:26–29	Psalmus poenitentialis quintus
6	De profundis clamavi	1a: Ps. 129:1–4 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 129:4 (frag.)–6; 3a: Ps. 129:7–8	Psalmus poenitentialis sextus
7/12	Domine exaudi orationem	1a: Ps. 142:1–4; 2a: Ps. 142:5–6; 3a: Ps. 142:7–8; 4a: Ps. 142:9–12	Psalmus poenitentialis septimus
<i>C 4155: Cantica I (a 6); all works by Corteccia</i>			
1	Omnipotens et misericors	non-bibl. text; 6a: Ps. 118:49	none
7	Esto mihi	1a: Ps. 30:3 (frag.)–4; 2a: Ps. 24:4, Ps. 30:3/17 (all frag.); 5v: Ps. 30:3 (frag.)	none
8	O Paule Ursine	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: non-bibl. text; 5v: Ps. 127:3	none
9	Sancti tui	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 14:1 (adapt.); 5v: non-bibl. text	none
11	Exaltabo te	1a: Ps. 144:1,3; 2a: Ps. 144:9,2; tenor: Ps. 115:3	none
12	In manus tuas	1a: Ps. 30:6; 2a: Ps. 16:8; tenor: Ps. 30:6/Luke 23:46 (both frag.)	none
17	Laetare et exultare	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: non-bibl. text; 6v: 1a: Ps. 95:1/Ps. 97:1/Ps. 149:1/Isa. 42:10 (all frag.); 2a: Ps. 97:5 (frag.)	none
18/18	Confirma Domine	Ps. 67:29, Ps. 26:9/Ps. 68:18, Ps. 118:170, Ps. 70:8 (all frag.); 5v: Ps. 67:29 (frag.)	none
<i>C 4156: Cantica I (a 5); all works by Corteccia</i>			
1	Dominus illuminatio	1a: Ps. 26:1–2; 2a: Ps. 26:3–4 (frag.)	none
5	O rex redemptor	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: non-bibl. text; 5v: Ps. 43:26 (frag.)	none
11	Deus vitam meam	1a: Ps. 55:9–10 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 55:10 (frag.)–11	none
13	Ecce nunc benedicite	1a: Ps. 133:1; 2a: Ps. 133:2–3	none
18/18	Peccata mea	1a: Ps. 37:2–3(adapt.), non-bibl. text, Ps. 6:3/Ps. 40:5 (adapt.); 2a: Ps. 50:5–6 (frag.), Ps. 6:3/Ps. 40:5 (adapt.)	none
<i>K 989: Dulcissimae quaedam cantiones (a 5–7); all works by Knöfel</i>			
2	Timete Dominum	Ps. 33:10–11	none
3	Exultate iusti	1a: Ps. 32:1–2; 2a: Ps. 32:3–4	none
6	Dirige Domine	Ps. 118:133	none
7	In te, Domine	1a: Ps. 30:2/Ps. 70:1, Ps. 70:5; 2a: Ps. 56:2, Ps. 70:5	none
11	Commenda Domino	1a: Ps. 36:5; 2a: Ps. 36:5	none

13	Domine non secundum	1a: Ps. 102:10; 2a: Ps. 78:8; 3a: Ps. 78:9	none
16	Miserere mei	Ps. 50:3/Ps. 55:2/Ps. 56:2, Matt. 26:38/Mark 14:34, Ps. 142:9, Ps. 37:23/Ps. 87:2 (all frag.), +2 non bibl. frag.	none
17	Laudate Dominum	1a: Ps. 116:1–2; 2a: Ps. 150:4 (frag.),5 (frag.), Ps. 116:2	none
18	Omnes gentes	Ps. 85:9–10	none
23	Iacta curam	Ps. 54:23 (frag.)	none
24/32	Etiam si ambulavero	Ps. 22:4	none
<i>L 844: Moduli (a 5); all works by Lasso</i>			
3	Verba mea	1a: Ps. 5:2–3; 2a: Ps. 5:4–6	none
12	Deus iudex	1a: Ps. 7:12–13; 2a: Ps. 7:14–16	none
16/19	Descendit sicut pluvia	1a: Ps. 71:6–8; 2a: Ps. 71:9–11	none
<i>L 846: Moduli 1 (a 5); all works by Lasso</i>			
1	Confitemini Domino	1a: Ps. 104:1–2 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 104:2 (frag.)–3	none
4	Exaudi, Domine	1a: Ps. 26:7–8; 2a: Ps. 26:9	none
6	Adversum me	Ps. 68:13	none
8	In me transierunt	Ps. 87:17, Ps. 37:11 (frag.),18 (frag.),22	none
13	Illustra faciem	Ps. 30:17–18 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 30:20 (frag.)	none
14	Nisi Dominus	1a: Ps. 126:1–2 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 126:2 (frag.)–5	none
18	Confundantur superbi	1a: Ps. 118:78; 2a: Ps. 118:80	none
20	Benedicam Dominum	1a: Ps. 33:2; 2a: Ps. 33:3	none
21/21	Gustate et videte	1a: Ps. 33:9–10; 2a: Ps. 33:11	none
<i>A 405: Canones, et echo 1 (a 5–6, 8); all works by (Lo.) Agostini</i>			
10	Veni sponsa Christi	Song of Songs 4:8, Ps. 44:8/5 (both sig. adapt., frag.)	none
15	Veni sponsa Christi	Song of Songs 4:8, Ps. 44:8/5 (both sig. adapt., frag.)	none
19/19	Omnes gentes	Ps. 46:2–10, Gloria Patri	Psalmus 46
<i>L 851: Fasciculus aliquot cantionum sacrarum (a 5); all works by Lasso</i>			
3	Verba mea	1a: Ps. 5:2–3; 2a: Ps. 5:4–6	none
12	Deus iudex	1a: Ps. 7:12–13; 2a: Ps. 7:14–16	none
16/19	Descendit sicut pluvia	1a: Ps. 71:6–8; 2a: Ps. 71:9–11	none
<i>L 853: Sacrae cantiones 2 (a 5–6); all works by Lasso</i>			
6	Cantate Domino	1a: Ps. 97:1–3 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 97:3 (frag.)–4	none
7	Deus canticum novum	1a: Ps. 143:9; 2a: Ps. 91:5	none
8	Deus noster refugiam	Ps. 45:2	none
9	Quare tristis es	Ps. 41:6/12/Ps. 42:5, Ps. 41:9 (all frag.)	none
11	Quam magnificata sunt	1a: Ps. 91:6–7, 2a: Ps. 93:12	none
12	Concupiscendo concupiscit	1a: non-bibl. text, Ps. 50:17; 2a: Ps. 144:1	none
16/16	Lauda Ierusalem	1a: Ps. 147:1–3; 2a: Ps. 147:4–6; 3a: Ps. 147:7–8; 4a: Ps. 147:9	none
<i>L 854: Moduli 2 (a 5); all works by Lasso</i>			
1	Cantate Domino	1a: Ps. 97:1–3 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 97:3 (frag.)–4	none

4	Deus canticum novum	1a: Ps. 143:9; 2a: Ps. 91:5	none
5	Credidi propter	1a: Ps. 115:1–4; 2a: Ps. 115:5–10	none
6	Quam benignus es	1a: Lam. 3:25–26 (paraph.); 2a: Ps. 145:5–6 (paraph.)	none
8	Si ambulavero	Ps. 137:7	none
9	Quis est homo	Ps. 24:12–13	none
10	Legem pone mihi	1a: Ps. 118:33; 2a: Ps. 118:34	none
11	Deus noster refugium	Ps. 45:2	none
15	Vidi impium	Ps. 36:35–36	none
17	Domine, probasti me	1a: Ps. 138:1–3; 2a: Ps. 138:5–6	none
20/20	Laudate Dominum	1a: Ps. 148:1–6; 2a: Ps. 148:7–11; 3a: Ps. 148:12–13,14 (frag.), Ps. 150:1; 4a: Ps. 150:2–5	none
<i>R 259: Cantiunculae pascales (a 4–6); all works by Rasch</i>			
+++	Add. strophic works (German) based on Pss. texts		
<i>L 857: Patrocinium musices I (a 4–6); all works by Lasso</i>			
6	Lauda anima mea	Ps. 145:2–3	none
7	Pauper sum ego	Ps. 87:16	none
8	Exsurgat Deus	1a: Ps. 67:2–4; 2a: Ps. 67:5–6 (frag.); 3a: Ps. 67:6 (frag.)–7	none
9	Misericordias Domini	Ps. 88:2	none
10	Oculi omnium	1a: Ps. 144:15–16; 2a: Ps. 144:17–18	none
11	Domine clamavi	1a: Ps. 140:1–4 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 140:4 (frag.)–7 (frag.); 3a: Ps. 140:7 (frag.)–10	none
19/21	In Deo salutare	1a: Ps. 61:8; 2a: Ps. 61:9	none
<i>P 828, (B I) 1573²: Ecclesiasticae cantiones I (a 4–6, 8); all works by (Leo.) Paminger</i>			
22	De illa occulta	intro: non-bibl. text; respond: non- bibl. text; verse: Ps. 49:2–3 (frag.)	In Vigilia Vigilae Nativit. Christi, Respon.
34	Descendit de coelis	intro: non-bibl. text; respond: non- bibl. text; verse: non-bibl. text, Ps. 18:6	De Nativitate Christi, Respon.
58	Tecum principium	Ps. 109:3	1. Antiph., in 2. Vesp.
59	Redemptionem misit	Ps. 110:9	2. Antiph., in 2. Vesp.
60	Exortum est	Ps. 111:4	3. Antiph., in 2. Vesp.
61	Apud Dominum	Ps. 129:7	4. Antiph., in 2. Vesp.
62	De fructu ventris	Ps. 131:11 (frag.)	De Nativitate Christi, 5. Antiph., in 2. Vesp.
87	De Syon venit	1a: Matt. 1:21 (frag.), Matt. 1:23 (frag.), Exod. 15:2 (frag.), + non- bibl. text; 2a: Joel 2:15, Isa. 62:11 (frag.), Job 1:10/Ps. 71:19 (adapt.), Ps. 71:11, non-bibl. text	De Nativitate Christi
90	Vox tonitru	intro: Ps. 76:19 (frag.), non-bibl phrase; respond: Gen. 49:11 (frag.); verse: non-bibl. text	De S. Iohanne Apos. Et Evan., Respon.
98	Quando natus est	non-bibl. text, Ps. 71:6 (frag.), non- bibl. text	De Circumcisione Christi, 2. Antiph.
111	Tria sunt munera	intro: non-bibl. text; respond: non- bibl. text; verse: Ps. 71:10	De Epiphania Domini, Respon., in 2. Vesp.
138	Haec est dies	Ps. 117:24 (frag.), + non-bibl. text	De Annuntiatione Mariae Vir., 3. Antiph.
140/ 141	Haec est dies	Ps. 117:24 (frag.), + non-bibl. text	De Annuntiatione Mariae Vir., Respon.

<i>P 829, (B I) 1573³: Ecclesiasticae cantiones 2 (a 4–6); all works by (Leo.) Paminger</i>			
5	Circumdede runt me	intro: non-bibl. text; respond: non-bibl. text; verse: Ps. 21:12 (frag.)	De Passione Domini Nostri Iesu Christi, Respon.
21	Zelus domus	Ps. 68:10	De Passione Domini Nostri Iesu Christi
51	Alleluia, Laudate Dominum	Ps. 116:1,2 (frag.), Gloria Patri	In Vigilia Resurrectionis Christi, ad Vesp., Antiph. cum Psalm., Psalm. Laudate Dominum omnes gentes
58	Vidi aquam	non-bibl. text, Ps. 105:1*, Gloria Patri (text only)	In Die sancto Paschae
65	Haec est dies	Ps. 117:24, Ps. 105:1*	In Die sancto Paschae
73	Alleluia, Surrexit Dominus	1a: non-bibl. text, Ps. 117:24; 2a: Ps. 105:1*, John 10:11 (adapt.)	In Die sancto Paschae
88	De ore prudentis	1a: Prov. 5:3/Song of Songs 4:11 (both adapt.); 2a: Prov. 5:3/Song of Songs 4:11 (both frag.), Ps. 118:103, Prov. 5:3/Song of Songs 4:11 (both frag.)	De S. Infra Festum Pascha, et Ascensionem Christi, Ant.
91	Sancti et iusti	Ps. 32:1,12 (frag.)	De S. Infra Festum Pascha, et Ascensionem Christi, 2. Ant.
94	In coelestibus	Ps. 14:1 (adapt.)	De S. Infra Festum Pascha, et Ascensionem Christi, 5. Ant.
97	In tabernaculis	Ps. 117:15 (adapt.)	De S. Infra Festum Pascha, et Ascensionem Christi, 2. Ant. ad 2. Vesp.
100	Vox laetitiae	Ps. 117:15 (adapt.)	De S. Infra Festum Pascha, et Ascensionem Christi, 5. Ant. ad 2. Vesp.
102	Filiae Hierusalem	intro: Song of Songs 3:11 (adapt.); respond: Song of Songs 3:11 (adapt.); verse: Ps. 147:2	De S. Infra Festum Pascha, et Ascensionem Christi, Respon.
110	Virtute magna	intro: Acts 4:33 (frag.); respond: Acts 4:33 (frag.); verse: Ps. 18:5/Rom. 10:18 (frag.)	De S. Marco Evangelista, Respon.
137	Ascendit Deus	1a: Ps. 46:6 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 46:6 (frag.); 3a: Gloria Patri (1st half), Ps. 46:6 (frag.)	De Festo Ascensionis Christi
138	Ascendit Deus	Ps. 46:6	De Festo Ascensionis Christi
140	Omnes gentes	1a: Ps. 46:2–5; 2a: Ps. 46:6–10	De Festo Ascensionis Christi, Psalmus 46
166	Spiritus Domini	1a: Wisd. 1:7; 2a: Ps. 67:29–30 (both frag.)	De Festo Pentecostes, Moteta
169/ 185	Te Deum laudamus	Te Deum: Isa. 6:3b, Ps. 27:9, Ps. 144:2, Ps. 122:3 (frag.), Ps. 32:22, Ps. 30:2/Ps. 70:1; several non-bibl. texts intermixed	De Festo S. Trinitatis, Ant.
<i>L 874: Patrocinium musices 3 (a 5); all works by Lasso</i>			
2	Confitemini Domino	Ps. 105:1*	Vidi aquam
4	Asperges me	Ps. 59:9	Asperges me
5	Miserere mei	Ps. 50:3 (frag.)	Asperges me
7	Asperges me	Ps. 59:9	Asperges me
8	Miserere mei	Ps. 50:3 (frag.)	Asperges me
10	Puer natus	Isa. 9:6 (adapt., frag.), Ps. 97:1	Officium Natalis Christi, Introitus (+versus)
13	Viderunt omnes	Isa. 52:10/Ps. 97:3 (both frag.)	Officium Natalis Christi, Commune

14	Resurrexi et adhuc	Ps. 138:18 (frag.),5–6 (both frag.),1–2	Officium Paschale, Introitus
15	Haec est dies	Ps. 117:24	Officium Paschale, Graduale
19	Spiritus Domini	Wisd. 1:7, Ps. 67:29–30 (both frag.)	Officium Pentecostes, Introitus
23/26	Cibavit eos	Ps. 80:17	Officium Corporis Christi
<i>L 875: Sacrae cantiones 1 (a 5); all works by Lasso</i>			
1	Confitemini Domino	1a: Ps. 104:1–2 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 104:2 (frag.)–3	none
5	Adversum me	Ps. 68:13	none
6	O Domine salvum	1a: Ps. 117:25–26 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 117:17	none
7	Quam benignus es	1a: Lam. 3:25–26 (paraph.); 2a: Ps. 145:5–6 (paraph.)	none
8	In me transierunt	Ps. 87:17, Ps. 37:11 (frag.),18 (frag.),22	none
9	Deus, qui sedes	Ps. 9:5,10,35 (paraph.)	none
13	Exaudi, Domine	1a: Ps. 26:7–8; 2a: Ps. 26:9	none
16	Confundantur superbi	1a: Ps. 118:78; 2a: Ps. 118:80	none
19	Benedicam Dominum	1a: Ps. 33:2; 2a: Ps. 33:3	none
22	Legem pone mihi	1a: Ps. 118:33; 2a: Ps. 118:34	none
23	Illustra faciem	Ps. 30:17–18 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 30:20 (frag.)	none
24/25	Nisi Dominus	1a: Ps. 126:1–2 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 126:2 (frag.)–5	none
<i>T 965: Sacrae cantiones (a 4–6); all works by Tonsor</i>			
7	Ecce quomodo moritur	non-bibl. text, Ps. 75:3	none
9	Dilexi Domine	Ps. 25:8–9	none
15	Conserva me	Ps. 15:1–2	none
18/23	Multa viro	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 125:6–7 (paraph.)	Psalmus CXXXVI
<i>L 877: Patrocinium musices 4 (a 5); all works by Lasso</i>			
8/14	Spiritus meus	1a: Job 17:1–2; 2a: Job 17:3,11–12; 3a: Job 17:13–15 (frag.), Job 17:15/Ps. 70:5 (both adapt., frag.)	Vigiliae mortuorum
<i>C 4410: Opus sacrarum cantionum (a 4–6, 8); all works by Crecquillon</i>			
4	Servus tuus	1a: Ps. 118:125,73 (frag.), Ps. 18:9; 2a: Ps. 118:130, Prov. 2:6	none
11	Unus panis	1a: 1 Cor. 10:17; 2a: Ps. 67:11, Wisd. 16:20 (both frag.)	none
14	Domine, Pater	1a: Sir. 23:1/4, Isa. 2:22; 2a: Ps. 35:12, Sir. 23:5	none
18	Deus misereatur	1a: Ps. 66:2–4; 2a: Ps. 66:5–8	none
19	Dirige gressus meos	1a: Ps. 16:5, Ps. 138:24, Ps. 118:36; 2a: Ps. 118:37, Ps. 142:9 (frag.)–10 (frag.)	none
21	Te Deum laudamus	Te Deum: Isa. 6:3b, Ps. 27:9, Ps. 144:2, Ps. 122:3 (frag.), Ps. 32:22, Ps. 30:2/Ps. 70:1; several non-bibl. texts intermixed; 5v: non-bibl. text	none
24	Invocavi nomen tuum	1a: Lam. 3:55–56 (adapt.); 2a: Ps. 144:2 (frag.); 3a: Ps. 17:7 (frag.)	none
27	Exaudiat te	1a: Ps. 19:2–6; 2a: Ps. 19:7–9	none
32	Adiuva nos	Ps. 78:9	none

33	Ne proicias	1a: Ps. 70:9, 2a: Ps. 76:6, Ps. 91:11, Ps. 4:9, Ps. 141:6	none
36	Venite et videte	1a: Ps. 45:9–10 (frag.), Ps. 47:5; 2a: Ps. 47:6–7 (frag.), Ps. 46:7 (frag.)/Ps. 146:7 (frag.)	none
37	Da pacem, Domine	Sir. 50:25 (frag.: Da pacem, Domine), Sir. 36:18, Sir. 36:14 (frag.) 2a: Ps. 121:7–9; contraten.: Sir. 50:25 (frag.: Da pacem, Domine)	none
43	Efficiamur Domine	1a–2a: Ps. 1–6 (sig. adapt., abbr.)	Psalmus I
51	Nihil proficiet	1a: Ps. 88:23,28; 2a: Ps. 88:24	none
52	Domine respice	Ps. 34:17,19,21,18 (all adapt., frag.); 2a: Ps. 34:23,28, 22,10 (all adapt., frag.)	none
60/61	Domine da nobis	1a: Ps. 59:13–14/Ps. 107:13–14 (adapt.); 2a: Ps. 61:6–8 (adapt.)	none
<i>L 1287: Motectae sacrae (a 4–6, 8); all works by Lechner</i>			
5	Haec est dies	1a: Ps. 117:24, + non-bibl. text; 2a: non-bibl. text; 3a: non-bibl. text	none
7	Quis dabit capiti	Jer. 9:1,4 (adapt.); 2a: Ps. 37:7 (frag.),12	none
8	Cantate Domino	1a: Ps. 149:1–3; 2a: Ps. 149:4–5	none
9	Illumina oculos	1a: Ps. 12:4–5 (both frag.); 2a: Ps. 12:5 (frag.)–6	none
12	Dominus regit	Ps. 22:1–4; 2a: Ps. 22:5–6	none
13	Oculi mei	Ps. 24:15–16	none
15	In me transierunt	Ps. 87:17, Ps. 37:11 (frag.),18 (frag.),22	none
16	Beatus vir	1a: Ps. 1:1–3 (paraph.); 2a: Ps. 8:6–7/Heb. 2:7, Ps. 1:3 (frag.)	none
17	Iubilate Deo	Ps. 65:1–4	none
20	Laudate pueri	Ps. 112:1–9, Gloria Patri	none
22	Exultate Deo	Ps. 80:2–4 (adapt.)	none
24	Paratum cor meum	Ps. 107:2–7 (frag.)	none
25	Memor esto	Ps. 118:49–50	none
26	Novit Dominus	1a: Ps. 36:18–19; 2a: Ps. 36:25,40	none
27	O fons vitae	1a: Song of Songs 4:15 (adapt.), Ps. 62:3, non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 41:3, Ps. 62:3b, + non-bibl. text; 6v: non-bibl. text	none
29	In convertendo	Ps. 125:1–7	none
31/31	Dilexi, quoniam exaudiet	Ps. 114:1–3 (frag.),4–5 (frag.),6 (frag.),7,9	none
<i>P 830, (B I) 1576¹: Ecclesiasticae cantiones 3 (a 4–6); most works by (Leo.) Paminger</i>			
44	Quid vobis videtur	Matt. 22:42–43, Ps. 109:1/Matt. 22:44/Mark 12:36/Luke 20:42 (frag.)–43/Acts 2:34 (frag.)–35	Dominica XVIII, Matth. 22, [antiphona]
70	Peccavi super numerum	intro: non-bibl. text; respond: non-bibl. text; verse: Ps. 50:5,3 (frag.)	Dominica III, 2. Paralip. 36, [responsoria]
76	Audi Israel	intro: Tob. 4:2/Deut. 4:1/Deut. 6:3 (adapt., frag.); respond: Bar. 1:20/Exod. 13:5/Deut. 6:3 (adapt., frag.); verse: Ps. 80:9 (frag.)–10	Dominica X, Deut. 10. 11, Psal. 8, [responsoria]

77	Deus, qui sedes	intro: Ps. 9:5,10 (adapt.); respond: Ps. 9:35 (frag.); verse: Ps. 9:35 (frag.)	Dominica XI, Psal. 9, [responsoria]
78	Laudate Dominum	intro: Jth. 13:17–18 (frag.); respond: Jth. 13:18 (frag.); verse: Ps. 116:1/Rom. 15:11	Dominica XII, Iudith cap. 13, [responsoria]
80	Spem in alium	intro: non-bibl. text; respond: non-bibl. text; verse: Ps. 79:2 (frag.)	Dominica XIII, Iudith 8, [responsoria]
129	Isti sunt sancti	1a: non-bibl. text; 2a: Ps. 115:6 (adapt.), non-bibl. text	De S. Ioanne et Paulo Martyribus, Antiph. 2, Psal. 115 (2a)
193	Iuravit Dominus	Ps. 109:4/Heb. 7:21 (frag.)	De Apostolis, in secundis Vesperis Antiphona, Psal. 110
194	Collocet eum	Ps. 112:8	De Apostolis, 2. Psal. 112
195	Dirupisti Domine	Ps. 115:7–8 (both frag.)	De Apostolis, 3. Psal. 115
196	Euntes ibant	Ps. 125:6	De Apostolis, 4. Psal. 125
197	Confortatus est principatus	Ps. 138:17 (adapt.)	De Apostolis, 5. Psal. 138
211	Virgam virtutis	Ps. 109:2–3 (frag.)	De Martyribus aliisque sanctis, Aliae Antiphonae 1, Psal. 110
212	Generatio rectorum	Ps. 111:2,4 (both frag.)	De Martyribus aliisque sanctis, Aliae Antiphonae 2, Psal. 111
213	Venientes autem venient	Ps. 125:7	De Martyribus aliisque sanctis, Aliae Antiphonae 3, Psal. 125
216	Iucundus homo	Ps. 111:5 (frag.),6	De Martyribus aliisque sanctis, Aliae Antiphonae 6, Psal. 111
217	Quid retribuam	Ps. 115:3–4	De Martyribus aliisque sanctis, Aliae Antiphonae 7, Psal. 115
218	Domine libera	Ps. 119:2	De Martyribus aliisque sanctis, Aliae Antiphonae 8, Psal. 119
219	Sustinuit anima mea	Ps. 129:4 (frag.)–5	De Martyribus aliisque sanctis, Aliae Antiphonae 9, Psal. 12
235	Regnum mundi	intro: non-bibl. text; respond: non-bibl. text; verse: Ps. 44:2 (frag.)	De Martyribus aliisque sanctis, Responsorium, . . . , Psal. 44
236	Regnum mundi	intro: non-bibl. text; respond: non-bibl. text; verse: Ps. 44:2 (frag.)	De Martyribus aliisque sanctis, Idem Responsorium
237	Regnum mundi	intro: non-bibl. text; respond: non-bibl. text; verse: Ps. 44:2 (frag.)	De Martyribus aliisque sanctis, Idem Responsorium
238/ 251	Sanctificavit, Dominus	Ps. 45:5, 1 Chron. 22:1, non-bibl. text, Matt. 11:10/Luke 7:27, 1 Kings 8:29/2 Kings 23:27 (all frag.)	In Dedicatione Templi, Antiphona, Psal. 45, 2. Paralip. 6
<i>S 2107: Sacrae cantiones (a 5–6); all works by Schramm</i>			
3	Dominus scit	Ps. 93:11, Ps. 58:17	none
7	Cantate Domino	1a: Ps. 95:1–3; 2a: Ps. 95:4–6	none
13	Beati omnes	1a: Ps. 127:1–3; 2a: Ps. 127:4–6	none
17	Ego egenus	Ps. 69:6,3	none
24/25	Da nobis auxilium	Ps. 59:13–14/Ps. 107:13–14	none
<i>L 903: Motteta (a 3); all works by Lasso</i>			
2	Domine, non est	1a: Ps. 130:1–2 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 130:2 (frag.)–3	none
4	Laetatus sum	1a: Ps. 121:1–2; 2a: Ps. 121:3–4; 3a: Ps. 121:5–7; 4a: Ps. 121:8–9	none
5	Deus, tu scis	Ps. 68:6–7a	none
6	Ego sum pauper	1a: Ps. 68:30; 2a: Ps. 68:31	none
7	Exaudi me	Ps. 68:17	none

8	Exaudi, Deus	1a: Ps. 54:2–3 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 54:3 (frag.)–4 (frag.)	none
10	Cantate Domino	1a: Ps. 95:1; 2a: Ps. 95:2	none
12	Ego dixi	1a: Ps. 40:5; 2a: Ps. 89:13	none
14	Beati omnes	1a: Ps. 127:1–3; 2a: Ps. 127:4–6	none
16	Domine, Deus meus	Ps. 7:2	none
17	Iustus es Domine	Ps. 118:137–138	none
18/18	Diligam te	Ps. 17:2–3 (frag.)	none
<i>U 125: Sacrae cantiones 3 (a 5–6); all works by Utendal</i>			
3	Domine, a lingua	Ps. 119:2 (adapt.), Ps. 145:2 (frag.), Ps. 116:2, Ps. 97:4 (frag.), Jer. 17:18 (adapt.), Ps. 145:2 (frag.)	none
5	Deus, Deus meus	Ps. 21:2,5–6	none
6	Miserere mei	1a: Ps. 50:3; 2a: Ps. 50:6	none
7	Averte oculos	Ps. 118:37, Ps. 120:8 (frag.), Ps. 121:2	none
8	Ad Dominum	1a: Ps. 119:1–4; 2a: Ps. 119:5–7	none
14	Ecce quam bonum	Ps. 132:1, Ps. 35:9–10, Ps. 132:1	none
15	O piissime Deus	1a: non-bibl. text, Tob. 3:3 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 37:22, non-bibl. text, 1 Sam. 26:24 (adapt., frag.)	none
16	Respice in me	Ps. 24:16,18,5 (frag.), non-bibl. text, Ps. 139:13 (frag.)	none
20/21	Cantantibus organis	non-bibl. text, Ps. 118:80; 6v: non-bibl. text	none
<i>I 38: Sacrae cantiones varii styli 2 (a 5); all works by Infantas</i>			
7	Dum ortus	non-bibl. text, Ps. 18:6 (frag.)	In vigilia nativitatis Domini
10	Emendemus in melius	non-bibl. text, Bar. 3:2 (adapt.); 2a: Ps. 78:9 (frag.), Bar. 3:2 (adapt.)	Feria 4. cinerum et per totam quadrages.
14	In craticula	non-bibl. text, Ps. 16:3	In festo sancti Laurentii
16	Memor esto	Ps. 118:49–51	Diebus Dominicis ferialibus
17	Iuxta est Dominus	Ps. 33:19–21	Pro quacunque tribulatione
29/30	Saepe expugnaverunt	1a: Ps. 128:1–3; 2a: Ps. 128:4–5	Psalmus Cxxviii
<i>I 39: Sacrae cantiones varii styli 3 (a 6–8); all works by Infantas</i>			
2	Veni Domine	1a: non-bibl. text, Isa. 66:13–14 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 79:3(frag.)–4/8/20, non-bibl. text; 6v: non-bibl. text	In Adventu Domini
4	Domine, Dominus noster	1a: Ps. 8:2–4; 2a: Ps. 8:5–7; 3a: Ps. 8:8–10	Psalmus octavus
11	Eripe me	1a: Ps. 142:9–11 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 142:11 (frag.)–12	Psalmus Cxlii
13	Domine, probasti me	1a: Ps. 138:1–3; 2a: Ps. 138:7–10	In festo omnium Apostolorum
14	Iubilare Deo	1a: Ps. 99:2–3 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 99:3 (frag.)–5; tenor: non-bibl. text	Anno Iubilei 1575, Psalmus Xcix
16/21	Beatus vir	1a: Ps. 111:1–2; 2a: Ps. 111:3	Psalmus Cxi
<i>L 1295: Sacrae cantiones 2 (a 5–6, 8); all works by Lechner</i>			
4	Dulcis et rectus	Ps. 24:8–10	none
10	Felix o ter	1a–3a: Ps. 127:1–6 (sig. adapt.)	none
16	Deus noster refugium	1a: Ps. 45:2–7; 2a: Ps. 45:8–12	none
18	Confiteantur tibi	Ps. 66:6–8	none
20	Ecce nunc benedicite	Ps. 133:1–3	none
24/24	Beati omnes	Ps. 127:1,2(frag.)–4 (frag.),5 (frag.)–6	none

<i>(B I) 1585¹ (a 5–8)</i>			
14	Zallamella: Foderunt manus	Ps. 21:17 (frag.)–18 (frag.)	Dominica Palmarum et de Passione Domini
16	Ferrabosco: Timor et tremor	Ps. 54:6,5 (frag.), Ps. 56:2 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 60:2/Ps. 54:2, Ps. 30:4/Ps. 70:3, Ps. 70:7 (frag.), Ps. 30:2/18/Ps. 70:1	Dominica Palmarum et de Passione Domini
23	Massaino: Omnes gentes	1a: Ps. 46:2–6; 2a: Ps. 46:7–10	In Festo Ascensionis Christi
24	Palestrina: Viri Galilaei	1a: Acts 1:11; 2a: Ps. 46:6, Ps. 102:19 (frag.)	In Festo Ascensionis Christi
31	Merulo: Sancti et iusti	Ps. 32:1,12 (frag.)	De Apostolis et sanctis
38	Merulo: In Deo speravit	Ps. 27:7	Ad Placitum
39	Dorati: Domine, a lingua	Ps. 119:2 (adapt.), Ps. 145:2 (frag.), Ps. 116:2, Ps. 97:4 (frag.), Jer. 17:18 (adapt.), Ps. 145:2 (frag.)	Ad Placitum
40	Guami: Iubilate Deo	Ps. 99:2–5	Ad Placitum
41/41	Faignient: Laudate Dominum	Ps. 116:1–2	Ad Placitum
<i>F 206 (a 5–6, 8)</i>			
1	Felis: Ad Dominum	1a: Ps. 119:1–2; 2a: Ps. 119:5–6	none
9	Felis: Respice in me	1a: Ps. 24:16; 2a: Ps. 24:17	none
11	Rodio: Domine ne longe	Ps. 21:20,22	none
12/19	Felis: Domine ne in furore	1a: Ps. 6:2; 2a: Ps. 6:3	none
<i>M 2194: Motecta 3 (a 5–6); all works by del Mel</i>			
3	del Mel: Cantate Domino	Ps. 97:1–3	none
4	del Mel: Iubilate Deo	Ps. 97:4–9	none
8	del Mel: Laudate Dominum	Ps. 116:1–2	none
12	della Sala: Benedicite Dominum	Tob. 13:10, Ps. 148:14 (frag.), Ps. 149:9 (frag.)	none
14	della Sala: Ecce veniet	non-bibl. text, Ps. 71:8	none
16	della Sala: Misericordias Domini	Ps. 88:2 (frag.), Ps. 85:7	none
17	della Sala: In die tribulationis	Ps. 85:7, Ps. 141:6 (frag.), Ps. 70:10 (frag.)/Acts 9:23, Ps. 108:26 (frag.)	none
18/19	della Sala: In te, Domine	Ps. 30:2–3	none

Infantas's *Plura modulationum genera* (Venice: Scotto, 1579; RISM I 40) also deserves some attention on account of the pervasive Ps. 116-based cantus firmus Infantas employs in his contrapuntal exercises. Infantas begins by establishing a musical motto oriented around the phrase "Laudate Dominum omnes gentes." He then employs this motto as a tenor cantus firmus in seventy-four otherwise untexted examples for two or more voices. Later in the volume he

presents ten short four-voice works based on consecutive phrases from the hymn, “Veni sancte spiritus”—all over the cantus firmus. The last complete piece of the *Plura modulationum* is an eight-part composition with six voices carrying the text of Ps. 116:1–2 (the complete psalm), while the remaining two repeat the motto in canon.

Appendix II Table D: Psalm Motets in Prints Held at the Bavarian State Library in Munich (D-Mbs) and the Episcopal Central Library in Regensburg (D-Rp)

Item No.	Composer: Short Title/Incipit	Quoted/Adapted Material (biblical)	Rubrics and Other Relevant Marginalia (biblical and liturgical)
<i>I 90: Choralis Constantinus 2 (a 4); all works by Isaac</i>			
1	Puer natus	Isa. 9:6 (adapt.), Ps. 97:1	Natalis Domini
4	Viderunt omnes	Isa. 52:10 (frag.)/Ps. 97:3 (frag.)	Natalis Domini, Communio
5	Vultum tuum	Ps. 44:13,15–16 (frag.),2 (frag.)	Circumcisionis Domini officium
9	Ecce advenit	Isa. 3:1/Isa. 10:33 (frag.)/Amos 7:7, non-bibl. text, Ps. 71:2	Epiphania Domini
13	Suscepimus, Deus	Ps. 47:10–11,2	Purificatio Marie
18	Rorate coeli	Isa. 45:8 (frag.), Ps. 18:2	De Anunciatione officium, Annunciationis Marie
21	Resurrexi Christus	Ps. 138:18 (frag.), non-bibl. text, Ps. 138:5 (frag.)–6 (frag.),1 (frag.)–2	De Resurrectione Domini
22	Haec dies quam fecit	Ps. 117:24	De Resurrectione Domini, Gradu.
26	Viri Galilei	Acts 1:11, Ps. 46:2	Ascensiones Domini
27	Alleluia, Dominus in Syna	Ps. 67:18, Eph. 4:8/Ps. 67:19 (all frag.)	Ascensiones Domini
29	Psallite Domino	Ps. 67:33–34 (both frag.)	Ascensiones Domini, Communio
30	Spiritus Domini	Wisd. 1:7, Ps. 67:29 (frag.)–30 (frag.)	Spiritus Domini officium, Introitus
34	Cibavit eos	Ps. 80:11,2	De Corpore Domi.
38	De ventre matris	Isa. 49:1–2 (adapt.), Ps. 91:2	De sancto Johanne Baptista officium
42	Multae tribulationes	Ps. 33:20–21,2	Johannis et Pauli Martirum officium
46	Nunc scio vere	Acts 12:11, Ps. 138:1–2 (all frag.)	S. Petri et Pauli officium
50	Gaudeamus omnes	non-bibl. text, Ps. 44:2	Visitationis Marie officium
54	Gaudeamus omnes	non-bibl. text, Ps. 44:2	Marie Magdalene officium
61	Dilexisti iusticiam	Heb. 1:9/Ps. 44:8 (both frag.)	Assumptio Marie, Communio
62	Sacerdotes Domine	Ps. 131:9–10,1	De sancto Geberhardo officium
66	Letabitur iustus	Ps. 63:11,2	De sancto Pelagio officium
70	Gaudeamus omnes	non-bibl. text, Ps. 44:2	Nativitatis Marie officium
73	Diffusa est	Ps. 44:3 (frag.)	Nativitatis Marie officium, Communio
74	Terribilis est	Gen. 28:17,22 (adapt.), Ps. 83:2–3 (frag.)	De dedicatione templi officium
75	Alleluia, Vox exultacionis	Ps. 117:15	De dedicatione templi officium
78	Nos autem gloriari	Gal. 6:14 (frag.), non-bibl. text, Ps. 66:2	De sancta Cruce officium
82	Gaudeamus omnes	non-bibl. text, Ps. 32:1	Omnium sanctorum officium

83	Alleluia, Vox exultacionis	Ps. 117:15	Omnium sanctorum officium
86	Sacerdotes tui	Ps. 131:9–10,1	De sancto Martino officium
90	Gaudeamus omnes	non-bibl. text, Ps. 44:2	Presentationis Marie officium,
94	Sacerdotes tui	Ps. 131:9–10,1	De sancto Conrado officium
98	Gaudeamus omnes	non-bibl. text, Ps. 44:2	Conceptionis Marie officium
101/ 101	Diffusa est	Ps. 44:3 (frag.)	Conceptionis Marie officium, Communio
<i>I 91: Choralis Constantinus 3 (a 4); all works by Isaac</i>			
1	Ego autem sicut oliva	Ps. 51:10,11 (frag.),3	In Vigilia unius Apostoli
2	Iustus ut palma	Ps. 91:13–14 (adapt.),3	In Vigilia unius Apostoli
6	Mihi autem nimis	Ps. 138:17,1 (frag.)–2 (frag.)	De Apostolis officium
13	Multae tribulationes	Ps. 33:20–21,2	De martiribus officium
14	Induant sancti	Wisdom. 3:8, Ps. 80:2	De martiribus officium
15	Iusti epulentur	Ps. 67:4,2	De martiribus officium
16	Sancti tui	Ps. 144:10 (frag.)–11 (frag.), Ps. 32:1	De martiribus officium
17	Sapientiam sanctorum	Sir. 44:15, Sir. 44:14 (frag.)/Ps. 21:27 (frag.), Ps. 32:1	De martiribus officium
18	Salus autem iustorum	Ps. 36:39,1	De martiribus officium
19	Intret in conspectu	Ps. 78:11,12,10b,1 (all frag.)	De martiribus officium
20	Alleluia, Corpora sanctorum	Sir. 44:14, Sir. 44:14/Ps. 21:27 (all frag.)	De martiribus officium
22	Alleluia, Iusti epulentur	Ps. 67:4	De martiribus officium
25	Alleluia, Gaudete iusti	Ps. 32:1	De martiribus officium
26	Alleluia, Laetamini in Domino	Ps. 31:11	De martiribus officium
27	Alleluia, Sancti tui	Ps. 144:10–11 (both frag.)	De martiribus officium
34	Posuerunt mortalia	Ps. 78:2,11 (frag.)	De martiribus officium
35	Anima nostra	Ps. 123:7 (frag.)	De martiribus officium
37	Gaudete iusti	Ps. 32:1	De martiribus officium
38	Laetabitur iustus	Ps. 63:11,2	De uno martyre officium
39	In virtute tua	Ps. 20:2–3 (frag.),6	De uno martyre officium
40	Gloria et honore	Heb. 2:7/Ps. 8:6 (frag.)–7, Ps. 8:2/10	De uno martyre officium
41	Protexisti me	Ps. 63:3,2	De uno martyre officium
42	Iustus non conturbabitur	Ps. 36:24,26 (adapt.), Ps. 36:1	De uno martyre officium
43	Iustus ut palma	Ps. 91:13–14,2	De uno martyre officium
44	Alleluia, Laetabitur iustus	Ps. 63:11	De uno martyre officium
45	Alleluia, Beatus vir	Ps. 111:1	De uno martyre officium
46	Alleluia, Iustus germinabit	Ps. 91:13–14 (adapt.)	De uno martyre officium
47	Alleluia, Iustus ut palma	Ps. 91:13	De uno martyre officium
50	Laetabitur iustus	Ps. 63:11	De uno martyre officium
52	Posuisti, Domine	Ps. 20:4 (frag.)	De uno martyre officium
54	Magna est gloria	Ps. 20:6	De uno martyre officium
55	Statuit ei Dominus	Sir. 45:30, Ps. 88:2 (frag.)	De confessoribus officium
56	Os iusti meditabitur	Ps. 36:30–31 (frag.),1	De confessoribus officium
58	Sacerdotes eius	Ps. 131:16,1	De confessoribus officium
59	Alleluia, Iuravit Dominus	Ps. 109:4	De confessoribus officium
61	Alleluia, Inveni David	Ps. 88:21	De confessoribus officium
70	Gaudeamus omnes	non-biblical phrase, Ps. 44:2 (frag.)	De virginibus officium

71	Me expectaverunt	Ps. 118:95–96,1	De virginibus officium
72	Loquebar de testimoniis	Ps. 118:46–47,1	De virginibus officium
73	Dilexisti iustitiam	Ps. 44:8,2 (frag.)	De virginibus officium
74	Alleluia, Diffusa est	Ps. 44:3 (frag.)	De virginibus officium
75	Alleluia, Specie tua	Ps. 44:5 (frag.)	De virginibus officium
76	Alleluia, Omnis gloria	Ps. 44:14–15 (frag.)	De virginibus officium
80	Diffusa est gratia	Ps. 44:3 (frag.)	De virginibus officium
81	Dilexisti iustitiam	Ps. 44:8/Heb. 1:9	De virginibus officium
82	Qui seminant	Ps. 125:5–7	De Apostolis
83	Desiderium animae	Ps. 20:3–4	Desiderium
84	Beatus vir	Ps. 111:1–3	none
85	Audi filia	Ps. 44:11 (frag.),12 (frag.),13,15–16 (adapt.)	none
86	Audi filia	Ps. 44:11 (frag.),12 (frag.),13,10 (frag.),15–16 (adapt.)	none
87	Rorate coeli	Isa. 45:8 (frag.), Ps. 18:2	De Annunciatione B. Virginis
90	Vultum tuum	Ps. 44:13,15–16 (frag.),2 (frag.)	De B. Virgine post Nativitatis Christi
97	Exclamaverunt ad te	Neh. 9:27 (adapt.), Ps. 32:1	In die Philippi et Jacobi
99	Nos autem gloriari	Gal. 6:14 (frag.), non-bibl. text, Ps. 66:2	De sancta cruce
103	Ne timeas	Luke 1:13,15,14 (frag.), Ps. 20:2	In Vigilia Johannis Baptiste
104	De ventre matris	Isa. 49:1–2, Ps. 91:2	In die Joannis Baptiste
108	Dicit Dominus	John 21:18–19 (frag.), Ps. 18:2	In Vigilia Petri et Pauli
110	Nunc scio vere	Acts 12:11 (frag.), Ps. 138:1	In die Petri et Pauli
113	Scio cui	2 Tim. 1:12, Ps. 138:1–2 (all frag.)	In Commemo. sancti Pauli
120	Dispersit dedit	Ps. 111:9,1 (frag.)	In Vigilia Laurentii
121	Confessio et pulchritudo	Ps. 95:6,1 (frag.)	In die S. Laurentii
128	Benedicite omnes	Ps. 102:20,1	De sancto Michaelae
129/ 132	Alleluia, Concussum est	2 Sam. 22:8/Ps. 17:8/Ps. 76:19 (all frag.), non-bibl. text	De sancto Michaelae
<i>W 5: Acht deutsche Psalmen (a 4–5); all works by Wagener</i>			
1	Wohl dem, dem die Übertretung vergeben sind	German: Ps. 32:1–3,5,1 (LXX: Ps. 31: 1–3,5,1)	Der 32. Psalm
2	Ach, Herr, strafe mich nicht	German: 1a: Ps. 38:1–3; 2a: Ps. 38:14,18,21,22 (LXX: 1a: Ps. 37:2–4; 2a: Ps. 37:16,19,22,23)	Der 38. Psalm
3	Freuet euch des Herren	German: 1a: Ps. 33:1,2,4,6; 2a: Ps. 33:12,18,19,22 (LXX: 1a: Ps. 32:1–2,4,6; 2a: Ps. 32:12,18,19,22)	Der 33. Psalm
4	Die Toren sprechen in ihrem Herzen	German: 1a: Ps. 14:1–3; 2a: Ps. 14:7 (LXX: 1a: Ps. 13, 1–3; 2a: Ps. 13:7)	Der 14. Psalm
5	Erzürne dich nicht über die Bösen	German: 1a: Ps. 37:1–5; 2a: Ps. 37:25,35–37,39 (LXX: 1a: Ps. 36:1–5; 2a: Ps. 36:25,35–37,39)	Der 37. Psalm
6	Ich habe mir vorgesetzt: ich will mich hüten	German: 1a: Ps. 39:1,4; 2a: Ps. 39:5,12 (LXX: 1a: Ps. 38:2,5; 2a: Ps. 38:6,13)	Der 39. Psalm
7	Gott, sei mir gnädig	German: 1a: Ps. 51:1–4; 2a: Ps. 51:9–11 (LXX: 1a.: Ps. 50:3–6; 2a: Ps. 50: 11–13); 2nd discant.: poem of Hegenwald, based on Ps. 51(50)	Der 51. Psalm

8/8	Jauchzeit dem Herren, alle Welt	German: Ps. 100:1,2,5 (LXX: Ps. 99:2,5)	Der 100. Psalm
<i>G 565: Novae harmonicae cantiones (a 5); all works by Gastritz</i>			
1	Ego cantabo	1a: Ps. 58:17 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 58:17 (frag.)	none
2	Iustus non conturbabitur	non-bibl. text, Ps. 36:26,28 (frag.); 2a: Ps. 36:1, non-bibl. text, Ps. 36:26,28 (frag.)	none
6	Emitte Domine	Ps. 42:3 (frag.)	none
8	Iudica me Deus	Ps. 42:1–2 (frag.)	none
12	Contristatus sum	Ps. 54:3 (frag.), + non-bibl. text	none
13	Deduc me	Ps. 85:11	none
21	Da nobis, Domine	Ps. 59:13–14/Ps. 107:13–14	none
24	Confitebor tibi	Ps. 9:2–3	none
25	Repleatur os meum	Ps. 70:8,23 (both frag.)	none
26	In me transierunt	Ps. 87:17, Ps. 37:11 (frag.),18 (frag.),22	none
27/27	Propter veritatem	Ps. 44:5,10,5 (all frag.)	none
<i>L 852: Sacrae cantiones (a 5); all works by Lasso</i>			
6	Credidi propter	1a: Ps. 115:1–4; 2a: Ps. 115:5–10	none
10	Vidi impium	Ps. 36:35–36	none
14/14	Quemadmodum desiderat	Ps. 41:2–3	none

APPENDIX III: CHAPTER 1 TABLES

Appendix III Table A (Table 1.1, complete): This table summarizes the data I collected on Bible quotations and paraphrases as motet texts. Of the more than 2,500 motets I examined—where “motet” is broadly defined per the Introduction to include polyphonic liturgical works, motets set in vernacular tongues, bicinia and tricinia, etc.—800 works were found that quote or adapt psalm texts. This count does not include 163 strophic *falsobordone*-style vespers psalms preserved in Tonk Schl 24, nor does it account for 85 contrapuntal examples in Infantas’s *Plura modulationum genera* (RISM I 40), each of which is based on the opening phrase of Ps. 116. Polyphonic examples in treatises such as Glarean’s *Dodecachordon* are also omitted. Appendix III Table A shows the number of motets that quote or adapt material from each Bible book. It is organized so that the most frequently-used Bible books appear at the top. Note that no effort has been made to distinguish between direct quotations, adaptations, and paraphrases. Also, one count is given per motet per source. Where multiple copies of the same source survive, only one count per motet in these prints is acknowledged.

Appendix III Table A (Table 1.1, complete): Bible Quotations and Paraphrases as Motet Texts³⁶⁷

Book Title (Short Form)	Bible/Testament	Section	Total Motets	Motets in Augsburg Mss.	Motets in Augsburg Prints
Psalms	JB/OT	Poetic and Sapiential	800 ³⁶⁸	86	66
Luke	NT	Canonical Gospels	221 ³⁶⁹	16	19
Matthew	NT	Canonical Gospels	213 ³⁷⁰	21	16
John	NT	Canonical Gospels	187	20	12
Isaiah	JB/OT	Major Prophets	102 ³⁷¹	11	7
Sirach (Ecclesiasticus, Ben Sira)	Apoc.	Vulg.: Poetic and Sapiential	66	9	7
Song of Songs (Song of Solomon)	JB/OT	Poetic and Sapiential	63	4	8
Acts of the Apostles	NT	Apostolic Historical	61	9	4
Mark	NT	Canonical Gospels	54	3	3
Wisdom	Apoc.	Vulg.: Poetic and Sapiential	46	5	4
Romans	NT	Pauline Epistles	38	0	2
Job	JB/OT	Poetic and Sapiential	29	1	5
Proverbs	JB/OT	Poetic and Sapiential	29	1	3
1 Corinthians	NT	Pauline Epistles	29	6	0
Apocalypse	NT	Apocalypse	27	1	2
Genesis	JB/OT	Pentateuch	25	3	2
Jeremiah	JB/OT	Major Prophets	24	0	2
Tobit	Apoc.	Vulg.: Historical	24	4	1
Daniel	JB/OT	Major Prophets	21	2	0
Ephesians	NT	Pauline Epistles	21	3	1
Judith	Apoc.	Vulg.: Historical	19	0	2
2 Chronicles	JB/OT	Historical	19	1	0
1 Chronicles	JB/OT	Historical	16	0	5
Exodus	JB/OT	Pentateuch	14	1	4
Lamentations	JB/OT	Major Prophets	14	1	2
Galatians	NT	Pauline Epistles	14	1	0
Philippians	NT	Pauline Epistles	14	0	2
Joel	JB/OT	Minor Prophets	13	0	3
1 Peter	NT	General Epistles	13	1	3
2 Maccabees	Apoc.	Vulg.: Other Historical	12	0	1
Hebrews	NT	General Epistles	12	0	0
2 Samuel	JB/OT	Historical	10	0	4

³⁶⁷ I did not find any motets that quote or adapt texts from the books of Joshua, Ruth, Ezra, Obadiah, Nahum, Philemon, 2 John, 3 John, Jude, 1 Esdras, or the Prayer of Manasses (Manasseh).

³⁶⁸ 163 *falsobordone*-style settings and 85 contrapuntal examples are omitted from this count (see Appendix II sections 1 and 3). Settings of the Sanctus, which quotes part of Ps. 118/117 (or Matt. 21), are also omitted.

³⁶⁹ Settings of the Magnificat are omitted from this count.

³⁷⁰ Settings of the Sanctus, which quotes part of Matt. 21 (or Ps. 118/117), are omitted from this count.

³⁷¹ Settings of the Sanctus, which quotes part of Isa. 6, are omitted from this count.

Ecclesiastes	JB/OT	Poetic and Sapiential	10	0	0
Ezekiel	JB/OT	Major Prophets	10	0	2
Deuteronomy	JB/OT	Pentateuch	8	0	0
1 Maccabees	Apoc.	Vulg.: Other Historical	8	0	1
1 Kings	JB/OT	Historical	7	0	1
Nehemiah	JB/OT	Historical	7	1	0
2 Kings	JB/OT	Historical	6	0	2
Hosea	JB/OT	Minor Prophets	6	0	0
Zephaniah	JB/OT	Minor Prophets	6	1	1
Esther	JB/OT	Historical	5	0	0
Baruch	Apoc.	Vulg.: Major Prophets	5	0	0
1 John	NT	General Epistles	5	0	0
Habakkuk	JB/OT	Minor Prophets	4	0	0
Zechariah	JB/OT	Minor Prophets	4	0	0
Numbers	JB/OT	Pentateuch	3	0	0
1 Samuel	JB/OT	Historical	3	0	1
Micah	JB/OT	Minor Prophets	3	0	0
2 Corinthians	NT	Pauline Epistles	3	0	0
Colossians	NT	Pauline Epistles	3	0	2
1 Timothy	NT	Pauline Epistles	3	0	0
Judges	JB/OT	Historical	2	0	0
Malachi	JB/OT	Minor Prophets	2	0	0
2 Timothy	NT	Pauline Epistles	2	0	0
Leviticus	JB/OT	Pentateuch	1	0	0
Amos	JB/OT	Minor Prophets	1	0	0
Jonah	JB/OT	Minor Prophets	1	0	0
Haggai	JB/OT	Minor Prophets	1	0	0
1 Thessalonians	NT	Pauline Epistles	1	0	0
2 Thessalonians	NT	Pauline Epistles	1	0	0
Titus	NT	Pauline Epistles	1	0	0
James	NT	General Epistles	1	0	0
2 Peter	NT	General Epistles	1	0	0
2 Esdras	Apoc.	Vulg.: Apoc.	1	0	0

Appendix III Table B (Table 1.2a, complete): This table shows the number of motets that borrow material from each psalm text, organized from the most to the least frequently-sourced psalms.

One count is given per each motet that uses textual elements of a psalm, regardless of the length of the quotation/adaptation, or the extent to which the material is paraphrased. Also, wherever the same phrase or passage appears in multiple psalms—for example, the opening line of Pss. 30 and 70—one count is given per each psalm that contains it. One count is given per psalm per motet source. Where multiple copies of the same source survive, only one count per psalm per motet in these prints is acknowledged.

Appendix III Table B (Table 1.2a, complete): Psalm Motet Texts

Psalm No.	Total Motets	Motets in Augs. Mss.	Motets in Augs. Prints
118	42	2	7
44	39	8	0
117	34	3	3
30	27	4	0
32	27	6	1
50	27	1	6
70	24	4	2
24	20	0	3
67	20	5	3
138	20	5	0
144	20	3	1
85	19	0	4
91	18	3	1
97	18	5	0
36	17	2	1
33	16	1	1
37	15	0	2
21	14	0	0
116	14	0	4
78	13	0	3
102	13	0	4
111	13	1	1
105	12	1	3
115	12	0	1
17	11	0	0
80	11	5	0
109	11	4	0
3	10	0	3
12	10	0	3
18	10	1	1
20	10	1	0
27	10	3	0
71	10	2	0
106	10	1	1
112	10	0	2
122	10	3	0
142	10	0	0
6	9	0	2

Psalm No.	Total Motets	Motets in Augs. Mss.	Motets in Augs. Prints
53	5	0	1
61	5	0	2
64	5	3	0
79	5	0	2
84	5	0	1
104	5	2	0
132	5	0	2
5	4	0	0
7	4	0	0
14	4	0	0
15	4	0	1
16	4	0	0
34	4	0	0
35	4	0	1
47	4	2	0
55	4	0	0
60	4	1	0
83	4	1	1
101	4	0	1
108	4	0	1
121	4	0	0
129	4	0	1
130	4	1	0
140	4	0	1
146	4	0	1
2	3	0	1
10	3	0	0
38	3	0	0
39	3	2	0
51	3	0	0
77	3	1	0
90	3	0	0
103	3	1	0
120	3	0	0
126	3	0	0
133	3	0	0
137	3	0	0
143	3	0	0

26	9	0	0
46	9	1	0
54	9	1	0
63	9	3	0
127	9	1	0
135	9	1	2
41	8	0	0
45	8	0	1
58	8	0	1
59	8	0	2
66	8	1	1
68	8	0	0
76	8	0	1
87	8	0	0
93	8	1	0
95	8	1	0
125	8	0	0
131	8	2	0
145	8	1	0
1	7	0	1
4	7	0	2
22	7	2	0
141	7	0	2
148	7	0	2
8	6	2	1
19	6	0	1
31	6	0	2
42	6	0	0
56	6	1	0
69	6	2	2
88	6	1	0
99	6	0	0
107	6	0	2
119	6	0	0
150	6	0	1
9	5	0	0
40	5	0	1

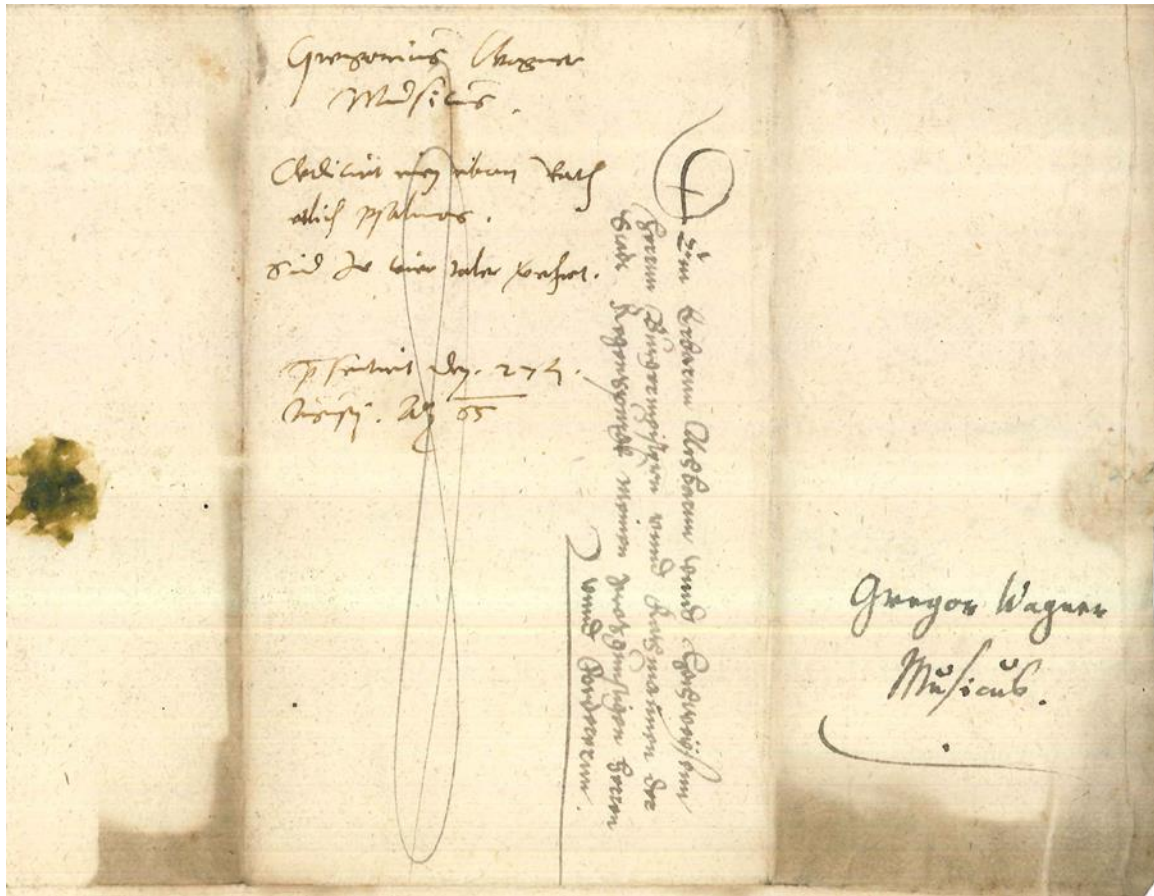
147	3	0	0
149	3	0	0
43	2	0	0
48	2	0	0
49	2	0	0
62	2	0	0
65	2	0	0
82	2	0	1
89	2	0	0
110	2	0	0
114	2	0	1
123	2	1	0
124	2	0	0
134	2	0	1
13	1	0	0
23	1	0	1
25	1	0	0
29	1	0	0
72	1	0	0
73	1	0	0
75	1	0	0
81	1	0	0
92	1	0	0
113	1	0	1
128	1	0	0
136	1	0	0
139	1	0	0
11	0	0	0
28	0	0	0
52	0	0	0
57	0	0	0
74	0	0	0
86	0	0	0
94	0	0	0
96	0	0	0
98	0	0	0
100	0	0	0

APPENDIX IV: CHAPTER 2 PERIOD DOCUMENTS

This appendix includes reproductions of the letters sent by Gregor Wagener to the city councils of Regensburg and Augsburg in 1565 and by Jacobus Haupt to the city council of Augsburg in 1566. A photocopy of Mathias Gastritz's letter to the city council of Augsburg (1569) is available in Helmut Schwämmlein's doctoral dissertation, "Mathias Gastritz, ein Komponist der 'Oberen Pfalz' im 16. Jahrhundert—Leben und Werk."³⁷²

Appendix IV Figure A: Gregor Wagener's letter to the Regensburg City Council (August 18th, 1565)³⁷³

i. Exterior



³⁷² Helmut Schwämmlein, "Mathias Gastritz, ein Komponist der 'Oberen Pfalz,'" 389–391.

³⁷³ Courtesy of the Regensburg City Archive (Bestand Historica IV, 27,6).

W

Ein willig dienszt alszit Junor Erbaro Anhero
 wond hochwürigst Form, es lere der beide wlate das
 wie loms, solch nicht groden sein, sondern vill mer
 allen unyrem wlat dasin wonden sollen das wie von
 frem watre lande, stromen, freunden, lound allen menschen
 dienen, den darumb sei der mensh vornehmlich geboren
 gottes weis aber die ewige weisheit lere loms das
 der mensh vornehmlich lund gottes darumb lund der
 menschen worten gehalten sey. lund der gottes willen das
 er sein Namen unyrt lund weisheit lund der
 menschen willen das er dieselbigen nach seinen
 Vermogen dienszt, Der wegen hat auch ich solich wachen
 Denn die der Honer propheten gottes weis mich gnommen
 lund dieselbigen mir wie lound lund lund lund lund
 er auf das zeit dar durch gredet lund der stulten,
 den predicator wunde, dieselben aber unter E. A. W.
 Namen offentlich in dem geseh Cassen wurd mir
 dieselben junger gomer gegen dieste loblichen lund
 vor weisheitigen lund voll bewise, vnterschiedes
 bitende E. A. W. wolle er dieste mein, arm ar,
 bei gefallen Cassen, der Junitt E. A. W. dem
 frem schreien bewelen. Buben. Cassen den 18 August

E. A. W.

Vnterschiedes
Beforsamer

Gregorius Wagner
Musicus.

Ein willig

Rot. IV. 27. 6

$\frac{3}{9}$ 1565.

W
 Ein Veltige Dienstliche Gnuoz Erbare Ansehliche Herrschafft
 und gnedigste Herren, ob Erwer der Seidts pleto das
 Verr konis selbste nicht geboven sein sondern Ansehen
 allen weisem Lebes dahin Ansehen sollen das Wir von
 unserm Vaterlandt, vliern, freunden, vund allen musch
 diener den darinn sie der musch vornehmlich geboven
 Bitters wort aber die ewige Wache die Leuer konis das
 der musch vornehmlich vund gottes darnach kund der
 musch vollen geschaffen sey, vund gottes willen das
 von unserm Namen künigle kund vorsetze, vund der musch
 vollen das in denselbigen Was unserm vornehmen die
 nate. Der wegen hat uns is ichtige psalmen Davids das
 vunden vorsehen gottes vor uns gesungen, vund die
 selben mit der konig künig stimmen komponiert auff
 das gott dardurch gesert vund der Egnisten sein gnd
 wir vunde. Dieselben aber vnter E. A. W. Namen
 in Teut offentlich gesen lassen vund mit der selben
 gnuozt gnuozt gegen dieser Leuchsen vund gott vollen
 gefalligen künig vollen vnter vnter vnter
 E. A. W. Namen in die musch dem vnter gr
 fallen lassen, Wir freunds E. A. W. von der gnuoz
 Egnisten künigle, vnter, künigle den 3 Septembris
 Im 1565 J.

E. A. W.

Vnterzeichner
 Gregor Wagener

Gregorius Wagener
 Musicus

³⁷⁴ Courtesy of the StAA (Musikakten 2 in: Altbestände (Reichsstadt bis 1806): 1.1.1. Rat).

APPENDIX V: PSALMS AS PARATEXTS: ERASMUS ROTENBUCHER'S

BERGKREYEN

Psalm elements are frequently used as paratexts in Augsburg-produced and D-As-held sources of motets. They may appear on title pages: a banner bearing the words of Ps. 116:1 appears at the center of a large woodblock print that ornaments the front covers of the *Patrocinium musices* installments, for instance; the title page of Formschneider/Willer's *Choralis Constantinus 2* includes a gloss on Ps. 150; and the title page of Erasmus Rotenbucher's *Bergkreyen* includes a verse hemistich from Ps. 139. Psalms are also incorporated into dedications. Mathias Gastritz and Rotenbucher both refer to psalms in their dedicatory epistles, and Johann Holthusius uses a direct quote of Ps. 118 in his dedication to Augsburg humanist Wolfgang Andreas Rem.

Having consulted more than eighty motet books, bicinia, and tricinia published between 1540 and 1585, Rotenbucher's use of Latin poetry as paratext headers before each work in his collection appears to be unique (see Appendix V Figure A). While Rotenbucher, a German school provost, draws on a wide range of sources for his inscriptions, from works of classical antiquity (Ovid, Juvenal) to medieval authors (Abelard), to contemporary poets (Vincentius Opsopoeus, Johann Arnoldus Bergellanus), the majority of these texts are from Helius Eobanus Hessus's *Psalms of David* (1537). Rotenbucher describes the *Bergkreyen* as "a literary (as I should call it) or musical gift," asserting both its textual and musical value. I take this to indicate that there is a dialogue among the inscriptions, German texts, and music, with each contributing material for interpretation and conversation.

Appendix V Figure A: Anon, “Soltu bey Gott dein wonung han” from the *Bergkreyen* (Nuremberg: Berg & Neuber, 1551; editor: Erasmus Rotenbucher)³⁷⁶

II

Roma, 10. Corde creditur ad iustitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem :

Ol tu bei Gott dein wonung han/ vnd sei nen himel er ben./ du
So bharre nun stertz auff seiner ban/mit Christo mustu ster ben.

must dein hertz/es gilt nit scherz/ in Gottes kunst versen cken/
dein hab vñ gut/auch lab vnd blut/ gantzlich dem vater schencken.

Ohn alle furcht vnd weibisch art/solt dich seins willens halten / Jhn frei bekenen
vngesparrt/ vnd ihn darnach lon walten/Greiffss dapffer an/du must doch dran/ther
dich an niemands wurtten/ wer nie mit streit/wol draussen bleibt/all Christen mussen
blutten.
Bracht / adel / gwalt/gstalt/sterck vnd kunst/mag dich zu Gott nicht bringen/
Es stinckt vor ihm /vnd ist vnb sunst/nach demut mustu ringen/Auf all deine krafft/
dem kombt der safft/der macht dich freudig lauffen / auffss Herren strass / an zil vnd
mass/das heist all ding verkauffen. Hastu

Rotenbucher’s *Bergkreyen* assembles twenty-eight German-texted bicinia followed by ten untexted chansons. Textual sources of the inscriptions and musically-set texts are provided for the German works in the table below. Composers are identified as per Rotenbucher’s attributions. Where differing inscriptions introduce the same duet between the two voice parts, these are indicated with the abbreviations, “vulg.” (for the upper “vox vulgaris”) and “alt.” (for

³⁷⁶ Courtesy of the D-Mbs.

the lower “altere vox.”). “Marginalia” are additions to the poetic couplets, such as the “Ps. 147.” margin note that features in the above image.

Appendix V Table A: Inscriptions and Musically-Set Texts in Erasmus Rotenbacher’s *Bergkreyen*

	Composer: Title	Textual Source (inscript.)	Textual Source (musically set text)	Marginalia
1	Rebhun: David der Prophetisch man	Hessus, <i>Psalms</i> , 62 (LXX: Ps. 61)	Rebhun, <i>Ein geistlich Spiel</i>	none
2	Anon: Hunger die Christen leyden	vulg.: Hessus, <i>Psalms</i> 125 (LXX: Ps. 124); alt.: Hessus, <i>Psalms</i> 34 (LXX: Ps. 33)	Rebhun, <i>Ein geistlich Spiel</i>	none
3	Anon: Freud euch freud euch	vulg.: Hessus, <i>Psalms</i> 147 (LXX: Ps. 146); alt.: Hessus, <i>Psalms</i> 19 (LXX: Ps. 18)	Balthaser Hubmaier, sacred Lied	Psal. 147.
4	Anon: Soltu bey Gott dein wonung han	vulg.: Rom. 10:10; alt.: Hessus, <i>Psalms</i> 4 (LXX: Ps. 4)	Leonhart Schiemer, sacred Lied	Roma. 10.
5	Stoltzer: Ich stund an einem morgen	Hessus, <i>Psalms</i> 51 (LXX: Ps. 50)	Sacred Lied (anon.)	none
6	Anon: Ach Gott wem sol ichs klagen	Hessus, <i>Psalms</i> 77 (LXX: Ps. 76)	Sacred Lied (anon.)	none
7	Anon: Ungnad beger	Hessus, <i>Psalms</i> 42 (LXX: Ps. 41)	Hans Schlaffer, sacred Lied	none
8	Valentinus Fortius: Es wolt ein jeger jagen	unknown	Sacred Lied (anon.)	none
9	Ambrosius Erich: Wir loben dich	unknown	Sacred Lied (anon.)	none
10	Rebhun: Von edler art	unknown	Rebhun, <i>Ein geistlich Spiel</i>	none
11	Ambrosius Erich: Hart halt ich noch	Hessus, <i>Psalms</i> 11 (LXX: Ps. 10)	Sacred Lied (anon.)	none
12	Rebhun: O Gott du richter aller welt	Hessus, <i>Psalms</i> 82 (LXX: Ps. 81)	Rebhun, <i>Ein geistlich Spiel</i>	none
13	Rebhun: Diss ist der welte lauft	Ovid, <i>Fasti</i> 1, 217f	Lied (anon.)	none
14	Anon: Wie wol nu aber ist das glueck	Ps. 9:19	Rebhun, <i>Ein geistlich Spiel</i>	none
15	Rebhun: Fraw Venus	Peter Abelard, <i>Monita ad Astralabium</i>	Rebhun, <i>Ein geistlich Spiel</i>	none

16	Rebhun: Dargegen aber jung und alt	unknown	Rebhun, <i>Ein geistlich Spiel</i>	none
17	Heller: Sie ist mir lieb	Rom. 8:39	Martin Luther, sacred Lied	none
18	Heller: Ein newes lied wir heben an	Hessus, <i>Psalms</i> 10 (LXX: Ps. 9)	Martin Luther, sacred Lied	none
19	Anon: Was wird es doch	Vincentius Opsopoeus, <i>De arte bibendi</i> 2	Lied (anon.)	none
20	Anon: Vil gluck und heil	Juvenal, <i>Satire</i> 7, v. 197	Sacred Lied (anon.)	none
21	Anon: Papirs natur ist rauschen	unknown	Lied (anon.)	none
22	Schwartz: Wies Gott gefelt	Hessus, <i>Psalms</i> 9 (LXX: Ps. 9)	Ambrosius Blarer, sacred Lied	none
23	Anon: [Wol auff mit reichem schalle]	Johann Arnoldus Bergellanus, <i>Encomion Chalcographiae</i>	Lied (anon.)	none
24	Schwartz: Ach Gott lass dich erbarmen doch	Hessus, <i>Psalms</i> 12 (LXX: Ps. 11)	Sacred Lied (anon.)	none
25	Schwartz: Auss harten weh klagt	Isa. 64:1	Sacred Lied (anon.)	none
26	Schwartz: Dein dein sol sein das hertze mein	Hessus, <i>Psalms</i> 119 (LXX: Ps. 118)	unknown	none
27	Schwartz: S. Paulus die Corinther	Hessus, <i>Psalms</i> 11 (LXX: Ps. 10)	N. Herman, sacred Lied based on 1 Cor. 15	none
28	Anon: Ich stund an einem morgen	Ovid, <i>Amores</i> 3.9, vv. 19–20	Sacred Lied (anon.)	none

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