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Problems in the Renaissance Motet

by

Wojciech Odoj

A Dissertation

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Major: Music

The University of Memphis

August 2010

“Śpieszmy się kochać ludzi
tak szybko odchodzą.”

ks. Jan Twardowski

“Let us hurry up to love people.
They go away so quickly.”

Fr. Jan Twardowski

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University of Memphis where I had an opportunity to meet so many wonderful people. Unfortunately, I never had an opportunity to express my great gratitude to her in person.

Little would have been possible and my life in Memphis would have been much less cheerful without my wonderful colleagues and friends from the Music Library—Anna Neal, Carol Lowry, and Maria DeBacco, who not only provided unlimited access to the collection but from the very first day of my stay in Memphis have made me feel like at home there. The feeling of trust I was granted has meant a lot to me. For all their help, support, encouragement, advice, and conversations they all deserve more gratitude than I can express here.

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Last, but not least, I here gratefully place on record my debt to all students and all people—without exception—I have had an opportunity to meet in Memphis; in countless situations they have devoted time and trouble to helping and talking to me. It is impossible to thank them all by name, but I take this opportunity of thanking each and every one of them from my heart. I have been truly blessed to meet each of you. Thank you.

This work can be only dedicated to one person—to my Mom whose patience, unconditional love, and unshakable belief in me has given me strength for all my life.

Abstract

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The first part of this dissertation is about some chosen motets by Costanzo Festa (c. 1490-1545), the first important Italian renaissance composer, while the second is devoted to the anonymous six-voice motet *Ave rosa speciosa* in the manuscript VatC 234 (“Chigi Codex”). The aim of this study is to investigate the motets in liturgical, political, and artistic context as well as to raise some questions concerning their attribution and dissemination. Chapter one draws together the most important evidence from a variety of secondary sources in order to point to problems concerning genre definition, designation, function, and characteristics of the motet as cultivated in the Renaissance. Chapter two is devoted to Festa’s biography, as some facts from his life may help to understand the circumstances of his motets. Chapter three is a brief overview of the origin and development of polytextual motets because the following three chapters deal with three such motets; in chapter four I argue that Festa’s *Super flumina Babylonis* may have been written for the death of Heinrich Isaac; on the basis of some textual amendments and political context I will argue in the chapter five that Festa’s *Dominator caelorum* may have been written for the meeting between Charles V and Pope Clement VII in Bologna in late 1529 and early 1530; similarly, I suggest in the chapter six that the anonymous motet *O altitudo divitiarum* from the manuscript VatS 38, attributed to Festa by Llorens, may have been intended for the peace treaty in Nice in 1538. Chapter seven asks some provocative questions concerning stylistic context and authorship of two settings of *Da*

pacem—one from a manuscript BolQ 19 and another one, possibly written by Festa, from VatS 18. In chapter eight I suggest that although Festa’s motet *Sancta Maria succurre miseris* is assumed not to be based on chant material, it does seem to draw some melodic material from chant and shares it with some other works by Festa’s contemporaries. Chapter nine is mainly focused on Festa’s little setting of the text from the Song of Songs—*Quam pulchra es*, which later became a model for Monteverdi’s motet included in the collection *Sacrae cantiunculae* of 1582. The subject of the part two of the dissertation is the anonymous *Ave rosa speciosa* from the Chigi Codex. The analysis of its meaning and purpose in the context of other motet traits permit us to suggest that the motet may have been intended either as the rosary motet or for the feast of the Immaculate Conception. A further chapter titled “Looking for a composer of *Ave rosa speciosa*” an attempt is made to find a composer for the motet and see the motet in a broad stylistic context.

Table of Contents

List of Tables	x
List of Examples	xi
List of Abbreviations	xiii
CHAPTER	
1. Introduction	1
Part I. Costanzo Festa and the Motet	
2. An Overview of Costanzo Festa's Life	20
3. Festa and the Bitextual Motet	30
4. <i>Super flumina Babylonis</i>	46
5. <i>Dominator caelorum</i>	69
6. <i>O altitudo divitiarum</i>	89
7. <i>Da pacem</i>	111
8. <i>Sancta Maria succurre miseris</i>	134
9. Festa and the Song of Songs	148
Part II. The Anonymous Motet <i>Ave rosa speciosa</i> in the Chigi Codex	
10. <i>Ave rosa speciosa</i> and the Chigi Codex	177
11. <i>Ave rosa speciosa</i> and the Rosary	194

12. <i>Ave rosa speciosa</i> and the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary	211
13. Looking for the Composer of <i>Ave rosa speciosa</i>	225
14. Conclusions	252
Bibliography	263

List of Tables

	Page
1. Bitextual Motets by Costanzo Festa	42
2. The Contents of VatS 38	92
3. Five and Six-Parts Motets by Andreas de Silva	96
4. Costanzo Festa's motets with C mensuration in the first movement and their sources	107
5. Motets from Monteverdi's <i>Sacrae cantiunculae</i> of 1582 (a list of motets as it is in Malipiero's edition)	166
6. The motet section of the Chigi Codex (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiana C VIII 234)	179
7. The Contents of BrusBR 215-16 (dated around 1516-23)	182
8. Edward Houghton's and Sean Gallagher's Observations on <i>Ave rosa speciosa</i> Concerning Regis's Musical Style	225

List of Examples

	Page
1. The offertory <i>Super flumina Babylonis</i> , LU pp. 1065	62
2. Costanzo Festa— <i>Super flumina Babylonis</i> , the opening phrase.	63
3. Gaspar van Weerbecke — <i>Adonay Sanctissime</i> (mm. 1-9)	100
4. Costanzo Festa — <i>O altitudo divitiarum</i> (mm. 1-10)	100
5. Costanzo Festa— <i>Da pacem</i> (from VatS 18) adapted from <i>Opera omnia</i>	116
6. Anonymous <i>Da pacem</i> from the manuscript Bologna Q19 (ff. 54v.-55r.)	120
7. The Litany of Loreto from <i>Processionarium Iuxta Ritum S. Ordinis Praedicatorum</i> published in 1913.	141
8. Costanzo Festa — <i>Sancta Maria, succurre miseris</i> (mm. 1-9)	143
9. Philippe Verdelot — <i>Sancta Maria, succurre miseris</i> (mm. 1-8)	143
10. Jean Conseil — <i>Sancta Maria, mater Dei</i> (mm. 1-9)	144
11. Costanzo Festa — <i>Sancta Maria, succurre miseris</i> (mm. 14-18)	144
12. Costanzo Festa — <i>Sancta Maria, succurre miseris</i> (mm. 19-22)	145
13. Costanzo Festa — <i>Sancta Maria, succurre miseris</i> (mm. 23-27)	145
14. Costanzo Festa — <i>Sancta Maria, succurre miseris</i> (mm. 62-66)	145
15. Costanzo Festa — <i>Sancta Maria, succurre miseris</i> (mm. 48-52)	146
16. Jean Lhéritier — <i>Sancta Maria, succurre miseris</i> (mm. 12-23)	146
17. Jean Conseil — <i>Sancta Maria, mater Dei</i> (mm. 22-27)	147
18. Costanzo Festa— <i>Quam pulchra es</i> from Antico's <i>Motetti libro quarto</i> of 1521 (reproduced from <i>Opera omnia</i>)	170
19. Costanzo Festa— <i>Quam pulchra es</i> from Gardane's <i>Motetta trium vocum</i> of 1543	173
20. Claudio Monteverdi— <i>Quam pulchra es</i> from <i>Sacrae cantiunculae</i> of 1582 (adapted from Malipiero's edition, vol. XIV)	175

21. Motet <i>Ave rosa speciosa</i> (mm. 1-34) from the Chigi Codex (transcription by Edward F. Houghton)	187
22. Kyriale of San Pedro Mártir (Toledo, c. 1500) (New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Ms. 710, f. 1v)	199
23. Francisco Doménech (c. 1445-after 1494)— “The Fifteen Mysteries and the Virgin on a Rosary” (1488)	201
24. Netherlandish Painter (possibly Goswijn van der Weyden, active by 1491, died after 1538), about 1515–20.	203

List of Abbreviations

<i>Census-Catalogue</i>	<i>Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550</i> , ed. Charles Hamm and Herbert Kellman, 5 vols. (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1978-88)
<i>JAMS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
<i>JRMA</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Musical Association</i>
<i>LU</i>	Catholic Church, Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, <i>Liber usualis missae et officii pro dominicis et festis cum cantu gregoriano ex edition vaticana adamussim excerpto et rhythmicis signis in subsidium cantorum a solesmensibus monachis diligenter ornate</i> (Tournai: Desclée and Socii, 1964)
<i>MGG</i>	<i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i>
<i>New Grove 1980</i> Sadie,	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , ed. 20 vols.
<i>New Grove 2001</i> Sadie,	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , ed. 29 vols.
<i>RISM</i>	<i>Répertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales</i>
<i>TVNM</i>	<i>Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis</i>

Note: the abbreviations and manuscript sigla used throughout this study are drawn from Charles Hamm and Herbert Kellman, ed. *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*.

Chapter 1

Introduction

This dissertation is about two subjects that may not seem to be obviously connected. It started out as a study of a group of motets of Costanzo Festa (c.1490-1545), the first important native Italian composer of the Renaissance, and Festa remains near the heart of much of my thinking about the Renaissance motet. But as the project progressed, and I followed leads out from Festa's music into the works of his contemporaries and predecessors, and into the broad political, liturgical, and artistic contexts in which the sixteenth-century motet was created, I was inevitably drawn to other problems in the definition and function of the motet in this fascinating period. And one work stood out as perhaps especially significant: the anonymous motet *Ave rosa speciosa* in the manuscript VatC 234 (the "Chigi Codex," compiled c.1498-1503)).

I was attracted to *Ave rosa* initially by a controversy over its authorship, but the further I dug into its unusual wealth of textual references, melodic quotations, texture differentiation, plausible symbolic meanings, experimental character, and seeming incompatibility with the stylistic norms of its time, the more fascinating the piece became in its own right. I have come to see it not just as a point on the line of motet development but as a superb archetype of what the next generation of motet composers, including Festa, was trying to build on and, in part, rebel against. And as such, I consider it an indispensable point of reference for my consideration of Festa and his time.

I have not attempted to seek a common denominator for all these selected motets; rather, my goal has been to examine each of them as separate entity. Although three of Festa's works can be classified as bitextual motets and viewed as belonging to the same group, they are also discussed individually without searching for particular similarities and links between them. Each motet constitutes a different combination of stylistic, contextual, and liturgical traits and dispositions. This diversity within the genre meant that painstaking scrutiny of these works could not be done without posing some fundamental questions: namely, how the *motet* was understood, what its meaning, circumstances, and function were in the Renaissance. Finding answers to such questions does not seem to be a simple task, as a wide range of musical styles, textual forms, and sometimes different categorizations by individual composers and scribes make every definition of motet problematic or at least not fully comprehensive.¹

The current meaning of *motet* covers several types of music that were originally regarded as distinct forms. In terms of Renaissance music, we use the word *motet* to refer to almost any sacred polyphonic vocal work except the mass and Magnificat.² In the

¹ It is important to note that the layout of and terminology used in some manuscripts suggest that the concept of genre could sometimes have been an individual matter of people preparing and executing manuscripts. Kenneth Kreitner points out that the scribe of the manuscript Tarazona 2/3 left out in the group of motets not only masses, Magnificats, and Lamentations but also hymns, alleluias, and the settings of *Salve regina*; particularly interesting is the omission of *Salve regina* from the motets since the *motets a quattro* include some other Marian antiphons—*Regina caeli* and *Ave regina caelorum*. See idem, "Spain Discovers the Motet," (paper presented at the International Musicological Conference, University of Wales, Bangor, March-April 2007), 5. My thanks to Professor Kreitner for bringing his paper to my attention.

² I think that such easy classification of what it is and what is not a motet might be sometimes confusing and problematic. Julie E. Cumming's comment on this problem, in *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1-2, is worth quoting at length: "contemporary definitions of the term are extremely vague and there is little scholarly consensus in the twentieth century on the nature and function of the fifteenth century motet: the boundary with liturgical music is especially problematic. At one end of the spectrum are the scholars who use "motet" loosely as a catch-all term for the many kinds of Latin-texted polyphonic music other than the Mass; on the other end are the scholars who treat the "motet" as residual category, containing only pieces without pre-existing liturgical texts (i.e. with

sixteenth century, motets were sometimes also known as *cantiones sacrae* (*sacred songs*); the titles of many of the collections of motets, published in the sixteenth century, explain *motectus* as the common translation of *cantio sacra*.³ It is also difficult to comprehend the usage of the term from analyzing manuscripts, as one might be quite surprised by the variety of works included there; short and functional liturgical compositions, *laude*, instrumental, and secular pieces dwell together with much larger Latin works. Jon Banks points out that “in these instances the scope of the designation *motet* is expanded to the extent that it loses all meaning; the use of the same word to describe Josquin’s monumental *Miserere mei, Deus* on the one hand and the tiny anonymous *Qui non fecit* in FP27 is surely absurd.”⁴ This variety of works can be clearly observed at the beginning of the sixteenth century when the motet began to develop extensively in terms of its external features—contrapuntal texture, technical procedures, number of voices, and parts in which it could be divided. It is sufficient to look just at Josquin’s works to realize what a great impact and contribution he made to the repertory concerning these aspects of composition around the turn of the sixteenth century. In general, most of the composers living in the fifteenth century were rather accustomed to writing in thinner textures. Josquin, composers of his generation, and his successors were

new texts, or pre-existent texts whose original genre or function is difficult to identify). The closest thing to a definition of the motet in terms of shared characteristics—a through-composed composition with a sacred Latin text—is both too broad and too narrow: many pieces answering to this definition are not motets (such as Mass movements or Vespers antiphon settings), while some fifteenth-century motets have secular or vernacular texts. The problem is compounded by the transformation of the genre: a definition that applies to one decade may not apply to the next.

³ *New Grove*, s.v. “Cantio sacra,”

⁴ Jon Banks, *Motet As a Formal Type in Northern Italy, ca. 1500*, 2 vols. (New York: Garland, 1993), 1:8.

the first who evidently showed a preference for motets consisting of five and six voices.⁵

As John Milsom has pointed out,

Josquin was neither the first nor the most prolific composer of his generation to write in five or more parts, but he was certainly one of the key players in the expansion of the motet beyond four-part texture, and a tireless innovator within the new genre. Surveying his five- and six-part motets in a single sweep, it is astonishing to see how rarely Josquin repeated himself in devising new ground-plans, technical procedures, canonic structures, expressive effects, other factors that determine the character of the work in question.⁶

Josquin's name is also attached to works which form a sort of musical cycle; they consist of two or more parts (*prima pars, secunda pars, etc.*). His *O admirabile commercium*, though controversial in terms of its liturgical function and performance context, can be labeled as a single motet of five *partes* despite the fact that in some sources Josquin's name is given at the head of every setting.⁷ But probably the best known example of such cyclic composition is the *Pater noster-Ave Maria*, mentioned in Josquin's own testament, which undoubtedly is supposed to be performed as a single motet.⁸

⁵ On the problem of a growing tendency among the Renaissance composers at the turn of the sixteenth century to write motets for more than four voices; see Howard Mayer Brown, "Notes Towards a Definition of Personal Style: Conflicting Attributions and the Six-Part Motets of Josquin and Mouton," in *Proceedings of the International Josquin Symposium, Utrecht 1986*, ed. Willem Elders (n.p. Vereniging Voor Nederlandse, 1991), 185-207, esp. 203 n. 1.

⁶ John Milsom, "Motets for Five or More Voices," in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 281-320 at 282.

⁷ Richard Sherr gives some arguments for and against the theory that the work should be considered as a five-parts motet; see Richard Sherr, "Conflicting Levels of Meaning and Understanding in Josquin's *O admirabile commercium* Motet Cycle," in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 193-212, esp. 194-195; for description of the work; see Ludwig Finscher, "Four-Voice Motets," in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 249-279 at 262-63.

⁸ Though in eight sources only one of the two *partes* is included, it can be concluded from Josquin's testament that these two *partes* form one motet; see Daniel E. Freeman, "On the Origins of the *Pater Noster-Ave Maria* of Josquin des Prez," *Musica Disciplina* 45 (1991): 169-219, esp. 170; Herbert Kellman, "Josquin and the Court of the Netherlands and France – the Evidence of the Sources," in *Josquin des Prez*, ed. Edward Lowinsky (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 181-216 at 208.

Even the study of the word *motet* itself in the fifteenth century sources is not of great help in defining the genre, since treatises, archival documents, and music manuscripts never mention works which could be identified and linked with the term *motet*. Actually, they only give us a general idea and sense of the term in comparison with other genres.⁹ The most often quoted definition appears in Johannes Tinctoris's *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium*—a motet is “a composition of moderate length, to which words of any kind are set, but more often those of a sacred nature.”¹⁰ But this definition is not comprehensive enough to give us even a sense of what was characteristic for the genre during the Renaissance. Thus in most studies of the repertory Tinctoris's definition is only a starting point for further discussion. For instance, Gustave Reese broadens it and proposes this definition: “[motet] refers to a vocal piece that is polyphonic and has a text that is both sacred and in Latin (without, however, being a part of the Ordinary of the Mass).”¹¹ Considering Reese's definition as a mere extension of Tinctoris's, one must add that in most cases motet includes settings of hymns, psalms,

⁹ Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 41. For the overview of the fifteenth-century documents where the word motet appears, see *ibid.*, 41-62.

¹⁰ It was compiled sometime before 1475 and printed in Treviso about 1495, see *New Grove*, s.v. “Tinctoris,” by Ronald Woodley; for the date of the Treviso edition see Johannes Tinctoris, *Terminorum musical diffinitorium*, a facsimile of the Treviso edition (New York: Broude Brothers, 1966). For the definition, see Johannes Tinctoris, *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium/Dictionary of Musical Terms*, trans. Carl Parrish (New York: Da Capo Press, 1978), 43. Because Tinctoris's definition does not say anything about language, such compositions as Josquin's lament *Nymphes des bois* and settings of secular Latin texts (e.g. some setting sections from Vergil's *Aeneid* like Josquin's *Fama malum* and *Dulces exuviae*), can be also considered as motets, if one follows Tinctoris's definition. Actually, it is not clear how these pieces should be classified; Richard Sherr, in “Italian Works and Secular Motets,” in *Josquin Companion*, 428, proposes the term *secular motet*.

¹¹ Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, revised edition (New York: W. W. Norton, 1959), 21.

responsories, antiphons (parts of the Office), fragments from fixed Proper items, such as introits and sequences, and the complete Mass prayers (parts of the Mass).¹²

Besides the texts of liturgical derivation, composers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries began to set passages taken from the Bible, excerpts from the writings of the Church Fathers, and even newly written sacred poems. The texts sometimes had dramatic and emotional content, like Josquin's (or La Rue's) setting of David's lament *Absalon, fili mi*, Festa's *Super flumina Babylonis*, or Lasso's *Timor et tremor*, to name a few. Josquin and composers contemporaneous to him began to pay more attention to the relationship between text and music. Howard Mayer Brown says that Josquin's freedom in choosing the motet texts that most stimulated his imagination enabled him to display in his motets the "boldest compositional inventiveness and sustain a level of expressive intensity altogether new in the history of music."¹³

This unprecedented popularity of a specific group of texts used in the works by the composers of Josquin's generation is especially exemplified in the works usually referred to as psalm motets¹⁴—polyphonic settings of the complete psalms or selected verses. The tradition of writing this type of motets had not existed very long before Josquin.¹⁵ It seems that the first extant psalm motet is a setting of Psalm 120, *Levavi*

¹² I decided to exclude Magnificat from a general list of settings that might be considered as a motet; however, it needs to be remembered that there are cases where the Magnificat was also treated as motet, e.g. in Attaignant's prints; more on this below.

¹³ Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the Renaissance* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1976), 122.

¹⁴ For more on the difference between liturgical psalm settings and psalm motets, see below.

¹⁵ On the tradition of polyphonic setting of the Psalm texts and early Psalm motets, see Timothy H. Steele, "The Latin Psalm Motet, ca. 1460-1520: Aspects of the Emergence of a New Motet Type," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1993). For a comprehensive survey of Latin psalm motets in European sources from 1500 to 1535; see Edward Nowacki, "The Latin Psalm Motet 1500-1535," in *Renaissance-*

oculos meos, included as a *unicum* in TrentC 89 (fol. 220-222') in the 1460s.¹⁶ Nowacki points out that this composition was not succeeded by any other psalm motet until the 1480s, as the paired choirbooks of Ferrara (ModE M.1.11-2), dating from that time, contain only *falsobordone* psalms.¹⁷ Thus it seems that the first extant psalm motet from the sixteenth century is the anonymous setting of Psalm 135, *Confitemini Domino*, included in Petrucci's *Motetti C* of 1504, and the first sixteenth-century manuscript with a psalm motet is VatS 42 (c. 1503-12) in which Brumel's *Laudate Dominum de celis* can be found.¹⁸ The increasing growth of the popularity of psalm motets toward the end of the fifteenth and then through the entire sixteenth century is well reflected in the number of works of this type found in manuscripts and prints from between 1500 and 1535.¹⁹

The history of scholarship of the sixteenth century motet might be divided into two periods—before and after a publication of Anthony M. Cummings's article of 1981.²⁰ Before this date, scholars considered the motet strictly as a polyphonic genre whose function was to substitute for the corresponding Gregorian chants, and that its

Studien: Helmuth Osthoff zum 80. Geburtstag, ed. Ludwig Finscher, *Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, 11 (Tutzing, 1979): 159-84.

¹⁶ Nowacki, "The Latin Psalm Motet 1500-1535," 182. See also Steele, "The Latin Psalm Motet," 28. The codex was compiled by Johannes Wiser between 1460 and 1466; see Suparmi Elizabeth Saunders, *The Dating of the Trent Codices from Their Watermarks: With a Study of the Local Liturgy of Trent in the Fifteenth Century* (New York: Garland, 1989), 91.

¹⁷ Nowacki, "The Latin Psalm Motet 1500-1535," 182.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 182. See also Steele, "The Latin Psalm Motet," 29 and 35.

¹⁹ For the comprehensive list of the sources containing psalm motets from the three first decades of the sixteenth century, see Nowacki, "The Latin Psalm Motet 1500-1535," 161-71.

²⁰ Anthony M. Cummings, "Toward an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet," *JAMS* 34 (1981): 43-59.

place in the liturgy could be determined from its text.²¹ In other words, the identification of particular motet texts was made on the assumption that the motet was performed as part of the liturgy. Such an interpretation is perhaps obvious when motet texts are taken verbatim from liturgical sources, such as the proper of the mass, the canonical hours, the Vespers antiphons, and the many votive offices that flourished in the official church books before Pius V's reform in 1570.²² But problems arise when we attempt to ascertain a place in the liturgy for pieces whose texts contain some significant changes or are a composite of different texts, or stand completely outside the liturgy.²³

A clue to understanding this problem may be found in Gioseffo Zarlino's treatise *Istitutioni Harmoniche* of 1558. In the fourth book of the treatise, *On the Modes*, Zarlino states that the composer who wants to write a piece based on the words used at Vespers or other Canonical Hours [e.g. Magnificat and Psalm] has to follow the psalm mode and intonation, but while writing motets he is not required to do that any longer.²⁴ When the composer wants to write compositions outside the psalm tones, Zarlino goes on, he will be free to invent something more suitable. Timothy Steele, commenting on Zarlino's statement, concludes that "a psalm motet is thus a true motet, not a liturgical piece; the

²¹ This view is expressed in at least four works: see Jacquelyn A. Mattfeld, "Some Relationships between Texts and Cantus Firmi in the Liturgical Motets of Josquin des Pres," *JAMS* 14 (1961): 159-83; *Johannis Lhéritier: Opera Omnia*, ed. Leeman L. Perkins (American Institute of Musicology, 1969), xxv; Oliver Strunk, "Some Motet-Types of the Sixteenth Century," in *Essays on the Music in the Western World* (New York: Norton, 1974), 108-13; Brown, *Music in the Renaissance*, 133.

²² Mattfeld, "Some Relationships," 159.

²³ For the types of such motets, see *ibid.*, 163-167.

²⁴ Gioseffo Zarlino, *On the Modes: Part Four of Le Istitutioni Harmoniche, 1558*, trans. Vered Cohen, ed. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 48.

liturgical psalm, on the other hand, is a polyphonic setting of a psalm in which the composer is bound to follow the psalm tone throughout.”²⁵

Anthony Cummings’s study of the diaries of the Sistine Chapel for the years 1534-59, 1560-61, 1594, and 1616 made a great contribution to the understanding of the problem and provides some answers. Cummings provided evidence that during the late Renaissance the motet was performed in a very narrow liturgical context entirely reserved for the Mass, during the Offertory, Elevation, and Communion.²⁶ Some references are given to the singing of motets after the *Ite, missa est* as well,²⁷ but the location to which most of the references are made is the Offertory.²⁸ Probably the most surprising discovery is that “some motets were not performed within the ritual context suggested by their texts. Indeed, the motets that consistently accompanied the recitation of the Offertory more often draw their texts from the Office than from the Mass for the day.”²⁹ The motet is never mentioned in connection with the Office.³⁰ Instead, there are references to the singing of motets during the pope’s meals and visits of dignitaries to Rome.³¹ Cummings also provided a stylistic distinction between two types of sacred music cultivated in Italy during this time. One type, found in music manuscripts of the Florentine Duomo, was

²⁵ Steele, “The Latin Psalm Motet,” 27.

²⁶ Cummings, “Toward an Interpretation,” 45.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 47.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 47-49.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 48.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 52-53.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 45.

intended for *alternatim* performance of liturgical polyphony. It was characterized by brevity, simplicity, and homophonic texture. This kind of work could never be referred to as a motet. The other style, typical of the repertory of Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS II.I. 232, and other manuscripts with Italian motets, could be described as more complicated; it employs imitation, independent rhythms, and other polyphonic devices. All this evidence brought Cummings to the conclusion that motets as described in his article were probably not very often performed in the liturgical places to which their texts belong, and that the motet texts made up from different sources or newly composed could not apply to one place in the liturgy but were applicable to several other uses. Thus the freedom in choice of text, so characteristic of the motet in the sixteenth century, permits us to suppose that the motet at this time was considered as a paraliturgical polyphonic genre.³²

Cummings's article, to some extent revolutionary, certainly changed our understanding of motet during the Renaissance. It also initiated a new debate among scholars about the nature and function of the motet in the liturgy at the time.³³ It must be

³² Ibid., 59. What I understand, in general, by the word paraliturgical is a form of public worship which does not follow the official liturgy or takes unauthorized liberties in removing or changing the words or actions required by Church law. But, on the other hand, I realize that sometimes it is not easy to give a clear definition of what is liturgical and what is not because a number of characteristics might decide this distinction, e.g. use of cantus firmus (if used), the text, and musical style. Anthony Cummings says that "the genre [paraliturgical motet] was marked by a freedom of musical style and function that generally did not characterize more obviously liturgical works." see idem, "Toward an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet," 59. Jeremy Noble, trying to make a distinction between what is liturgical and what is not, says that the former might be associated with what is contained in the standard books, e.g. the Missal, the Gradual, the Antiphonary, while the latter is what is at various periods of history introduced as "adornment." And later he goes on by saying that "if the service is complete in itself without the motet, then the motet is not liturgical." See idem, "The Function of Josquin's Motets," *TVNM* 35 (1985): 9-31 at 24.

³³ The conclusions of this debate were demonstrated in some other publications touching this problem; see Edward Nowacki, "Communication," *JAMS* 35 (1982): 200-201; Jeremy Noble, "The Function of Josquin's Motets,"; Bonnie Blackburn, *Music for Treviso Cathedral in the Late Sixteenth*

yet remembered that Cummings's research and conclusions referred to and focused only on musical sources from some chosen musical centers. As it is often the case with such studies, the results are not always easily applied to other places. In other words, evidence assembled in one geographical area of research does not necessarily have to match evidence from another one; two different places might either confirm the results from another one or yield unexpected contradictory ones. In this case, though, most scholars have accepted Cummings's findings and even confirmed it on the basis of the other research done on different group of works or in different areas. Edward Nowacki's independent investigation of the Latin psalm motets confirmed Cummings's thesis by showing that the psalm motet could not have figured prominently in the performance of the Office.³⁴ His arguments were mainly based on Ferrarese and Florentine sources from the 1520s and 1530s. They contain a group of psalms that, if performed in the liturgical context of the Office, would embellish the Office hours which were not traditionally considered to be solemnized that way. On the other hand, in the Florentine sources there is absence of the important psalms for Vespers on Sunday, which especially later on during the Renaissance, were very often set polyphonically and were incorporated in the liturgy.³⁵

Century: Reconstruction of the Lost Manuscript 29 and 30 (London: Royal Musical Association, 1987); Christopher A. Reynolds, "Sacred Polyphony," in *Performance Practice: Music Before 1600*, ed. Howard M. Brown and Stanley Sadie (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1989), 185-200, esp. 185-86; John Brobeck, "Some "Liturgical Motets" for the French Royal Court: A Reconsideration of Genre in the Sixteenth-Century Motet," *Musica Disciplina* 47 (1993): 123-57; Jerome Roche, "Alessandro Grandi: A Case of Study in the Choice of Texts for Motets," *JRMA* 113 (1998): 274-305.

³⁴ Nowacki, "Communication," 200.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 200-201.

An interesting point was made by Howard Mayer Brown, who after the analysis of the repertory of the four books of motets published by Petrucci,³⁶ came to similar conclusion to Cummings's, saying that

many of the compositions in these four volumes [Petrucci's books] were probably not intended for performances as a part of the central liturgy at a religious institution, not even as extra-liturgical adornment of a High Mass. Instead, composers wrote them for votive services, arranged on a weekly basis and performed in side chapels, presumably by relatively small groups of singers [...]³⁷

The idea that many of the motets from Petrucci's books could have been performed during devotional services is confirmed by the fact that many of these motets are the settings of devotional poems and prayers—meditations, collects, suffrages, and the like in prose, and of sequences, rhymed offices, and miscellaneous poems in verse.³⁸ Brown suggested that some of these books could have been used either by private individuals, or by cathedral and chapel choirs and performed during votive services.³⁹ Thus the use of the motets included in these books could have been diametrically different from their original purpose.⁴⁰ Warren Drake, who incorporated Brown's thesis, says that

³⁶ RISM 1502¹, 1503¹, 1504¹, and 1505².

³⁷ Howard M. Brown, "The Mirror of Man's Salvation: Music in Devotional Life about 1500," *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990): 757.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 751.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 745.

⁴⁰ Warren Drake, ed. *Motetti de Passione, de Cruce, de Sacramento, de Beata Virgine, et huiusmodi B: Venice, 1503*, compiled by Ottaviano Petrucci, *Monuments of Renaissance Music* 11 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 4.

it is clear, for example, that the settings of *Domine non secundum peccata nostra* in *Motetti B* were composed for the use of the papal chapel, whether to be sung—exceptionally—in place of the plainsong tract in the weekday Lenten mass or in paraliturgical Lenten observances. The functions which these settings served when purchased in *Motetti B*, however, were probably as multifarious as the purchasers of the book themselves.⁴¹

John Brobeck shows, on the other hand, that Pierre Attaingnant, who between 1528 and 1546 published thirty books of the polyphonic settings of Latin sacred texts (but not the ordinary of the mass), refers to the fifth volume as a book of motets, regardless of the fact that it contains twelve complete settings of the even verses of the Magnificat and three isolated Magnificat verses. It is clear here that Attaingnant uses a broader definition of motet than the one proposed by Cummings. Interestingly enough, the style of some liturgical pieces written in the *alternatim*-style with evidently liturgical designation reminds of the style of the works known as *motetti* among papal musicians. According to Brobeck, there is a reason to believe that the printer might have classified these strictly liturgical pieces—but with motet-like features—as motets.⁴²

The problem of the nature and function of the motet during the Renaissance is still open to discussion. Although all works mentioned above make this problem clear only to some extent, it seems that much still needs to be done to understand better the context in which the sixteenth-century motet was performed. Brobeck's final thought ending his article is that

⁴¹ Ibid., 4.

⁴² Brobeck, "Some "Liturgical Motets," esp. 127-151.

during [the Renaissance] works called “motets” were commonly used in a very free manner, with little heed given to the liturgical propriety of their texts. This is an important insight in that it frees us from the obligation of assuming that pieces such as the massive psalm motets of Josquin were used as chant substitutes in the daily Offices.

and further, that

Attaignant’s terminological looseness should convey to modern scholars a useful lesson about the dangers of overstepping the limits of our evidence. We are too ill-informed about liturgical and ritual practices throughout much of Europe during the sixteenth century to be able to assert with any confidence that every “motetlike” work was consistently used in a non- or para-liturgical manner. Moreover, the supposition that a stylistic chasm yawns between works intended for liturgical and paraliturgical use misses not only the wholly “motetlike” contrapuntal style of many liturgical works composed for the use of princely chapels, but also the historical precedent given by the Royal Printer for classifying such works as “motets.”⁴³

Apart from the function of the motet also the problem of its context is probably one of the most important and difficult a musicologist has to deal with while studying Renaissance music (and probably any music). Discovering the occasion and the circumstances for which a motet was composed can help enormously to place a work in a stylistic and historical context. This can be achieved only after careful analysis of both internal and external characteristics of a composition. Sometimes a composition contains enough distinctive inherent qualities—rhythmic patterns, melodic formulas, tonal organization, the text, and a kind of cantus firmus or texture—to be recognized as belonging to certain stylistic orbit of works or as being composed by a certain composer. It is fortunate if we can gather enough information just by doing an analysis of a work itself. But in many cases this approach to a composition is not sufficient. Thus additional

⁴³ Ibid., 156.

study might be needed; this usually requires the deep and extensive understanding of sources and their distribution. Sometimes, nevertheless, the more we seem to know about a problem the more it seems to us that we get away from the solution.⁴⁴ Recent interdisciplinary studies of Renaissance music—in which social, theological, and liturgical context is taken into consideration—have shown that such an approach can be extremely profitable and can help us in resolving long-standing problems.⁴⁵ Obviously there is always a danger of putting more emphasis on factual and documentary work instead of concentrating on the individual piece of music. But I believe that understanding a piece of music comes not just from analyzing its musical language, but from seeking to understand what it meant to the person who wrote it and the people who first sang and heard it.

⁴⁴ For example, such study of evidence changed our perception of Josquin's *Absalon fili mi* but did not solve the problem. In the 1980s Jaap van Benthem and Joshua Rifkin independently pointed to some features of the motet incompatible with Josquin's style. Additionally, a study of the sources casts suspicion on Josquin's authorship of the work because the only source during Josquin's lifetime (LonRoyal 8 G.vii) carries *Absalon fili mi* as an anonymous work, while the earliest attribution to Josquin appears in an unreliable source of 1540 *Selectissimae necnon familiarissimae cantiones...* by Kriesstein; see Jaap van Benthem, "Lazarus versus Absalon. About Fact and Fiction in the Netherlands Motet," *TVNM* 39 (1989): 54-82; Joshua Rifkin, "Problems of Authorship in Josquin: Some Impolitic Observations with a Postscript on Absalon, fili mi," *Proceedings of the International Josquin Symposium, Utrecht 1986*, ed. Willem Elders (Utrecht, 1991), 45-52; Nigel Davison, "Absalon fili mi Reconsidered," *TVNM* 46 (1996): 42-56; and Honey Meconi, "Another Look at Absalon," *TVNM* 48 (1998): 3-29. But Peter Urquhart in "Another Impolitic Observation on Absalon, fili mi," *Journal of Musicology* 21 (2005): 343-380 demonstrates that the features—the pitch level and signatures—considered as non-Josquinian might have been introduced by a scribe and might not have been intended by a composer. This observation does not resolve the problem and does not permit us to attribute the work to Josquin and La Rue, or anyone else.

⁴⁵ For example, Anne Walters Robertson, in her strikingly clear and brilliant article "The Savior, the Women, and the Head of the Dragon in the *Caput* Masses and Motet," *JAMS* 59 (2006): 537-630, shows the reason for the composers of the three *Caput* masses—anonymous English composer, Johannes Ockeghem, and Jacob Obrecht, and for one composer of the Marian motet, Richard Hygons—for the use as a cantus firmus the melisma *Caput* from the Sarum Antiphon *Venit ad Petrum*.

Here it is worth mentioning a disturbing book, *Contemplating Music*⁴⁶ by Joseph Kerman, who made an intriguing point pertinent to our discussion and considerations. He stated that musicology was mainly focused on a rigid and non-judgmental pursuit of dry facts (Kerman called it *positivism*) instead of confronting the music itself. In response, Howard Mayer Brown wrote an article entitled “Recent Research in the Renaissance: Criticism and Patronage” in which, by referring to the four excellent documentary studies of Renaissance music written in 1980s by eminent musicologists—Allan Atlas, Iain Fenlon, Lewis Lockwood, and Reinhard Strohm⁴⁷—he backed up the goal of presenting new facts and description of musical daily life in specific places in the Renaissance. Brown did not dismiss Kerman’s statement altogether, admitting that “we really ought to feel the need to confront the music of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries directly.” But on the other hand, it is really important, according to Brown, that music should be placed in its social and intellectual context; “contextual studies can help us to understand the nature of an individual composition as a product of the society that produced it.” And he went on to say that “demonstrating the relationship between an individual piece (or particular genre) and the society that caused it to come into being is surely the crux of patronage studies.”⁴⁸ Of course Kerman is right in saying that musicologists should never lose the music from the horizon and that the analysis in detail of individual pieces of

⁴⁶ Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985).

⁴⁷ Allan Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Iain Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400-1505: The Creation of a Musical Center in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984); Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

⁴⁸ Howard M. Brown, “Recent Research in the Renaissance: Criticism and Patronage,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 40 (1987): 1-10.

music should be always a priority. But such careful and thorough analysis should always serve as a starting point for further and much deeper investigation, especially when a study of a composition itself—its internal features—does not bring any positive results concerning its dating, attribution, and purpose.

The examination of the context for the purpose of “decoding” the meaning of music is vitally important in reference to Renaissance music.⁴⁹ Renaissance composers, particularly in the Josquin and post-Josquin generation of composers, began to be interested in experimenting with new texts. Sometimes they used texts without liturgical function (e.g. Josquin’s *Planxit autem David*), sometimes they combined snippets of texts from different sources (Obrecht’s *Laudes Christo* and *Si sumpsero*) or made up new texts (Obrecht’s *O preciosissime sanguis*, *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*, Josquin’s *Illibata Dei virgo nutrix/La mi la*). In some cases, the use of these artificial texts is obvious (e.g. Josquin’s *Planxit autem David* seems to be a funeral motet), or points to the hidden and complicated—as Robertson puts it—higher level of meaning (e.g. Lheritier’s two settings of *Nigra sum* for five and six voices).⁵⁰ A number of individual pieces are already understood in deep circumstantial detail, e.g. Josquin’s monumental psalm motet *Miserere mei Deus* was undoubtedly written for Ercole d’Este during the composer’s

⁴⁹ For interesting observations on the meaning of music, see Rob C. Wegman, “For Whom the Bell Tolls: Reading and Hearing Busnoys’s *Anthoni usque limina*,” in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 122-141; Wegman’s study of Busnoys’s motet *Anthoni usque limina* demonstrates that for full understanding of the work it appears to be necessary to consider the work in a very broad context related to its liturgical function, religious beliefs, and Busnoys’s life.

⁵⁰ One of the possible renderings of the symbolic meaning of the motets is in Willem Elders, *Symbolic Scores: Studies in the Music of the Renaissance* (Brill Academic Publishers, 1997), 163-165.

sojourn in Ferrara as *maestro di cappella*. The piece is, as Patrick Macey demonstrated, a reflection of Savonarola's preaching and his influence on the duke.⁵¹

Another example, Loyset Compère's motet *Sola caret monstris* seems to have been composed around 1508. Jeffrey J. Dean convincingly proposed that the motet might have been written as an expression of resentment against Pope Julius II on behalf of René de Prie, bishop of Bayeux, Master of the Royal Chapel, one of the greatest prelates, and King Louis XII of France.⁵² Another composition by Compère, the motet *Sile fragor*, is a puzzling work in terms of its text, which is a combination of a prayer to the Virgin Mary and an invitation to approach Bacchus. After taking into consideration many factors—concordances, textual variants, humanistic and neo-classical elements in the text, and the composer's life—Edward Houghton proposed a very interesting reading: the most likely occasion for the motet, according to him, might have been the negotiations and agreement between Charles VIII and Pope Alexander VI in January of 1495.⁵³ Some other works still remain a puzzle and some research still needs to be carried out despite the fact that the scholars have already offered some readings of their meaning; e.g. *Absalon, fili mi*.

⁵¹ Patrick Macey, *Bonfire Songs: Savonarola's Musical Legacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 184-92.

⁵² Jeffrey J. Dean, "The Occasion of Compère's *Sola caret monstris*: A Case Study in Historical Interpretation," *Musica Disciplina* 40 (1986): 99-133; the author also considers some other occasions for which the motet might have been composed. A transcription of the motet is published in *Loyset Compère, Opera Omnia*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (American Institute of Musicology, 1958), 3:15-19.

⁵³ Edward F. Houghton, "A Close Reading of Compère's motet *Sile fragor*," in *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman*, ed. Barbara Hagg (Paris: Minerve, 2001): 89-103. On the motet, see also Ludwig Finscher, *Loyset Compère (c. 1450-1518), Life and Works* (n.p., American Institute of Musicology, 1964), 191-193; Bonnie J. Blackburn, "Petrucci's Venetian Editor: Petrus Castellanus and his Musical Garden," *Musica Disciplina* 49 (1995): 15-45 at 35-36. A transcription of the motet is in *Loyset Compère, Opera Omnia*, 4: 49-51.

This study—its main idea and methodology—grew out of the fascination for the four exemplary musicological studies of Allan Atlas, Iain Fenlon, Lewis Lockwood, and Reinhard Strohm. Each of these books had immeasurable influence on shaping my way of thinking of the Renaissance music and sharpened my criticism about many aspects of music history, especially of the fifteenth century. Recently I have added to this personal canon a number of penetrating and highly informative works by Anne Walters Robertson; her exploration of Medieval and early Renaissance music, made in the broadest context and from different angles, has become a source of my inspiration.

PART I. Costanzo Festa and the Motet

Chapter 2

An Overview of Costanzo Festa's Life

Unfortunately the life of the first important Italian composer of the Renaissance is not very well known to us. Everything we have about Festa's life before 1517, the year when he entered the choir of the Sistine Chapel, is scanty, questionable, and hypothetical. Also Festa's later years, till his death in 1545, are full of factual gaps, which do not make the picture of his life as clear as we would like. There have been attempts made by some scholars to determine the approximate date of Festa's birth. It is generally assumed that he might have been born between 1480-85 and 1490 or 1495.¹ Festa's birthplace is a puzzle which may be never solved. According to a papal document of 1517 Festa was a "cleric of the Turin diocese," but this of course does not mean that he must have been born there.² The suggestion that Festa might have come from the Piedmont has been supported by archival records indicating a family named Festa living around Turin during the Renaissance.³ It is known that Sebastiano Festa's father lived in Turin, but so far nothing has been found about the relationship between Costanzo and Sebastiano. It is nevertheless intriguing that a surprisingly large collection of Festa's works is preserved in

¹ For a brief overview of the problem, see Costanzo Festa, *Counterpoints on a cantus firmus*, ed. Richard J. Agee, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 107 (Madison: A-R Editions, Inc, 1997), vii. See also *New Grove*, s.v. "Festa, Costanzo," by James Haar.

² The transcription of the papal breve of 1517 appears in Herman-Walther Frey, "Regesten zur päpstlichen Kapelle unter Leo X. und zu seiner Privatkapelle," *Die Musikforschung* 8 (1955): 65-66. The opening fragment of the document is published in Edward E. Lowinsky, "On the Presentation and Interpretation of Evidence: Another Review of Costanzo Festa's Biography," *JAMS* 30 (1977): 106-128 at 109. For the interpretation of the document, see David Crawford, "A Review of Costanzo Festa's Biography," *JAMS* 28 (1975): 102-104 and Lowinsky, "On the Presentation," 107-112.

³ Richard J. Agee refers to Hans Musch, *Costanzo Festa als Madrigalkomponist*, Sammlung Musikwissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen, 61 (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1977), 16 n. 20, in which such documents are quoted; see Costanzo Festa, *Counterpoints*, vii and n. 8.

the cathedral archives of Casale Monferrato, not far from Turin.⁴ But unless the new evidence comes to light Festa's birthplace will remain obscure.

Edward Lowinsky proposed a hypothesis that Festa might have spent his apprenticeship years in France as a student of Jean Mouton.⁵ He gave several arguments, of which at least three seem to be worth noting here: Lowinsky suggested that Festa might have been in France, or at least had some relations there since his four-part motet *Quis dabit oculis nostris*—the motet by Mouton is set to the same text—was intended as a *déploration* for Queen Anne (d. 1514);⁶ that another of Festa's motet, *Super flumina Babylonis*, might also have been composed in France as a solemn elegy for the death of Louis XII (d. 1515);⁷ and that the presence of Festa's four works in the Medici Codex,

⁴ None of the works is ascribed to Festa in the manuscript. They were attributed to him on the basis of concordances; see Crawford, "A Review," 103-104 and n. 9. This finding led Crawford to the statement that "the popularity of Festa's music at Casale is consistent with his title in 1517 [the papal breve], and so the available evidence agrees that a portion of his career was spent in the Piedmont," *ibid.*, 104. Lowinsky expressed his scepticism about Festa's possible presence in Casale Monferrato in "On the Presentation," 111-112.

⁵ Lowinsky expressed this thesis in *Introduction to the Medici Codex of 1518: a choirbook of motets dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino*, MRM, 3 (1968), 48-50. Before similar suggestion had been made by Main but he does not specifically talk about Festa as Mouton's student. Instead, he suggests that Festa might have been in some relation with Josquin, see Alexander Main, *Costanzo Festa: The Masses and Motets* (PhD. diss., New York University, 1960), 7-10. I assume that Main's hypothesis about Festa's stay in France was proposed independently as Main might not have had access to Lowinsky's study of the Medici Codex which was first published in "The Medici Codex. A Document of Music, Art, and Politics in the Renaissance," *Annales musicologiques* 5 (1957, publ. 1960), 61-178. For arguments against Lowinsky's thesis, see *New Grove*, s.v. "Costanzo, Festa," by James Haar.

⁶ Some authors point out that the motet might have been composed in Italy, see Crawford "A Review," 104-105 and *New Grove*, s.v. "Festa, Costanzo."

⁷ Lowinsky does not give any proof that the motet was written for the death of Louis XII in 1515. Main made his reinterpretation of the work based on the text but his conclusion was as Lowinsky's, see Alexander Main, "Maximilian's Second-Hand Funeral Motet," *Musical Quarterly* 48 (1962): 173-89. For conflicting arguments about the motet, see Crawford, "A Review," 106-107. Because there is no name specified in the text, the motet could have also been written for someone else who died before 1518. It seems that Lowinsky's rendering of the motet is not the only possible one. For more about Lowinsky's and my interpretation of the motet and possibility that it might have been composed for the death of Henricus Isaac in 1517, see below.

which according Lowinsky were written in France, was another argument about composer's stay in France.⁸

Besides Mouton, Josquin and Isaac have been also suggested as Festa's possible tutors. Alexander Main suggested that Josquin might have been Festa's music teacher, but Lowinsky excluded him on the grounds that Josquin was then too old to teach the much younger Festa.⁹ Because there is not documentary evidence that Josquin was present at the French court at the time when Festa might have been there this type of consideration is only hypothetical. The candidacy of Isaac as Festa's musical teacher in Florence might be more reasonable, as there are some links between Festa and Isaac which suggest that they might have met each other, or at least that Festa was familiar with Isaac's works. As Main points out, Festa and Isaac belong to a small group of composers who wrote *Missae carminum*; Isaac and Festa were interested in *La Spagna* (Isaac composed a Mass based on this melody, Festa wrote 120 counterpoints); and, Festa's *Missa sine nomine* appears to be based on an Isaac composition.¹⁰ Main's cautious conclusion—

certainly we cannot state, except hypothetically, that Festa was a pupil of Isaac's. As in the case of the Josquin-Festa relationship mentioned above, the materials are not yet available for a thorough testing of such a hypothesis. And let us not forget that one of Isaac's pupils was Giovanni de' Medici, who

⁸ Leeman Perkins in "Review of the Medici Codex," *Musical Quarterly* 55 (1969) and Joshua Rifkin in "Scribal concordances for Some Renaissance Manuscripts in Florentine Libraries," *JAMS* 26 (1973), 306-9 established that the Medici Codex was actually executed in Rome.

⁹ Main, *Costanzo Festa*, 8-10. For Lowinsky's different opinion, see *Introduction*, 50. It seems that Lowinsky's argument was rather shaky. Agee pointed out that Lowinsky had not given an explanation why old Josquin could not teach much younger Costanzo Festa, see Costanzo Festa, *Counterpoints*, viii. But Festa seems to have known Josquin's music, as he used the motive *la-sol-fa-re-mi* from Josquin's mass in one of his counterpoints, see *idem*, viii and 68-69.

¹⁰ Main, *Costanzo Festa*, 15-17.

later, as Pope Leo X, brought the Italian Festa into his musical establishment at a time when Franco-Netherlandish musicians were still in the ascendant.¹¹

—remains just as valid a half century later, though there is still some evidence of Florentine connections later in Festa's life. We know that around 1528 he was in contact with the Florentine banker and music patron, Filippo Strozzi, who was probably godfather to Festa's son born in 1528. Strozzi seems to have commissioned *canti*, *canzone*, or *canzonette* from Festa. This purely, as it seems, businesslike cooperation lasted around eight years until Strozzi's death in 1536.¹² There is also a group of Festa's compositions that seem to refer to, or to have been inspired by Florence. His famous motet *Florentia tempus est penitentiae* was composed during the siege of Florence between 1527 and 1529, while the motet *Deus venerunt gentes* may have been composed as a musical response to the Sack of Rome in 1527 during the pontificate of the Florentine Pope Clement VII.¹³ Festa's *Dominator caelorum*, as I shall suggest later in this study, might also have some political connections with Florence and Clement VII. Among Festa's secular works there are a few madrigals that contain Florentine allusions.¹⁴ An interesting clue about Festa's possible sojourn in Florence might be three

¹¹ Ibid., 17.

¹² Thorough study of Festa's relationship with Strozzi is found in Richard J. Agee, "Filippo Strozzi and the Early Madrigal," *JAMS* 38 (1985): 231-34. For an overview, see Costanzo Festa, *Counterpoints*, viii.

¹³ For a study of the two motets and their likely Florentine context, see Edward E. Lowinsky, "A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome," *JAMS* 3 (1950): 173-232, esp. 179-181.

¹⁴ For the associations between some of Festa's madrigals and Florence, see Iain Fenlon and James Haar, "Fonti e cronologia dei madrigali di Costanzo Festa," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 13 (1978): 212-42. Einstein pointed out in *The Italian Madrigal* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949) 1:157-8 that Festa's *Sacra pianta da quel arbor discesa* might have been written for the accession of Alessandro de'

Florentine manuscripts now preserved in Brussels, BrusC 27511 (c.1530 and 1535) and 27731 (c.1535-40) in which Festa's works are next to ones by such composers as Jacques Arcadelt and Francesco de Layolle, who were associated with and resided in Florence for some time during their lives.¹⁵ And there is one later Florentine manuscript, now in Brussels, BrusC 27766 (c. 1560), which contains one of Festa's three-voice *Quam pulchra es* which has concordance with BrusC 27511.¹⁶

Is there then any place we know about for sure where Festa spent some time before he arrived in Rome in 1517? Knud Jeppesen was the first to mention the Neapolitan document referring to Festa as a musical teacher to Rodrigo and Alfonso, the nephews of Costanza d'Avalos (Duchess of Francavilla) on the island of Ischia near Naples. He suggested that Festa might have stayed there for a few years between 1515 and 1517.¹⁷ In the document, Festa is called *musico celebrato*.¹⁸ David Crawford agreed with Jeppesen and pointed out that the composer might have come to Ischia directly from

Medici as Duke of Florence in 1532 or on the occasion of his marriage with Margaret of Austria in 1536. The reference to Einstein is in Lowinsky "A Newly Discovered," 194. See also, Festa, *Counterpoints*, viii.

¹⁵ *Census-Catalogue*, 1: 102-103. Arcadelt seems to have stayed in Florence in 1530s. Francesco de Layolle was born in Florence in 1490 and left for Lyons in 1521, where he lived until his death. Although he lived in Lyons, he stayed in touch with many Florentine men of letters, see *New Grove*, s.v. "Arcadelt, Jacques," by James Haar and s.v. "Layolle, Francesco de," by Frank A. D'Accone.

¹⁶ See Mary S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer, 1538-1569*, 2vols. (New York: Routledge Taylor&Francis Group, 2005), 2:97, for more about Festa's motet *Quam pulchra es* and its sources. As far as I know, there is no reference to these three Florentine manuscripts in the works concerning Festa's life and his relationship with Florence. The number of Festa's works included in two of the manuscripts (BrusC 27511 – around 10 and BrusC 27731 – 6; only Arcadelt's works are much larger represented) intensify our curiosity about Festa's possible relationship with Florence and give us another argument for speculating about it.

¹⁷ *MGG* (1955), s.v. "Festa, Costanzo," by Knud Jeppesen.

¹⁸ *New Grove*, s.v. "Festa, Costanzo," by James Haar.

the Piedmont rather than France.¹⁹ Lowinsky's speculation about Festa's sojourn in France around 1514 and 1515, at the death of Anne of Brittany and Louis XII, made him move Festa's time in Ischia to 1509. Neither Crawford nor Lowinsky gave any hard evidence to support their arguments. Still there seems to be more evidence of Festa's sojourn on the island of Ischia. In his two counterpoints, as Agee demonstrated, Festa used *sogetti cavati* on the names of King Ferdinand (d. 1516) and Queen Isabella of Spain (d. 1504).²⁰ More intriguing is the use of *soggetto cavato* of Vittoria Colonna, Italian noblewoman and poet, who was for centuries considered as Italy's most famous woman writer. Born in the early 1490s, at the age of three she was betrothed to Ferrante Francesco d'Avalos, the Marquis of Pescara.²¹ They married in 1509. Like the Colonnas, d'Avalos had strong ties with Spain and the Empire. From the beginning she led an intellectual life. Fiora A. Bassanese writes that

the couple lived in Naples, often at their princely residence on the island of Ischia, where the Marchesa Vittoria held court, enjoying the company of notable intellectuals and artists like the poets Jacopo Sannazaro, Bernardo Tasso, and Cariteo. The young Colonna was celebrated for her intellect, taste, and virtue. She soon tried her hand at composing poems, as was the social custom, but did not publish any for decades.²²

¹⁹ Crawford, "A Review", 108. Agee in "Costanzo Festa's *Gradus ad Parnassum*," *Early Music History* 15 (1996): 1-58, esp. 15 posits that Festa appears to have spent some time on the island of Ischia between 1510 and 1517.

²⁰ See Counterpoint 104 in Costanzo Festa, *Counterpoints*, 206-207.

²¹ In different studies of Vittoria Colonna the date of her birth is given either 1490 or 1492; Abigail Brundin in *Vittoria Colonna and the Spiritual Poetics of the Italian Reformation* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 19, writes that Colonna was born in 1490 or possibly in 1492; Fiora A. Bassanese gives only 1490 as the date of Colonna's birth in "Vittoria Colonna, 1492-1547," in *Italian Women Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook*, ed. Rinaldina Russell (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 85.

²² Bassanese, "Vittoria Colonna, 1492-1547," 85.

Agee suggests that Festa might have met Colonna, this famous Italian poet, a friend of Castiglione and Michelangelo, in Rome since she was a regular visitor to the city and often participated in the meetings of the intellectual and literary circles there.²³ A question arises: why can we not speculate that they met on Ischia? Of course we do not have any strong evidence to support it, but we know that Festa might have spent some time on Ischia between 1510 and 1517, and that Colonna married in 1509 and lived there until 1512 when her husband, together with his father-in-law, Fabrizio Colonna, joined the imperial league against the French and left for Ravenna.²⁴ We do not know anything certain about Colonna's life until 1520, when she seems to have met Pietro Bembo and Baldassare Castiglione in Rome. This permits us to speculate that she might have stayed on Ischia up to 1520. If so, she and Festa might have met each other there and it might have been Colonna who made Festa leave for Rome in 1517.

As was said elsewhere, Festa joined the choir of the Sistine Chapel in 1517 and remained in papal service until his death on 10 April 1545. He was buried in the church of Santa Maria in Transportina. In a papal document of April 10, 1545, Festa was referred to as *musicus eccelentissimus et cantor egregius vita functus est*, while on the title page of his *Magnificat. Tutti gli otto toni, a quattro voci* (Venice: Scotto, 1554) as *gia maestro della capella, et musica di Roma*; the latter is the only evidence that Festa might have been *maestro di capella*.

²³ Agee in "Costanzo Festa's *Gradus ad Parnassum*," 18.

²⁴ Brundin, *Vittoria Colonna*, 20.

It seems obvious that as a papal composer and singer Costanzo Festa was obliged to write sacred music not only to satisfy popes' personal preferences but first of all to fulfill the need of famous papal musical institutions—the Cappella Sistina and Cappella Giulia.²⁵ His music seems to have been of great significance in the repertory of these two institutions. Jeffrey Dean points out that of 295 pieces found in the repertory of the Cappella Giulia between around 1559 and 1566, 137 are by three composers, Carpentras, Festa, and Morales, who were all members of the Cappella Sistina. Most of liturgical polyphony—settings of the Magnificats, Passions, Lamentations, and hymns performed by the two choirs—was written by these three Vatican composers. Indeed, it is striking that the repertory of the Cappella Giulia during that time contains sixty compositions by Festa while for example Palestrina is represented there by five and Josquin des Prez by only ten pieces.²⁶ Carpentras's, Festa's, and Morales's focus on sacred music, especially liturgical polyphony, seems to have been the direct result of the requirements they had to

²⁵ Manuscripts of both these institutions contain Festa's works. The first Festa works in the Cappella Giulia's repertory can be found in the manuscript VatG XII.2. The other three important sources for Festa's music in the Cappella Giulia are CG XII.4, XII.5, and XII.6. The most important Cappella Sistina manuscript and the major source for Festa's motets is VatS 20; it contains eleven works attributed to Festa. Seven others appear anonymously, but because they are attributed to him in other sources they are also assigned to him. Main suggests that since the collection might have been entirely devoted to Festa it might be assumed that the rest of the anonymous motets in this manuscript were written by Festa. On this basis, Festa's *Opera Omnia* contains thirty-four of thirty-five works from the manuscript. On the repertory of both institutions and Festa's works included there, see Mitchell P. Brauner, "Music from the Cappella Sistina at the Cappella Giulia," *Journal of Musicology* 3 (1984): 287-311; and Jeffrey J. Dean, "The Repertory of the Cappella Giulia in the 1560s," *JAMS* 41 (1988): 465-490. On the content of VatS 18, see *Costanzo Festa: Opera Omnia*, ed. Albert Seay (American Institute of Musicology, 1977), 3:vii and volume 5 published in 1979, xi.

²⁶ Jeffrey J. Dean, "The Repertory of the Cappella Giulia in the 1560s," 482-483 and 487-488; see also Mitchell P. Brauner, "Traditions in the Repertory of the Papal Choir in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 167-174, esp. 173.

meet as papal composers.²⁷ Obviously this does not imply that only papal composers had such obligations;²⁸ the point is that unlike the previous generation of composers—who mainly wrote masses and motets—Carpentras, Festa, and later Morales were the first ones whose *oeuvre* contains significant number of polyphonic settings of liturgical texts for the Office. This was due to the circumstances in which the composers found themselves. Richard Sherr suggests that Leo X did not choose Carpentras to write sacred music as such but had a special project for him in mind.

What the pope inspired (or ordered) his *maestro di cappella* [Carpentras] to write were not the great mass settings that Leo himself preferred, or elaborate motets, but music of a much “humble” yet more useful, and for that reason perhaps even more valued, kind: polyphonic settings of liturgical texts appropriate, not for the great celebration of the papal majesty (the mass), but for the Office, the liturgical services that constituted the day-to-day devotions [...] The pope wanted a coherent body of music for these services, that he told Carpentras to compose not merely one or two settings but large cycles of related compositions, for the bulk of Carpentras’s work consists (besides a few motet-like settings of entire psalms—also connected to the Office, of course) of cycles of hymns and Magnificats to be sung at the daily office of Vespers, as well as complete polyphonic settings of the Lamentations of Jeremiah. Carpentras was, in fact, the first composer in a long time to have produced cycles like these.²⁹

²⁷ In the dedication to his Hymns Carpentras admits that after having become *maestro di cappella* in Leo X’s service in Rome in 1513, he exclusively dedicated himself to writing sacred music. A few samples of secular music might have been written when the composer was still employed under Louis XII; see *Elziarii Geneti (Carpentras): Opera Omnia*, ed. Albert Seay, vol. 3 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1972), x and xiii; Richard Sherr, “Ceremonies for Holy Week, Papal Commissions, and Madness (?) in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome,” in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 391-403, esp. 395-6. During Morales’s sojourn in Rome between 1535 and 1545 his sixteen masses were published by Dorico (1544) and Magnificats (1545), see *New Grove*, s.v. “Morales, Cristóbal de,” by Robert Stevenson and Alejandro Enrique Planchart. Besides sacred music Festa wrote many madrigals.

²⁸ For example composers also connected with the French court, such as Antoine de Févin, Claudin de Sermisy, Jean Mouton, and Jean Richafort, seem to have been obliged regularly to provide music intended for performance during liturgical worship in the French royal chapel. This can be determined from the content of at least a few books of liturgical polyphony published between 1534 and 1539 by Attaignant; see David Brobeck, “Some ‘Liturgical Motets,’” 123-157.

²⁹ Sherr, “Ceremonies for Holy Week,” 396.

Surely Costanzo Festa must have encountered similar kinds of commissions, first in Leo's and then in other popes' service. Such conclusions can be drawn in the light of the growing inclination among Roman composers at the time for writing this kind of music. The very peak of this vogue was reached in Palestrina's output, in which the number of settings of Magnificats, Lamentations, and hymns is on an unprecedented scale. The duty of providing specific type of music for the Cappella Sistina and Cappella Giulia did not of course distract the composers from writing motets. Festa wrote more than sixty motets.³⁰ Some of them possess features of liturgical works, while the purpose of others is at least ambiguous.

³⁰ According to the list of the motets in *New Grove*, Festa wrote around sixty-three motets; see *New Grove*, s.v. "Festa, Costanzo," by James Haar. In Festa's complete edition there are sixty-two motets, as it does not include *Maria virgo praescripta/Angeli, Archangeli/Salve sancta Parens*. This motet appears incomplete in the manuscript SGallS 463 (only S, A, and Vagans). Antico published the work anonymously in *Motetti novi libro tertio* of 1520. On the motet and its modern edition, see *The Motet Books of Andrea Antico*, ed. Martin Picker, *Monuments of Renaissance Music* 8 (Chicago: The University Chicago Press: 1987), 48-50 and 311-319. It must be yet remembered that some of the motets listed in *New Grove* and *Opera Omnia* are dubious or are attributed to other composers in other sources.

Chapter 3

Festa and the Bitextual Motet

In the first part of this study the focus shall be on the three motets by Festa that belong to a category of bitextual motets. Before we get to the analysis of individual works, though, a brief historical introduction needs to be made about the origin of this type of work. The tradition of using a cantus firmus based on separate text in a motet was very prominent during the sixteenth century. In general, many of these motets can be labeled as ceremonial or state compositions intended for official and significant events.¹ They are often set to liturgical, paraliturgical, and devotional texts, but some are settings of secular texts.

The idea itself, however, of using two or even more texts for delivering a special, sometimes symbolic meaning or message does not seem to be of Renaissance origin. Some of the early motets from the thirteenth century were characterized by the use of some portion of plainsong in the tenor while the two parts composed above carried the texts troping the words of the chant.² In general, the texts for upper voice (or voices) might be either in Latin or French, but usually both duplum and triplum were in the same language. Examples of such works can be found in the Montpellier Codex and the Bamberg Codex, the largest manuscripts of thirteenth-century polyphony. They contain

¹ For the study of some selected works, see Albert Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette, 1480-1555* (Utrecht: A. Oostkoek's Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1970). See also Joshua Rifkin's review this book in *Notes* 28 (1972): 425-429.

² There is no room in this study to deal more specifically with the types of motet, the types of text, and the differences between, for example, motets composed on the Continent and in England during that time; for a comprehensive study of the latter problem, see Peter M. Lefferts, *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1986), esp. 3-8.

polytextual motets with texts which, although at first glance they appear to be at odds with one another in meaning, after careful examination seem not only to complement one another but also create unity in terms of textual meaning and musical setting.³

The writing of such compositions was also cultivated in the fourteenth century. Of Machaut's twenty-three motets, for example, four are written for four voices and the rest are for three. Three motets use French secular tenors while the remaining ones are only provided with incipits suggesting their chant derivation. Six of the motets have Latin texts; two are with Latin duplum and French triplum; in the remaining ones the upper voices are in French.⁴ Anne Walters Robertson showed in a compelling study that Machaut's first seventeen motets, mainly French-texted, are tied up with one another by a hidden spiritual message. Inspired by mystical literature of his time, Machaut may have chosen the *Horologium sapientiae* (*Wisdom's Watch upon the Hours*) written by the Swiss-German mystic Henry Suso in 1334, as a model for the order of his motets. According to Robertson, Suso's steps in spiritual journey may have helped the composer to make the choice of the tenors and themes of the motets. Indeed, the analogy between the phrases from Suso's writings and some of tenors from Machaut's motets is striking. In addition, the texts of the upper voices seem to have been chosen from the passages of courtly language in such a way as to echo the texts from Suso's *Horologium sapientiae*. Thus the texts of the upper voices—interpreted allegorically—are sort of a gloss or

³ For a discussion of some selected works from the manuscripts and their meaning; see David Rothenberg, "The Marian Symbolism of Spring, ca. 1200-ca. 1500: Two Case Studies," *JAMS* 59 (2006): 319-398 at 323-354. On understanding of such works appearing in the polyphony of thirteenth century, see also Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*.

⁴ For list of Machaut's motets and distinction made between the vernacular and bilingual motets, see Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*, 79-82.

meditation on the theme of the tenor.⁵ This practice used by the composers of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century motets seems to have been reflected in the theoretical writing of the contemporary theorist Egidius de Murino, who suggested that a choice of particular antiphon for the tenor voice should be made in a special way: “first take the Tenor from some antiphon or responsory or another chant from the antiphonal, and the words should concord with the matter of which you wish to make the motet.”⁶ Constructed in such a way, the fourteenth-century isorhythmic motet, based on repeating rhythms and melodies, enabled composers to deliver ideas and the meaning of the text in a symbolic way. Toward the end of the fourteenth century the motet became, as Peter Lefferts calls it, “a vehicle for propaganda and political ceremony.”⁷ Celebrating great political events and honoring great people—kings, churchmen, professors—this new kind of motet became quite popular; perhaps its most eminent exponent was Johannes Ciconia, the author of eight such motets.⁸ And the tradition continued with the works of Guillaume Dufay: most of Dufay’s great isorhythmic motets were also intended for special occasions or to honor important people. For example, *Ecclesie militantis Roma sedes* was written to honor Pope

⁵ Ibid., esp. 79-102.

⁶ Catherine Saucier uses this quote after D. Leech-Wilkinson in her “Acclaiming Advent and *Adventus* in Johannes Brassart’s Motet for Frederick III,” *Early Music History* 27 (2008): 137-179 at 146. Indeed, this approach was often used even in the fifteenth century, which can be seen for example in some of Dufay’s works.

⁷ Lefferts, *The Motet in England*, 186.

⁸ Two other motets are found anonymously but are probably by him. Ciconia was born in Liège in 1370s. He probably came to Italy in the 1390s, first to Rome and then by 1401 to Padua, where he was employed in the cathedral there. He died in 1412; see *New Grove*, s.v. “Ciconia, Johannes,” by Margaret Bent. Italian motet composers of the period are mostly anonymous; however, Marchetto da Padova is known to be a composer of one motet. Also, it is possible that Landini might be one of these composers; see Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 96.

Eugene IV⁹ and *Supremum est mortalibus bonum* for a peace treaty between the pope and Sigismund, the Holy Roman Emperor on 31 May 1431. That most famous motet, *Nuper rosarum flores*, was commissioned for the ceremony of dedication of the Florence cathedral, Santa Maria del Fiore, on 25 March 1436.¹⁰

I think that in the thirteenth and for the most of the fourteenth century the motet was solely meant to convey certain theological and spiritual meanings; by combining the language of secular love songs with liturgical or devotional language, the motet became a place where two worlds met—sacrum and profanum. Besides works in which words only served as indicators to some allegorical meaning and implied references to extra-musical context, there also began to be composed motets intended for special occasions. The texts of these works can be interpreted in a literal fashion. In consequence, I think, the bitextual motets in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were meant partly as sacred paraliturgical works for one occasion but also as literal or devotional works that could be performed many times. Discussing Isaac's motet *Angeli archangeli*, David Rothenberg concludes that

as a motet for the Assumption of the Virgin, one must resist the temptation to associate it too closely with the Feast of the Assumption on August 15 or with any other specific historical occasion to which its composition may have been linked. Instead, one should conclude only that it was a splendid motet appropriate for performance on any occasion when veneration of the Virgin or of the heavenly community of saints was desired.¹¹

⁹ It was suggested that the motet had been written for the coronation of Gabriele Condulmer as the pope in 1431, see David Fallows, *Dufay* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1982), 112.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹¹ David Rothenberg, "Angels, Archangels, and a Women in Distress, the Meaning of Isaac's *Angeli archangeli*," *Journal of Musicology* 21 (2004): 514-78 at 519-20.

Around the middle-to late fifteenth century Johannes Regis seems to have initiated the writing of five-voice motets in which the Tenor played a central structural role.¹² Richard Sherr says that

these works provided the general structural model adopted by Josquin's generation, particularly in the matter of large form, and in the notion that the fifth voice should be a *cantus prius factus*. The younger composers made their own contributions, of course; they added the idea that the fifth voice might be produced canonically or might be drawn from secular music or even solmization syllables, and they tended to reject Regis's habit of eventually integrating the Tenor into the contrapuntal complex, treating it more consistently as a slow moving *cantus firmus*.¹³

The five-voice tenor motet seems to have been quickly adopted in the papal chapel in the late 1480s and 1490s, first taken over by such composers as De Orto, Weerbeke, Vaqueras, and Josquin, and later pretty well cultivated by the next generations of composers.¹⁴ Most of the motets written in Regis's style have two parts, the first in *tempus perfectum*, the second in *tempus imperfectum diminutum*; the fifth voice (the Tenor) is drawn from chant, and is not derived by canon; the entry of the Tenor is delayed by an introduction (a shifting three-voice texture, often extensive duets); in the first part the Tenor remains separate from the other voices, which usually have wide-spanned melodic lines with complicated rhythms and some use of sequences.¹⁵

¹² Ockeghem's *Intemerata dei mater* is also scored for five voices but its tenor voice is mixed up with other voices unlike in the works of composers of Josquin's generation. Five-voice motets with the tenor in long note values placed between two upper and two lower voices are sometimes called *axial-tenor motets* (or motets with an axial *cantus firmus*).

¹³ Richard Sherr, "Illibata Dei Virgo Nutrix and Josquin's Roman Style," *JAMS* 41 (1988): 434-64 at 435.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 443.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 444.

In the context of the study of the sixteenth-century motet, Edward Lowinsky commented that the practice of employing two texts in the motet “seems inspired less by considerations of construction than by the composer’s desire to express a fundamental thought in relation to his main text.”¹⁶ I think that another reason why composers of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries would use differently texted cantus firmus in motets might be related to the function of the particular motet. In general, the polyphonic setting of a liturgical text could be mainly performed in a liturgical context, namely, at the appropriate place during liturgy, or as a devotional work. Obviously this enables a motet to be performed more than just once. On the other hand, motets based on the same text but with separate text in a cantus firmus may have been intended for a specific occasion and performed probably only once, or limited number of times. By combining two different texts, sometimes derived from two (and more) different sources, composers made the meaning of a work more specific and relevant to the occasion for which it was intended. Thus, it is interesting that some of such works, e.g. Festa’s *Deus venerunt gentes* and *Exaltabo te*, known as probably occasional works, that were first copied into the manuscript RomeV 35-40, also appear in a later compiled manuscript VatS 20. What the reason of their presence in the Vatican manuscript was is hard to say.¹⁷ In a study of

¹⁶ Edward E. Lowinsky, “A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome,” *JAMS* 3 (1950): 173-232 at 175.

¹⁷ In the Medici Codex of 1518 there are four works by Festa: *Deduc me, Domine*, *Angelus ad pastores ait*, *Super flumina Babylonis*, and *Regina caeli*. Of all the four works only *Super flumina Babylonis* does not appear in the Vatican manuscripts. *Angelus ad pastores ait*, for example, is included in compiled around the same time manuscript VatG XII. 2 (c. 1518-21); *Deduc me, Domine* is found in VatS 20; *Regina caeli* in VatG XII. 4 and VatS 46. As the member of the Cappella Sistina, Festa may have had an influence or even supervised the inclusion of these three motets into the Vatican manuscripts but for some reason left out *Super flumina Babylonis*. As a funeral and strictly occasional motet, this piece may not have been considered as appropriate to be included in the Vatican manuscripts (obviously it might be just a pure coincidence that the motet is not included there). On the other hand, works like *Deus venerunt gentes*,

Compère's *Sola caret monstris*, a motet with an unusually obscure text, copied into the manuscript MS Cappella Sistina 42, Jeffrey Dean makes an interesting point (I think relevant to the issue discussed here) that "polyphonic music sung by the choir of the papal chapel was somehow their property, and not necessarily an important part, or even part at all, of the papal liturgy. Composed polyphony was probably in greatest use when the singers sang outside the papal court or when they sang the daily office and Mass without the pope or cardinals present."¹⁸ This would imply that on important occasions when the pope was present, the liturgy may have consisted only of chant and improvised counterpoint.

Dean says that "it is hard to understand why the papal singers had Compère's piece copied and performed it."¹⁹ Indeed, this musical utterance against Pope Julius II would seem to be the last piece to expect in the Cappella Sistina repertoire, but as Dean also points out, this motet may have been used by some of the singers who were of French origin to satirize their employer behind his back on behalf of Louis XII.²⁰ This

Exaltabo te, Ecce advenit dominator, considered as occasional works as well, found their way into the Vatican manuscript. This would mean that some such works for some reasons were intended to be reused and thus were inserted in the Vatican manuscripts, but others not. I shall also return to this problem in the context of study of the motet *Dominator caelorum*.

¹⁸ Jeffrey Dean, "The occasion of Compère's *Sola caret monstris*: A Case Study in Historical Interpretation," *Musica Disciplina* 40 (1986): 99-133 at 129-130.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 129.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 130. One might wonder how pieces such as the latter reached the collection of the Cappella Sistina—it is known that musicians circulated music and by their contacts and acquaintances they may have come into possession of such works. This point is made by Barbara Hagg in "Du Fay and Josquin at the Collegiate Church of St. Gudila," *Revue belge de musicologie* 55 (2001): 41-52 at 46-48, where she talks about Josquin's music in the collegiate church of St. Gudila in Brussels and about the possible way it was brought there.

Dean suggests that Compère's motet may have come to Rome in 1507 when Louis brought all his singers across the Alps with him. Granted a short leave, Compère may have made a pilgrimage to Rome

would suggest that the singers may have maintained two more or less separate groups of works: an official one, copied for the choir's use during liturgical ceremonies, and a more motley unofficial collection of occasional works written for one performance only (e.g. Festa's *Ecce advenit dominator*)²¹ and works representing the singers' own private musical taste and literary predilections (e.g. Compère's *Sola caret monstis*).²²

As was already said, writing bitextual tenor motets was also cultivated in the sixteenth century, now sometimes greatly enriched by adding a six voice. Josquin's two intriguing six-voice motets—*Ave nobilissima creatura* and *Huc me sydero*, based on very similar plainchant melodies—the first motet on *Benedicta tu* and the second on *Plangent eum* respectively—are a reflection of this widespread tradition.²³ Thomas Schmidt-Beste

and showed his motet to his colleagues at the Papal Chapel, see Dean, "The Occasion of Compère's *Sola caret monstis*," 128-29.

²¹ Probably written for the coronation of Charles V in Bologna in 1530, this motet is preserved in VatS 20 and, as Thomas Schmidt-Beste points out (in Klaus Pietschmann, "A Motet by Costanzo Festa for the Coronation of Charles V," *Journal of Musicological Research* 21(2002): 319-54 at 326 n. 16), in Civitanova Marche, Biblioteca Comunale, Mss. s.s. (I) dated between 1550 and 1560. As was already said about the motet in general and its function—some of such motets, particularly with para or non-liturgical texts, were performed before the pope in his private chambers.

²² It needs to be emphasized, nevertheless, that this motet with a liturgical cantus firmus (*Videns Jacob*, the responsory proper to Matins of the third Sunday in Lent) may have continued to be performed during Lent as its transmission shows. For more details, see Dean, "The Occasion of Compère's *Sola caret monstis*," 110. My doubt about Dean's suggestion is that the context (Compère's motet is found between works intended to be performed during Lent) and that the interpolated rehearsal marks do not seem to be, in my opinion, enough premises to consider the work as being performed in the liturgical context of Lent; the fact that it contains rehearsal marks might easily mean that it was performed/rehearsed but not that it was performed in a specific context.

²³ Some of the scholars propose the two works to be considered as a pair, see Willem Elders, "Zusammenhänge zwischen den Motetten *Ave nobilissima creatura* und *Huc me sydero* von Josquin des Prez," *TVNM* 22 (1971): 67-73. Although it was suggested by Jeremy Noble in *New Grove*, s.v. "Josquin des Prez," that the sixth voice of the motet *Huc me sydero* (originally written for five voices) may have been added by Josquin to make the motet complementary companion to *Ave nobilissima creatura*, some other scholars expressed doubts about the origin of the sixth voice as it may not have been added by Josquin himself, see John Milsom, "Motets for Five or More Voices," in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 281-320 at 287 and n. 21. Only *Huc me sydero* appears in the Vatican manuscripts—in VatS 45.

points out that the composers of the papal chapel, such as Andreas de Silva and Costanzo Festa, stuck to this tradition “in a time when this texture had long gone out of fashion in the rest of Italy, or all of Europe for that matter.”²⁴ Obviously it does not mean that the composers at some point dropped writing bitextual tenor motets altogether. What it probably implies is that because it was considered as archaizing or old, this tradition began to fade but did not die out. The truth is that alongside the more homophonic and often polychoral works, the tradition of writing cantus-firmus motets seems to have been cultivated even toward the end of the sixteenth century.²⁵ Orlando di Lasso, certainly one of the leading progressive composers of the second half of the sixteenth century, also wrote motets with the text of the cantus firmus separated from the rest of the voices. James Haar points out that “the employment of separately texted cantus firmi in [Lasso’s] motets was not a reference to Busnoys or Ockeghem—though possibly if indirectly to Josquin—but imitation of a practice he had observed in the music of Willaert and Rore and of Franco-Netherlandish composers being published in Antwerp and Louvain at the same time as he was beginning his own career print.”²⁶

²⁴ Thomas Schmidt-Beste, “A Dying Art: Canonic Inscriptions and Canonic Techniques in the Sixteenth-Century Papal Chapel Repertory,” in *Canons and Canonic Techniques, 14th and 16th centuries: Theory, Practice, and Reception History*, ed. Katelijne Schiltz and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Leuven: Peeters Publishers and Booksellers, 2007), 339-356 at 340. How popular this tradition was among composers, it is worth mentioning here the Vallicelliana manuscript, a Roman-Florentine anthology of 1530-32, that contains many bitextual motets written by composers directly or indirectly related to the Capella Sistina—Andreas de Silva, Festa, Verdelot, Conseil, and Willaert, see the table in Lowinsky, “A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript,” 206-22.

²⁵ Schmidt-Beste, “A Dying Art,” 341.

²⁶ James Haar, “Lasso as Historicist: The Cantus-Firmus Motets,” in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999): 265-85 at 266.

There are a few types of a fixed melody with a different text used in the tenor motets.

1. One type is a motto-ostinato, namely a motive of a few notes repeated over and over throughout the work in one voice, usually in the tenor. As John Milsom notes, mottoes are uncommon in the works of the fifteenth century and it was probably Josquin who began to use them as foundation.²⁷ Although Josquin's five-voice motet *Salve regina* does not belong to the bitextual category, it is well known for the use of a four-note motive on the word *Salve* repeated twenty-four times in total in the course of the entire work. Another example work, the six-voice motet *Exaltata est sancta Dei genitrix* by Morales, has a motto in the second soprano on the words *Virgo prudentissima* repeated fourteen times throughout the two-part work.²⁸

2. Another type is the *soggetto cavato*, in which the cantus firmus is derived from the solmization syllables corresponding to a given word or name. In Josquin's *Illibata Dei Virgo nutrix* a three-note *soggetto cavato*-ostinato on *la mi la* is associated with the name *Maria*; there are three statements of this cantus firmus-motto in the first part and twenty-six in the second part.

3. The third type uses a textual-melodic phrase (thus relatively longer than a motto) taken from the plainchant, and because of its length, repeated fewer times throughout a work. Josquin's *Ave nobilissima creatura* is a good specimen: its foundation

²⁷ For comprehensive analysis of the work, see John Milsom, "Analysing Josquin," in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 431-84. Josquin also uses a motto in his *Illibata Dei Virgo nutrix*, *Miserrere mei, Deus*, and the *Missa Hercules dux Ferraria*.

²⁸ For its edition, see *Cristóbal de Morales: Opera omnia*, ed. Higinio Anglés (Rome: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953), 13: 174-83.

plainchant melody *Benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui* is quoted once in the first part and twice in the second part. The same number of statements of textual-melodic phrase *Plangent eum quasi unigenitum quia innocens Dominus occisus est* appears in his motet *Huc me sydereo*.

4. A fourth type, similar to the third, is the cantus firmus derived from a secular song. Compère's motet *Omnium bonorum plena*, probably composed around 1470, takes its tenor from the famous Hayne van Ghizeghem rondeau *De tous biens plaine*, for reasons that are somewhat unclear except that the opening words of the motet and the song mean the same thing.²⁹ The well-known Josquin motet *Stabat mater dolorosa/Comme femme desconfortée* combines two disparate texts—a sacred sequence and a courtly chanson. Although the motet juxtaposes two texts of such different derivation, a theme of a woman who is in distress, pain, and in mourning resonates from both of the texts as they complement each other very well. Heinrich Isaac's motet *Angeli archangeli* is based on the text from the liturgy of the Feast of All Saints but a cantus firmus is drawn from the same chanson as Josquin's motet, *Comme femme desconfortée*, attributed to Binchois. This motet shows how puzzling and difficult it can be to decipher the correct meaning of the composition. Long supposed to be a motet for All Saints, *Angeli archangeli* has recently been suggested rather as a motet for the Assumption of the Virgin, largely on the strength of the association of *Comme femme desconfortée* with Josquin's motet and other Marian compositions.³⁰ David Rothenberg states that although

²⁹ For the latest study of the work, see Joshua Rifkin, "Compère, "Des Pres," and the Choirmasters of Cambrai: *Omnium bonorum plena* Reconsidered," *Acta Musicologica* 81 (2009): 55-73, and David Fallows, *Josquin* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2009), 25-29.

³⁰ Rothenberg, "Angels, Archangels, and a Women in Distress," 514-78.

the main text of *Angeli archangeli* only addresses the community of saints and does not mention Mary, her presence in the motet was yet intended by using Binchois's chanson in the tenor voice, in which the distraught woman seems to represent Mary; thus however absent from the both motet texts, symbolically she is there and plays a prominent role.

In Costanzo Festa's *oeuvre* there are around seventeen works that can be classified as bitextual motets (see Table 1). Of the four types of the cantus firmus listed above only 1 and 3 are used in his motets (the third type plays a predominant role); none of the motets uses a secular song and *soggetto cavato*.

Table 1. Bitextual Motets by Costanzo Festa		
Motet	Cantus firmus	Category
1. <i>Deus venerunt gentes</i> (5vv.)	<i>Effunde iram tuam</i> (in I part) <i>Adiuva nos</i> (in II part)	3
2. <i>Dominator caelorum</i> (5vv.)*	<i>Da pacem Domine</i> (antiphon; LU: 1867-68)	3
3. <i>Ecce advenit dominator</i> (6vv.)	<i>Christus vincit</i>	1
4. <i>Ecce iste venit</i> (6vv.)	<i>Magnificat</i> , I tone (LU: 207)	3
5. <i>Exaltabo te</i> (6vv.)	Canticle of Zachary, part of <i>Cum iucunditate</i>	3
6. <i>Florentia</i> (5vv.)	Lamentation formula (<i>Florentia, Florentia convertere</i>)	3
7. <i>Gaude felix ecclesia</i> (6vv.)*	<i>Virgo Dei genitrix</i>	1/3
8. <i>Inclitae sanctae virginis Catharinae</i> (5vv.)	<i>Veni sponsa Christi</i> (antiphon; LU: 1214)	3
9. <i>In illo tempore</i> (5vv.)	Part of the hymn <i>Ave maris stella</i> (LU: 1259-1260)	3
10. <i>Jezu Nazarene</i> (5vv.)	First strophe of the hymn <i>Vexilla Regis</i> (LU: 575-76)	3
11. <i>Maria virgo praescripta</i> (5vv.)	<i>Angeli, archangeli</i> (antiphon; LU: 1721-22) <i>Salve sancta Parens</i> (the opening words of several Introids)	3
12. <i>O altitudo divitiarum</i> (6vv.)*	<i>Da pacem Domine</i> (antiphon; LU: 1867-68)	3
13. <i>O lux et decus</i> (5vv.)	<i>O beate Jacobe</i>	3
14. <i>Pater noster</i> (6vv.)	<i>Ave Maria... benedicta tu</i> (antiphon; LU: 1861)	3
15. <i>Sancto disponente spiritu</i> (5vv.)	<i>Quia vidisti me</i> (antiphon; LU: 1326)	3
16. <i>Super flumina Babylonis</i> (5vv.)	Part of <i>Dies irae</i> (sequence; LU: 1810-13)	3
17. <i>Vidi speciosam</i> (6vv.)	<i>Assumpta est Maria</i> (antiphon; LU: 1606)	3

* Doubtful works

As is seen from the table, the preferred category of the cantus firmus used by Festa is a textual-melodic phrase (3), in most cases much longer than a motto. For instance, in the motet *Pater noster*, where a cantus firmus is drawn from the antiphon *Ave Maria...benedicta tu*, a cantus firmus appears only once throughout the work. Festa does not yet use the well-known modern version of the *Ave Maria* (LU: 1861) prayer which reads as follows:

Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum
Benedicta tu in mulieribus
Et benedictus fructus ventris tui Jesus

Sancta Maria, Mater Dei
Ora pro nobis peccatoribus
Nunc et in hora mortis nostrae. Amen.

but the variant very popular among Renaissance composers and used by Josquin in his famous six-voice *Pater noster-Ave Maria*.³¹ The text goes as follows:

Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum,
Benedicta tu in mulieribus
Et benedictus fructus ventris tui Jesus

Sancta Maria, Regina caeli,
Sancta et pia, o Mater Dei,
Ora pro nobis peccatoribus,
ut cum electis te videamus.³²

³¹ On variants of the *Ave Maria* used in Renaissance, see Daniel E. Freeman, "On the Origins of the *Pater Noster-Ave Maria* of Josquin des Prez," *Musica Disciplina* 45 (1991): 169-219. For the list of composers who used this variant of the *Ave Maria*, see *ibid.*, 202-203.

³² Festa uses the words *Ut in electis te videamus*, see his *Opera omnia*, 4: 55-56. . I did not find another setting of the *Ave Maria* with such a change. I suppose that it might be a scribal's error or editor's mistake.

Likewise in the motet *In illo tempore*, in which the first strophe of the hymn *Ave maris stella* is used as a cantus firmus, the composer presents it only once in the Tenor I. In a slightly different way the composer employs a cantus firmus based on the antiphon *Assumpta est Maria* in the motet *Vidi speciosam*, as the textual-musical phrase *Assumpta est Maria in caelum, gaudent angeli, laudantes benedicunt Dominum* is repeated twice in each of the two *partes*. In the one-part motet *Jesu Nazarene*, a cantus firmus is drawn from the hymn *Vexilla regis*, from its first strophe:³³

Vexilla regis prodeunt,
fulget crucis mysterium,
quo carne carnis conditor
suspensus est patibulo.

Only once Festa did employ a motto as a structural foundation of a work. In the motet *Ecce advenit dominator*, the formula *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat*, coming from the *Laudes regiae*—an element of the liturgy for the coronation of an emperor—is stated five times in the tenor. The whole cantus firmus is based on the repetition of these three invocations separated by rests. The first two invocations are set to the same four-note melodic motive while the third one has the motive extended by two notes preceded by the leap of the fifth down.

The table shows what a prominent role the bitextual motet played in Festa's output. I think that this may be partially due to the fact that as a member of the papal chapel, and the most prominent composer, Festa was obliged to write para-liturgical and

³³ The hymn by Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers (born c. 530-40, died c. 600) is assigned, according to the Roman Breviary, to Vespers from the Saturday before Passion Sunday daily to Maundy Thursday and to Vespers of feasts of the Holy Cross.

occasional works for specific ceremonies. He carried out his duties like many other composers at that time, who served the church or their patrons. Some of these works did not necessarily have to be commissioned by the Pope himself. Works like *Deus venerunt gentes*, *Exaltabo*, and *Super flumina Babylonis*, for example, could have been Festa's personal reaction to the events these works probably refer to.

Chapter 4

Super flumina Babylonis

The first of the three polytextual motets by Costanzo Festa discussed here is his *Super flumina Babylonis*, which appears as an unicum in the Medici Codex of 1518. In the introduction to the edition of the manuscript, Edward Lowinsky suggested that the motet may have been written for the death of Louis XII (1462-1515).¹ This hypothesis has not been questioned in the years since, possibly because of Lowinsky's authority and a general lack of intense debate about Festa. In most writings on the problem scholars either agreed with Lowinsky's argument or, after their own investigation, came to similar conclusions. Alexander Main made a reinterpretation of the contexts from which the verses were extracted. His final conclusion was that Lowinsky's "interpretation is internally consistent, true to the biblical contexts, and entirely appropriate to the political situation of the French at the time of the King Louis's death. Undoubtedly, then, this was the occasion for which Festa composed the motet. And thus it is virtually certain that in January of 1515 Festa was in the service of the French court."² In the commentary on the motet in Festa's *Opera omnia* Albert Seay assumed that "all polemics [concerning Festa's motet] do not affect the overall assumption that the motet was probably composed

¹ *The Medici Codex of 1518: A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 1:42-51 and 228-9; also Edward E. Lowinsky, "On the Presentation and Interpretation of Evidence: Another Review of Costanzo Festa's Biography," *JAMS* 30 (1977): 106-28, esp. 118-9.

I will only refer to the first volume of the former publication—the Historical Introduction and Commentary.

² Alexander Main, "Maximilian's Second-Hand Funeral Motet," *Musical Quarterly* 48 (1962): 173-89, esp. 179-85.

as a work commemorative of Louis XII's death."³ The first to present some arguments against Lowinsky's idea was David Crawford. He pointed out that Festa was not at the French court as he is not present in the expense accounts for the funeral of Louis XII, while other Italian singers appear there. Thus it does not seem probable, according to him, that it was Louis XII for whom the motet was written.⁴ In the overview of Festa's biography, Richard Agee seems to agree with Crawford's argumentation that says that Lowinsky's hypothesis concerning Festa's motet was based on the "questionable hypothesis that the Medici Codex was compiled at the French court. Yet within the circumstantial world Lowinsky constructed, not a shred of firm evidence can be found for time Festa may have spent in France."⁵ The idea that the motet may have been written for a different person was first suggested by Martin Staehelin in a review of the Medici Codex published in 1980. According to him, the motet does not have any indication about any political figure for whom it may have been composed. It would seem rather impossible that the name of the king would not be included in the text as, for example, it appears in Festa's motet on Anne of Brittany. Instead, Staehelin suggested that the motet may have been composed for Heinrich Isaac.⁶

³ Albert Seay, ed., *Costanzo Festa. Opera Omnia* (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1979), 5: xvii.

⁴ David Crawford, "A Review of Costanzo Festa's Biography," *JAMS* 28 (1975): 102-11, esp. 106-7.

⁵ Costanzo Festa, *Counterpoints on a cantus firmus*, ed. Richard J. Agee, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance* 107 (A-R Editions: Madison, 1997), viii.

⁶ Martin Staehelin, "Review," *JAMS* 33 (1980): 581.

For almost one year of independent research I was not aware of Staehelin's review, which is not well represented in the bibliographies of Festa.⁷ When I finally found it, I was gratified to see that Staehelin was in agreement with many of the observations I had made on my own, and I believe I am now in a position to support his observations and even add some new insights to the discussion. But first we must return to Lowinsky's line of argumentation.

Lowinsky's key argument to consider Festa's motet as a lament for King Louis was a selection of the verses from the Bible that put together go as follows.⁸

Super flumina Babylonis illic sedimus et flevimus, in salicibus suspendimus organa nostra. Versa est in luctum citara nostra et organum nostrum in voce flentium. Vox musicorum conversa est in lamentum. Tibia canentium, vox citaredorum et sonitus et sonitus citatarum tuarum non audietur amplius quia in salicibus suspendimus.

On the rivers of Babylon there we sat and wept. On the poplars we hung our instruments. Our harp turned to mourning and our organ to the voice of them that weep. The voice of music turned to lamentation. The sound of flutes, the voice of minstrels, the sounds of your harps, shall not be heard any longer, for on the poplars we hung our instruments.⁹

Lowinsky showed that the biblical contexts from which the verses for the motet were selected can be interpreted as a comment on the situation at the French court and

⁷ Interestingly, Staehelin's review is not listed in the bibliography for Festa in *New Grove*. Moreover, the suggestion that the composition may have been written for the death of Louis XII in 1515 also appears in *New Grove*, s.v. "Festa, Costanzo," by James Haar.

⁸ *The Medici Codex*, 42-51; Main, "Maximilian's Second-Hand Funeral Motet," 173-89, esp. 179-85.

⁹ Translation is adapted from *The Medici Codex*, 42.

can refer to the circumstances in which Mary of Brittany found herself.¹⁰ Lowinsky pointed out that the four verses of the text of *Super flumina Babylonis*, compiled from different parts of the Bible, were chosen by Festa “with great deliberation and wit, [and that he] selected the biblical quotations in such a manner that they would concord not only in the expression of mourning, but also in weaving a contextual fabric, fitting the verses tightly into the framework of the extraordinarily complex events surrounding the death of the French monarch.”¹¹ The reason why Festa changed some biblical verses, Lowinsky went on, was that the composer “probably wished to express the mourning of the musicians of Louis XII.”¹² Lowinsky’s hypothesis seems plausible, but he provides no conclusive proof that the work was really meant as a funeral motet for Louis XII.

My suggestion that Festa’s *Super flumina Babylonis* may have been composed as a *déploration* for the death of Heinrich Isaac (b. 1450-55 and d. 26 March 1517) is based on the relationship between Isaac and the Medicis, and also on a possible relationship between Isaac and Festa.¹³

¹⁰ According to Lowinsky, Festa uses the same means of combining biblical verses in his motet *Florentia tempus est penitentiae*; another two Festa motets, *Deus venerunt gentes* and *Exaltabo te*, using the texts of Psalm 78 and 29, refer to the other historical events; see Edward E. Lowinsky, “The Medici Codex: A Document of Music, Art, and Politics in the Renaissance,” *Annales Musicologiques* 5 (1957): 92-3, but esp. 112-17; Edward E. Lowinsky, “A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome,” *JAMS* 3 (1950): 173-232, esp. 179-82.

¹¹ *The Medici Codex*, 43.

¹² *Ibid.*, 46-47.

¹³ Martin Staehelin in his review of the Medici Codex suggested that the motet may have been meant for Isaac, with whom Festa may have come into contact in Florence. He gives some arguments for this which I shall also use in this study and which shall even help to strengthen my case; see Staehelin, “Review,” 581-82. My interpretation of *Super flumina Babylonis* is made from different angle. Because we do not have any evidence about the relationship between the composers in Florence, I suggest that the motet may have been composed in Rome after Isaac’s death in 1517.

Heinrich Isaac seems to have spent much of his adult life in Florence,¹⁴ first as a singer at the baptistery of St. Giovanni from 1485, and then also as a composer to Lorenzo de' Medici (1449-92).¹⁵ In Florentine documents, Isaac is interchangeably called *composer*, *magister*, or *professor musices*.¹⁶ From c.1484 to 1492 Isaac was a music teacher in the Medici household to Lorenzo's sons, Piero and Giovanni.¹⁷ Lorenzo himself was a great music lover. We know that he was a singer as well as an instrumentalist and that he had a collection of musical instruments—organs, other

¹⁴ For a long time it was believed that after Isaac had signed the contract with Maximilian I in 1497 and left for Austria he appeared in Florence sporadically. Frank D'Accone, nevertheless, clearly showed that the composer was still linked with Florence despite being employed in the service of Maximilian (he possessed a house and had business relationships in Florence as well as made provisions for himself); see Frank D'Accone, "Heinrich Isaac in Florence: New and Unpublished Documents," *Musical Quarterly* 49 (1963): 464-83: Yet in light of the new documents, Isaac seems to have resided in Florence for longer periods of time than it used to be supposed. This conclusion was drawn on the basis of the records of the Confraternity of Saint Barbara in Florence to which Isaac made the first payment in 1502. Later the composer paid his dues systematically himself until 1507, and then from 1509 or 1510 until his death. For the latest excellent study of Isaac's life and his relationship with Florence during his employment with Maximilian I, see Giovanni Zanovello, "Heinrich Isaac, The Mass *Misericordias Domini*, and Music in Late-Fifteenth-Century Florence," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2005), esp. 29-99, about Isaac and the Florentine confraternity of Saint Barbara, 50-61; see also the chronology of Isaac's life, 187-91.

¹⁵ Frank D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence During 15th Century," *JAMS* 14 (1961): 307-58, esp. 339-46. Isaac may have arrived in Florence sometime around late fall of 1484 as "he is recorded as having passed through Innsbruck on his way south during the middle of September of that year", see D'Accone, "Heinrich Isaac in Florence," 465-66; see also Howard M. Brown, *Music in the Renaissance*, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1976), 165-66. The correspondence of the members of the *brighata*, the Florentine social group of friends belonging to the patriciate, written between 1487 and 1489, reveals that Isaac was involved in the musical activities of the group and was closely related to Lorenzo de' Medici's musical circles during that time; see Blake Wilson, "Heinrich Isaac among the Florentines," *Journal of Musicology* 23 (2006): 97-152. About Isaac as Lorenzo's composer, see *ibid.*, 126-27.

¹⁶ Giovanni Zanovello, "Heinrich Isaac," 74-81, on the term *professore* in reference to Isaac, see esp. 77-78. For the general meaning of the word *composer*, see Rob Wegman, "From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450-1500," *JAMS* 49 (1996): 409-79, esp. 428-39; and Blake Wilson, "Heinrich Isaac," 125 and n. 69.

¹⁷ André Pirro, "Leo X and Music," *Musical Quarterly* 21 (1935): 1; D'Accone, "Heinrich Isaac in Florence," 466; Willem Elders, *Symbolic Scores: Studies in the Music of the Renaissance* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 128.

keyboard instruments, lutes, violas, a harp, and several bagpipes.¹⁸ Giovanni, later Pope Leo X, too, had a fine musical background; he composed, sang, played the lute and harpsichord, and probably possessed a collection of the instruments.¹⁹ During his pontificate it was well known that he employed many musicians whose responsibility was to play and sing during meals and every time the pope wanted to hear the music.²⁰ According to the documents these musicians were called *cantores et musici secreti*.²¹ Leo was also famous for his generosity towards the artists, especially musicians, who thus “flocked to Rome during Leo’s papacy.”²²

¹⁸ *New Grove*, s.v. “Medici,” by Frank D’Accone. Lorenzo also collected other objects such as coins, hardstone vases, and gems; see Laurie Fusco and Gino Corti, *Lorenzo de’ Medici: Collector and Antiquarian* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

¹⁹ D’Accone, “Heinrich Isaac in Florence,” 466. In Pirro’s article “Leo X and Music,” 1-16, esp. 1 and 15, we find the following description of Giovanni (Leo X): “Giovanni possessed an agreeable voice and had known how to sing since childhood. He had doubtless received instruction from the Fleming, Heinrich Isaac.” And further “*Piffari*, bagpipes, two cornetts, viols and a lute, the small organ so “varied of voice” (“tanto variato de voce”) which the Cardinal of Aragon had given to Leo X, a singer accompanied by a flutist all were heard in succession.” Leo also seems to have kept some instrument in his chamber (*organo di alabastro?*). “[Leo] was a thoroughly trained musician, as is shown by a few of his extant compositions, and his knowledge of music theory reputedly was exceeded only by his love of musical performance, both his own – he was a lutenist and also played the harpsichord – that of others, particularly of the famous Jewish lutenist Gian Maria Giudeo, whom he later annobled, and the lutenist-composer Francesco da Milano.”; see *New Grove*, s.v. “Medici,” by Frank D’Accone. On the variety of the instruments used by Leo’s musicians and on the richness of musical life at his court, see Bonnie J. Blackburn, “Music and Festivities at the Court of Leo X: A Venetian View,” *Early Music History* 11 (1992): 1-37. Gustave Reese says that the training Leo received from Isaac “enabled him to write with the skill of a cultivated amateur. He incorporated the tenor of Colinet de Lannoy’s *Cela sans plus* into a smoothly written setting *a 5*”; see Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, revised edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1959), 286; see also Anthony M. Cummings, *The Politicized Muse: Music for Medici Festivals, 1512-1537* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press: 1992), esp. 12-14, and Wilson, “Heinrich Isaac,” 135.

²⁰ Jeremy Noble, “The Function of Josquin’s Motets,” *TVNM* 35 (1986): 9-22 at 10.

²¹ Blackburn, “Music and Festivities,” 5-10.

²² *Ibid.*, 24. Lowinsky quotes Vincenzo Galilei, who in his treatise (Ms. Anteriori Galilei, vol. I, f. 138v.) mentions that during Leo X’s pontificate in 1513 many famous *contrapuntisti* came to Rome, such

Between 1497 and 1515, so for around twenty years, Isaac was employed as court composer to Maximilian I in Vienna.²³ But even then Isaac seems to have stayed in touch with Florence and the Medici household as the records from the Florentine Confraternity of Saint Barbara indicate.²⁴

During his time in Florence, Isaac wrote many works, vocal as well as instrumental, mostly preserved in Florentine sources, of which at least a few were written to commemorate some important events and were dedicated to the Medicis.²⁵ One of the most characteristic, because very much related to the Medicis, was a textless piece *Palle, palle*, whose name comes from the six golden balls found in the Medici crest.²⁶ For the death of Lorenzo on 8 April 1492 Isaac composed a motet *Quis dabit capiti meo aquam?*²⁷ In 1513 he wrote the motet *Optime divino/Da pacem/Sacerdos et pontifex*

as Josquin des Prez, Lupus, Mouton, Carpentras, Andreas de Silva, Févin, Antoine Brumel, Richafort, and Divitis; see Edward E. Lowinsky, "A Newly Discovered," 178-9; *Antonius Divitis: Collected Works*, ed. B. N. Nugent, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance* 94 (Madison, Wis.: A-R Editions, 1993), xiv; Yet there is no evidence whether all of them came to Rome in 1513, or whether they came at all.

²³ Giovanni Zanovello suggested that after 1502 Isaac's position at the Habsburg court may have begun to resemble a honorary and unpaid appointment; see Zanovello, "Heinrich Isaac," 67. On Maximilian and his musical patronage, see Louise Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 113-59 and 191-224; Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 518-24; *New Grove*, s.v. "Habsburg," by Martin Picker.

²⁴ See n. 14.

²⁵ One of the most important sources for Isaac's works related to the Medici family is manuscript FlorBN II.I.232. For its description and a list of works included there, see, Anthony M. Cummings, "A Florentine Sacred Repertory from the Medici Restoration," *Acta Musicologica* 55 (1983): 267-332.

²⁶ Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 170. On the meaning of *palle*, see Marica S. Tacconi, "Appropriating the Instruments of Worship: The 1512 Medici Restoration and the Florentine Cathedral Choirbooks," *Renaissance Quarterly* 56 (2003): 349-50 and *Cathedral and Civic Ritual in Late Medieval and Renaissance Florence: The Service Books of Santa Maria del Fiore* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), esp. 187-8; Allan W. Atlas, "Heinrich Isaac's *Palle, Palle*: A New Interpretation," *Analecta Musicologica* 14 (1974): 17-25.

²⁷ Allan W. Atlas, "A Note on Isaac's *Quis dabit capiti meo aquam*," *JAMS* 27 (1974): 103-110; idem, "Communication," *JAMS* 28 (1975): 565-566; Martin Staehelin, "Communication," *JAMS* 28 (1975):

celebrating a visit of the imperial emissary Cardinal Matthäus Lang to Pope Leo X.²⁸ This motet, based on a double cantus firmus taken from two antiphons, was not only intended as occasional composition; it also delivers the message of peace the election of Leo X was expected to bring to Renaissance Romans.²⁹ Leo's correspondence with his nephew, Lorenzo, shows clearly that the Medicis had a great respect for the composer and were concerned about Isaac's affairs.³⁰ The letter of May 10, 1514 to Lorenzo, written on behalf of Leo by his younger brother Giuliano, proves how much the Medici favored and endorsed Isaac. I provide the letter here in full:

160; Richard Taruskin, "Setting an Old Score: A Note on Contrafactum in Isaac's Lorenzo Lament," *Current Musicology* 21 (1976): 83-92; Zanovello, "Heinrich Isaac," 106 and 111; see also commentary on the piece in *Ottaviano Petrucci: Motetti De Passione*, ed. Warren Drake, 64-66 and 289-95;

²⁸ *New Grove*, s.v. "Isaac, Henricus," by Reinhard Strohm.

²⁹ Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 300.

³⁰ D'Accone, "Heinrich Isaac in Florence," 464-83, esp. 472-75.

Magnificent Lord and Honored Nephew!

I understand that Maestro Henrico Isaac, a musician and an old servant of our House, is back there again, and because he is old and has a wife and children there, he would like to settle down and stay if some provision were to be made for him. And since *I wish to gratify him as much as I possibly can, out of consideration for his faithful service of many years – dating from the time of our father – and, no less, for his worthy talents, I pray Your Magnificent Lordship, for these reasons and for your love of me, to be kind to him and do everything possible so that a provision be made him.* He had [such a provision] at one time as a singer of San Giovanni, and it could now be drawn from the same source. Any favor and benefit you do him will be worthily placed in a deserving person. You could not do anything that I would appreciate more, I commend myself to you.

From the Apostolic Palace at Rome, on the tenth day of May, 1514.

Giuliano de' Medici³¹

The direct result of the letter was Isaac's employment as provost of the chapter of Florence Cathedral the same month. The motet *Quid retribuam tibi, O Leo* of 1514 was a sign of Isaac's gratitude to the Pope for his support and recommendation. What strikes one in the letter, at first glance, is the high esteem Isaac was held in by Leo and the remaining members of the Medici family. D'Accone says that

the concern that Leo displayed for Isaac's welfare in later years also points to a close bond between the two. And that bond undoubtedly has its roots in the days when Leo, still under the paternal roof, had received encouragement in his musical aspirations and a thorough training as well from the foreigner so esteemed by his father.³²

³¹ Translation by D'Accone in "Heinrich Isaac in Florence," 473; italics mine.

³² *Ibid.*, 466.

Undoubtedly, from the musical point of view Isaac's role in Florence was immense throughout his life—even after Lorenzo's death and own entry into Maximilian's service.³³ But we see from this brief overview of his stay in the city that his contribution goes beyond a musical one. His long service for the Medicis and great musical talent enabled him to win favor, first of Lorenzo and then of Leo. I think that the relationship between Isaac and the Medicis, based on respect and trust—this is clear from the letter quoted above —was something greater than mere acquaintance, especially where the relationship between Isaac and Leo is concerned.

Before we get to the point when Costanzo Festa comes to Rome we need to repeat some facts and review briefly his biography to understand the context in which *Super flumina Babylonis* may have been composed. Most of what we believe about Costanzo Festa's life before his arrival at Rome is speculation based on scanty information. According to Lockwood, it is likely that the composer was in some way connected with the Ferrarese court around early 1514: archival records from 1514 show that the composer was paid for some motets which were delivered to Antonio Collebaudi,³⁴ called "Bidon," soprano singer and composer, who "was recruited to join the Ferrarese chapel in

³³ Indeed Isaac's influence on and role in musical life in Florence seems to have been enormous. Zanovello says that "Isaac's music must have sounded everywhere in the city! [...] Isaac's integration in the city possibly progressed while his music gained popularity in so many different social situations. Arguably, the composer contributed significantly to the city's public rituals [...]: Isaac's music was heard during Masses, civic ceremonies, lauda singing, and Carnival. Definitely, Florentines had many uses for such a versatile composer; see Zanovello, "Heinrich Isaac," 33-34; Wilson puts it this way: "Isaac's secular music, it appears, enjoyed a wider circulation and greater popularity in Florence than we might have imagined"; see Wilson, "Heinrich Isaac," 128.

³⁴ Lewis Lockwood, "A Virtuoso Singer at Ferrara and Rome: The Case of Bidon," in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 226-7.

1502 and stayed in Ferrara until he was lured to Rome by Leo X in 1516.”³⁵ This document contradicts Lowinsky’s suggestion that Festa may have been in France in 1514;³⁶ in this case Lowinsky’s argument was based on the fact that like other composers of the French court—Jean Mouton and Pierre Moulu³⁷—Festa wrote a lament *Quis dabit oculis nostris* for Anne of Brittany, Queen of France, who died on January 9, 1514. Moreover, it seems certain that Festa was not at the French court during the funeral of Louis XII in January, 1515, since, as noted above, his name does not appear in the expense account.³⁸ The question arises: would he then have written *Super flumina Babylonis* for the death of a French king? If such composers as Jean Mouton, Antoine Divitis and Claudin de Sermisy,³⁹ known to have served under Louis XII and attended his obsequies and funeral, did not express their grief at the king’s death, why would Festa do this?

Of course it cannot be excluded that Festa could not have spent some time in France later, by the end of 1515. Leeman Perkins points out that during the meeting between Leo X and Francis in Bologna in December of 1515, the Pope may have attempted to recruit Festa for his chapel. If Leo was successful and managed to convince

³⁵ *New Grove*, s.v. “Bidon, Antonio,” by Richard Sherr.

³⁶ Lowinsky gives several arguments to support his thesis that Festa might have studied and served in the chapel of Louis XII and Francis I, see *The Medici Codex*, 48-50.

³⁷ Mouton’s work is almost identical with Festa’s one. Both works set the same words and resemble each other musically, see Main, “Maximilian’s Second-Hand Funeral Motet,” 173-89. Moulu lamented the death of Anne of Brittany with his chanson-motet *Fiere attropos*, see *New Grove*, s.v. “Moulu, Pierre,”

³⁸ *The Medici Codex*, 51; Crawford, 106-7.

³⁹ These four composers were among twenty three musicians who performed for the funeral and obsequies of Louis XII, see John T. Brobeck, “Musical Patronage in the Royal Chapel of France under Francis I (r. 1515-1547),” *JAMS* 48 (1995): 187-239, esp. 188.

Festa to serve in his chapel at that time, it may have been Festa who brought some amount of the music from France preserved in choirbooks of the Sistine Chapel and printed in Antico's music books of 1520 and 1521.⁴⁰ And there is still another option: in light of Lockwood's assumption that Festa may have been a link between the Pope and the Ferrarese court in 1514, it is reasonable to suppose that he could have been active in Rome but was not a member of the papal institutions and thus his name does not appear in any papal records at that time. This hypothesis is not unreasonable if one considers the fact that one *Fors seulement* setting by an Italian composer whose name is still unknown was in Cardinal Ippolito's musical interest at that time. If this *Fors seulement* was by Festa (his setting is lost) it would indicate that his music was circulating in Rome around 1514 and that the composer may have stayed there.⁴¹

When Heinrich Isaac died on March 26, 1517, in Florence, Costanzo Festa may have already been in the service of the Medici Pope, Leo X, or he may have arrived in Rome sometime after Isaac's death.⁴² If Festa was not familiar with Isaac's music before he came to Rome, he would certainly have had plenty of experience with the music while

⁴⁰ Leeman L. Perkins, "Review of The Medici Codex of 1518, a Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino by Edward E. Lowinsky," *Musical Quarterly* 55 (1969): 255-69 at 264.

⁴¹ Lewis Lockwood, "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel: New Evidence on French Music and Musicians in Italy, 1505-1520," *JAMS* 32 (1979): 217-9.

⁴² The document, usually cited as proof that Festa was employed in the papal chapel in 1517, is the papal breve of November 1, 1517, in which Festa is named a "Costantio Festa clerico Taurinensi diocesis" (cleric from the diocese of Turin). Lowinsky points out that the phrase "qui in capella nostra cantor capellanus ac continuus commensalis noster existis" does not necessarily have to mean that Festa was a member of the papal chapel at the time when this document was issued, see Lowinsky, "On the Presentation and Interpretation of Evidence," 107-112. The papal document was first published by Herman-Walther Frey in "Regesten zur päpstlichen Kapelle unter Leo X. und zu seiner Privatkanzlei," *Die Musikforschung* 8 (1955): 64-65; since it cannot be proved when exactly Festa arrived in Rome, it is assumed that he came sometime in 1517.

he was there: Isaac's motet *Angeli archangeli* was copied into VatS 46 between 1517 and 1519 and used by the Sistine Chapel throughout the sixteenth century, and in fact it also contains three motets by Festa himself.⁴³ The manuscript VatG XIII. 27, copied in Florence between 1492 and 1494 for Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours (1479-1516), the youngest son of Lorenzo de' Medici, was probably sent to Rome around 1513 and later passed to Pope Leo X. This source contains twelve compositions by Isaac,⁴⁴ of which the lament *Quis dabit capiti meo aquam* for Lorenzo de' Medici is probably the most famous.⁴⁵ In the source VatS 26 (c. 1515-21) there is *Missa Et in terra pax* (4vv.) in which the Gloria is attributed to Isaac while other movements were written by Costanzo Festa.⁴⁶ In addition, Main and Richard Agee point out that both composers, Festa and Isaac, wrote rare specimens of quodlibet masses and compositions on the *La Spagna* melody.⁴⁷

⁴³ David Rothenberg brilliantly shows that Isaac's *Angeli archangeli* is a Marian motet, not, as used to be assumed, for the Feast of All Saints. In Antico's *Motetti novi libro tertio* of 1520 there is an anonymous motet *Maria Virgo, prescripta/Angeli, Archangeli/Salve sancta Parens* attributed to Costanzo Festa from SGallS 463. In my opinion, the intriguing aspect of Festa's work is, as in Isaac's motet, the use of *Angeli, Archangeli* antiphon for All Saints in the Marian context. This does not only prove Rothenberg's thesis about how Isaac's motet was understood, but also suggests that since Isaac's motet is found in the manuscript VatS 46, it may have been inspiration for Festa's; on the Isaac's motet, see David Rothenberg, "Angels, Archangels, and a Women in Distress: the Meaning of Isaac's *Angeli archangeli*," *Journal of Musicology* 21 (2004): 514-78; for Festa's motet, see *The Motet Books of Andrea Antico* ed. Martin Picker (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 48-50 and 311-18.

⁴⁴ *Census-Catalogue*, 4:18-19.

⁴⁵ The other two sources for this motet are CorBC 95-6 and FlorBN II.I.232. Both were copied in Florence; see *Census-Catalogue*, 1:166-167 and 1:216.

⁴⁶ Isaac is a composer of a paraphrase setting of a Gloria plainchant while Festa composed three other movements based on Isaac's setting, see Alexander Main, ed., *Costanzo Festa. Opera Omnia* (n.p. American Institute of Musicology, 1962), vii.

⁴⁷ Alexander Main, "Costanzo Festa: The Masses and Motets," (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1960), 15-17; *Costanzo Festa: Counterpoints on a Cantus Firmus*, ed. Richard J. Agee, vii.

Now let us go back to the text of the motet and its interpretation. It does not seem unreasonable that the biblical verses may have been extracted, with no intention other than to assemble a biblical text dealing with music and lamentation.⁴⁸ If one reads the extracted verses without referring to their contexts, one immediately gets an impression that they talk about the music which was once joyful but now *turned to mourning*. *The voice of music turned to lamentation, the sound of flutes, the voice of minstrels, the sounds of your harps, shall not be heard any longer*, because *you* are not with *us* any more. *We* had to put aside our instruments (we had to give up singing and playing) because *you* will never compose anything else for *us*. Obviously *you* here may mean Heinrich Isaac. But who are *we*? Festa comes to our mind as the first. As was shown, he may have known Isaac through his music and through Leo X, or may have known him personally as his student in Florence. By *we* Festa means himself, his patron Leo X, and Lorenzo, the future receiver of the Medici Codex, and, of course, by extension, all musicians.

There is one important thing I would like to stress which has been missed so far because, I think, most of scholars dealing with the motet have been influenced by the interpretation of Lowinsky and Main. The text of *Super flumina Babylonis* is not a standard fragment of the scripture or liturgy (like *De profundis*), nor a specially written poem, whether humanistic (like *Nymphes de bois*) biblically inspired (like *Quis dabit capiti meo aquam*), but a group of disparate Bible verses that have in common only that

⁴⁸ Main, "Maximilian's Second-Hand Funeral Motet," 179.

they are about *musicians* in mourning and *one musician* whose instrument, his music will not be heard any more. Martin Staehelin points out that

it would [...] seem curious that Festa's text, if it were really meant for the death of a king, should give such exclusive prominence to music; Festa's lament for Anne of Brittany does not underline the musical aspect to the same extent. To infer, as does Lowinsky, from this emphasis on the music element that it is a musician mourning for his patron does not appear fully convincing. Yet this emphasis could indicate an entirely different occasion for the piece.⁴⁹

Super flumina Babylonis is undoubtedly a funeral motet. The cantus firmus from the last two lines of the *Dies irae*—*Pie Jesu Domine, dona ei requiem*—turns it to lament. The same material, the text and melody of the *Pie Jesu*, was also used by Ockeghem in the tenor part in the end of his *Déploration sur la mort de Binchois, Mort tu as navré de ton dart*.⁵⁰ Festa quotes two phrases—*Pie Jesu Domine/dona eis requiem* twice in the tenor voice, and every time the intervals of the tune are almost exactly the same except for slight changes at the end. The second repetition ends with the words *sempiternam. Amen*.⁵¹ Also, the combination of the two first blocks of the texts that Festa extracted from the Bible—the first two verses of Psalm 136 and of Job 30:31—appear to

⁴⁹ Staehelin, "Review," 581.

⁵⁰ Ockeghem's work is found in two extant sources: DijBM 517 and MC 871. The latter manuscript is the main source for the music at the Aragonese court in Naples. Besides Ockeghem's works, it also contains compositions by Pietro Oriola, Johannes Cornago, and Loyset Compère. The manuscript MC 871 dates from the 1480s.; see *New Grove*, s.v. "Naples,"; Rebecca L. Gerber, "External Influences on Spanish Composers' Musical Styles Between 1450 and 1500," *Revista de Musicología* 16 (1993): 1499-1504. The manuscript was probably compiled at the Benedictine monastery of Sant' Angelo at Gaeta. It stayed there until the early sixteenth century; see Allan Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 120-121.

⁵¹ Staehelin points out that there is similarity in treatment of a cantus firmus between Festa's work and Isaac's *Quis dabit capiti meo aquam*; like Festa, who used only the last line of the *Dies irae* as a cantus firmus, *Pie Jesu Domine, dona ei requiem sempiternam*, Isaac in his lament for Lorenzo de' Medici also used only a final line, *Et requiescamus in pace* from the antiphon *Salva nos* as a cantus firmus; see Staehelin, "Review," 581-2. On the use of the chant melody from the antiphon *Salva nos* in Isaac's lament and *Missa Salva nos*, see idem, "Communication," 160.

have been viewed as texts associated with the mourning or the liturgy for the dead. For instance, the same two verses of Psalm 136 were used for the Palestrina motet *Super flumina Babylonis*, which in some early studies of the composer's *oeuvre* is associated with the death of the composer's wife on July 21, 1580.⁵² The text from Job—*Versa est in luctum*—was one of the responsories used in the Cartusian Office of the Dead.⁵³

There is yet another clue, hitherto unnoticed, which might indicate that indeed *Super flumina Babylonis* was intended as a funeral motet; the opening phrase of Festa's motet is reminiscent of an initial melodic motive of the offertory *Super flumina Babylonis*, assigned to Sunday XX after Pentecost, whose text is from Psalm 136 (Festa's quotations only concerns a few first notes).⁵⁴

⁵² Henry Davey, "Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina," *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 25 (1898-99): 54-55; *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina: Le Opere Complete*, ed. R. Casimiri and others 11 (Rome, 1941): ix. It is well known that the death of Palestrina's wife was not the only tragedy by which Palestrina was touched in the time. Due to the outbreak of plague between 1572 and 1581 Palestrina still lost his brother Silla (in 1572), his sons Rodolfo and Angelo (in 1572 and 1575), see *New Grove*, s.v. "Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da," by Lewis Lockwood, Noel O'Regan, and Jessie Ann Owens. There are a few other settings of the verses of the Psalm *Super flumina Babylonis* by Benedictus Appenzeller, Nicolas Gombert, Johannes de la Fage, Orlando di Lasso, Philippe de Monte, and Tomás Luis de Victoria.

⁵³ Knud Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* (Aarhus, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1993), 223. The other composers of the settings of *Versa est in luctum*: one setting are anonymous (RISM 1547⁵), Alonso Lobo, and Tomás Luis de Victoria (part of *Missa pro defunctis* of 1605).

⁵⁴ *LU*, 1065. David Hiley points out that the Sunday may vary between sources; see his *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 129-130. The text of the offertory comes from Psalm 136, which appears on a Thursday in Lent, see Ruth Steiner, "Some questions about the Gregorian Offertories and Their Verses," *JAMS* 19 (1966): 162-181 at 179-180. The offertory consists of only the first verse while Festa used the first two verses of the psalm.

Example 1. The offertory *Super flumina Babylonis*, LU pp. 1065

Offert.
1.

S Uper flúmi- na * Baby- ló-
nis, il-lic sé-di- mus, et flé- vi- mus,
dum recorda-ré- mur tú- i, Sí-on.

The image shows a musical score for a voice part. It consists of five staves of music. The first staff begins with the word 'S' in a large, decorative font, followed by the lyrics 'Uper flúmi- na * Baby- ló-'. The second staff continues with 'nis, il-lic sé-di- mus, et flé- vi- mus,'. The third staff continues with 'dum recorda-ré- mur tú- i, Sí-on.'. The fourth and fifth staves show the continuation of the melody, ending with a double bar line. The music is written in a style typical of a 16th-century manuscript, with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat).

**Example 2. Costanzo Festa—*Super flumina Babylonis*, the opening phrase.
(adapted from *Opera omnia*)**

Su per flu mi na Ba by lo Ba by

Su per flu mi na Ba by lo nis

Su

Su per flu mi na

lo nis il lic se di

Ba by lo nis il lic se

per flu mi na Ba by lo nis

Ba by lo nis

The idea that this short phrase may have inspired Festa and may have been derived from the offertory may be supported by the preceding text of the reading from St. John (4, 46-53). The story is about the miracle of Jesus healing a nobleman's son from Capernaum. When Jesus came to Cana in Galilee, a nobleman asked Jesus twice to come

and heal his son, who was in Capernaum. Jesus told the man that his son would live and go home. The man believed Jesus, without seeing any change, or demanding that Jesus see his son in person. On his way home, his servants met him on the way to tell him that the boy was fine. The nobleman asked them what time of day he had improved, and it turned out to be the same hour Jesus had declared that he was healthy. What is clear from the story is that the nobleman's faith was rewarded and his son was healed by Christ.

Later in Gospel of John (5: 24 and 25), Jesus says

Very truly, I tell you, anyone who hears my word and believes him who sent me *has eternal life*, and does not come under judgment, but has passed *from death to life*. Very truly, I tell you, the hour is coming, and is now here, when the dead will hear the voice of the Son of God, and those who hear will live.⁵⁵

In order to understand why Festa may have “marked” the opening of the motet with the short initial phrase from the offertory, and by doing this may have referred to the verse from John, we need to turn for a while to Isaac's concern with his future and death. Giovanni Zanovello points out that in the years between 1499 and 1504 Isaac began to be concerned about his death.⁵⁶ “He took a number of steps we can see as a preparation for his old age and death: he signed the contract with the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, joined the Confraternity of Saint Barbara, and had the first of his testaments drawn.”⁵⁷ This concern seems to have become more intense in the years preceding his death in

⁵⁵ *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books*, New Revised Standard Version, ed. Bruce M. Metzger and Roland E. Murphy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 126NT; italics mine.

⁵⁶ Zanovello, “Heinrich Isaac,” 87-99.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 87.

1517. In the three registered wills of 1502, 1512, and 1516 the composer specified the location of the burial place. He also expresses fear about his wife's financial situation after his death.⁵⁸ It was mentioned elsewhere that Isaac was ill for some time before his death. If Festa had indeed come into contact with Isaac as his pupil in Florence,⁵⁹ as Staehelin suggested, it would permit us to suppose that Festa may have known Isaac's spiritual struggle (although it is not specified in his testaments) like at least a few other people in the composer's life who helped him in his preparation for death.⁶⁰ Thus Festa's choice of the verses from Psalm 136 for the opening of the motet may have been intentional. Festa associated them with the offertory *Super flumina Babylonis* and the reading from St. John. Isaac's pursuit of eternal salvation is over now, as Christ, who is a giver of life—as it is seen in the story about healing of the nobleman's son—granted him eternal life.

At first glance it appears as if Festa's motet does not fit the classic and standard *déplorations*, as it lacks some attributes which other laments of this type contain.⁶¹ It does not have the planctus exclamation (e.g., *alas*), or classical imagery (goddesses, nymphs), classical characters that usually personify death, and strophic structure.⁶² But some

⁵⁸ D'Accone, "Heinrich Isaac in Florence," 475.

⁵⁹ Despite the lack of evidence that Festa might have spent some time in Florence before he came to Rome in 1517, there is yet some evidence or premises about Festa's later connection with the city. For more information, see above in the chapter on Festa's life.

⁶⁰ Zanovello, "Heinrich Isaac," 96-97.

⁶¹ A *Déploration* is a poem lamenting someone's death, and by extension, any musical setting of it. However, the term is now normally confined to late medieval and early Renaissance compositions inspired by a composer's death, see *New Grove*, s.v. "Déploration," by Davitt Maroney.

⁶² On the characteristics of *déplorations*, see Eric Rice, "Tradition and Imitation in Pierre Certon's *Déploration* for Claudin de Sermisy," *Revue de Musicologie* 85 (1999): 29-62.

characteristics that *Super flumina Babylonis* possesses permit us to identify the work with this kind of musical setting. Eric Rice says that *déplorations* “reveal relationships between the music of the honored composer and his devotees, since the pieces were written by students or followers of the deceased and were meant to function as musical monuments to them.”⁶³ If it was really Leo, Isaac’s pupil, who was the author of the text paying respect to his teacher, and Festa, who wrote the music as Isaac’s follower, then the motet would represent a typical lament written by the student and younger composer and would fit the *déploration* category.

Likewise, in other *déplorations*, where musicians/singers appear as one of, or the main characters of the text (e.g. in Andrieu’s *Armes, amours/O flour de flours*—“Priests, musicians, poets,” Josquin’s *Nymphes des bois*—“skilled singers,” Obrecht’s *Mille quingentis*—“choir of succentors,” Certon’s *déploration*—“Musicians, melodious singers”) in Festa’s work musicians are the only ones represented.⁶⁴ The presence of the twice recurring textual phrase *on the poplars we hung our instruments* reminds of some other *déplorations* where similar repetitions are employed (e.g. in Ockeghem’s *Mort tu as navré de ton dart* each strophe ends with the phrase *Prier pour l’ame*; in Andrieu’s setting, the text *La mort Machaut, le noble retorique* has the same function, and

⁶³ Ibid., 30.

⁶⁴ On Andrieu, see Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 53. On Josquin’s *Nymphes des bois*, see *The Medici Codex*, 213-17; Jaap van Benthem, “The Scoring of Josquin’s Secular Music,” *TVNM* 35 (1985): 67-96 at 69-72; John Milsom, “Motets for Five or More Voices,” 316-317; and Lawrence F. Bernstein, “Chansons for Five and Six Voices,” 393-396 in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). On Obrecht’s *Mille quingentis*, see Rob C. Wegman, “Music and Musicians at the Guild of Our Lady at Bergen op Zoom, c. 1470-1500,” *Early Music History* 9 (1989): 175-249 at 199-201; and idem, *Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 12-13, 22-25 and 368; Leofranc Holford-Strevens’s commentary on the pieces is in *ibid.*, 369-70; Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 487-488. On Certon, see *New Grove* (1980), s.v. “Certon, Pierre,” by Aimé Agnel.

according to Rice, could be interpreted as a recurring planctus).⁶⁵ But while in the others they play a structural function and a role of the refrain in the musical form, in Festa's motet, the second repetition of the phrase *on the poplars we hung our instruments* receives a new musical setting and was probably used for purely expressive purposes.

What conclusions can be drawn from this brief and general study of Festa's motet? During Leo X's pontificate, Medici patronage of music and musicians reached its apogee.⁶⁶ Leo—a music-lover, a singer, a lutenist, harpsichord player, a collector of instruments, and a man well trained in music theory—often participated in the concerts including both solo and ensemble performances.⁶⁷ Not only vocal but also instrumental music may have been well known to Leo.⁶⁸ D'Accone says that Isaac was Leo's favorite musician,⁶⁹ and this should not be surprising in light of what we have said about their relationship so far. If so, my suggestion is that it may have been Leo himself who chose the verses for Festa's motet *Super flumina Babylonis*,⁷⁰ or Festa may have done it

⁶⁵ Rice, "Tradition and Imitation," 34.

⁶⁶ *New Grove*, s.v. "Medici," by Frank D'Accone.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Isaac conceived many works without words probably as instrumental compositions; see Howard M. Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600. A Bibliography* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1965); *Heinrich Isaac. Weltliche Werke*, ed. Johannes Wolf, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 14/1, vol. 28 (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1959), 61-168. Leo must have known Antico's *Frottole intabulate da sonare organi* of 1516 which includes keyboard arrangements mostly of pieces by Tromboncino. The emblem of Pope Leo X on a page as a decoration on a harpsichord suggests that the publication was made under papal auspices, see *Encyclopédie de la Musique* ed. François Michel vol. 1 (Paris: Fasquelle, 1958), 280.

⁶⁹ *New Grove*, s.v. "Medici," by Frank D'Accone.

⁷⁰ That some popes may have inspired composers to write music, or that they even wrote the texts to which music was set was known in the Renaissance. It is known that Leo wrote a poem on the discovery of a statue of Lucretia among the ruins of the Transtevere; see William Roscoe, *The Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth* 2 vols. reprint (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853), 2:311, complete poem, 430. Richard Sherr suggests that Leo may have asked Andreas de Silva to write the motet *Gaude felix Florentia* for his

himself, or in consultation with the pope. The text of the motet might not have a symbolic meaning. Rather, it might refer to and depict the atmosphere of grief that musicians in Rome and Florence were experiencing after Isaac's death.

As long as there is no concrete proof throwing new light on Festa's life and his possible link with the French court, Lowinsky's excellent and thorough examination of and commentary on Festa's *Super flumina Babylonis* still remains a hypothesis. The lack of the name of a person for whom the lament was composed makes its interpretation still open to discussion and study. This study proposed another solution and made an attempt to show Festa's work from slightly different angle and in another context. If the motet was really composed by Festa to commemorate the death of Isaac, whose music Festa must have known and from which he may have learned, and if Leo X was involved in it, or at least played an inspirational role, *Super flumina Babylonis* could become another wonderful specimen of the *déploration* for a well-known composer.

coronation, see Richard Sherr, "The Medici Coat of Arms in a Motet for Leo X," *Early Music* 15 (1987): 31-35, esp. 35. Pope Sixtus IV seems to have composed a prayer *Ave sanctissima Maria* which was later set by many composers, see Bonnie J. Blackburn, "For Whom Do the Singers Sing?," *Early Music* 25 (1997): 593-609.

Chapter 5

Dominator caelorum

The five-voice motet *Dominator caelorum* is ascribed to Costanzo Festa only in the well-known Roman manuscript Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS Vall. S. Borr. E.II 55-60, probably copied in Florence between 1530 and 1531.¹ It is found there among four other motets by Festa.² In two other sources it is ascribed to Jean Conseil,³ and it is found with no composer's name in three others.⁴ Because of the authority of the Vallicelliana manuscript, the work is included in Festa's *Opera Omnia*.⁵

The Vallicelliana partbooks include a number of motets that refer to important political events; Edward Lowinsky has pointed out that at least a few of these motets constitute a true historical chronicle in music.⁶ For example, Festa's *Florentia* may have

¹ For description of the source and its contents, see Edward E. Lowinsky, "A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome," *JAMS* 3 (1950): 173-32; Although its Florentine provenance is generally accepted, Anne-Maria Bragard suggested that it might have been executed in Rome. On the origin of the manuscript, see *ibid.*, 195-196; for the overview of Lowinsky's and Bragard's interpretation, see H. Colin Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, 2 vols. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972), 1:56-65; see also *Census-Catalogue*, 3:119-20.

² The other four are *Florentia tempus est penitentia* (5vv.), *Deus venerunt gentes* (5vv.), *Laetemur omnes* (6vv.), and *Exaltabo te Domine* (6vv.).

³ RISM 1539⁸, no. 4 and BolC Q27, f. 46'; on the basis of these two sources the motet is attributed to Conseil in John T. Brobeck, "The Motet at the Court of Francis I," (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1991), 496.

⁴ FlorD 4, ff. 95'-99, PadBC D27, f. 79', *Meijer* partbook, ff. 77^v – 79. For the description of the last source, see Eric Jas, "A Sixteenth-Century Ferrarese Partbook from a Private Collection," *TVNM* 52 (2002): 35-65.

⁵ *Costanzo Festa: Opera Omnia*, ed. Albert Seay, 5: 120-126, for commentary on the motet, see xviii. Main considers the work as doubtful because of conflicting attributions, but he admits that it could be by Festa; see Alexander Main, "Costanzo Festa: The Masses and Motets," (Ph.D. diss., University of New York, 1960), 63.

⁶ Lowinsky, "A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript," 175.

been composed after the sack of Rome in 1527, when Florentines revolted and attempted to get rid of the ruling Medici family, or could refer to the siege of Florence between 1529 and 1530.⁷ Festa's setting of Psalm 78 might refer to the destruction and devastation of Rome during the so-called *sacco di Roma* while his *Exaltabo te domine* is believed to have been written for the agreement between pope Clement VII and Charles V, or later after the defeat of Florence.⁸ There is also a group of twenty-five compositions addressed to the Virgin Mary.⁹ Some of the other motets in the Vallicelliana manuscript may have been composed either to commemorate the memory of Girolamo Savonarola (1452-98)¹⁰

⁷ Ibid., 179-180. Richard Sherr, "Clement VII and the Golden Age of the Papal Choir," in *The Pontificate of Clement VII: History, Politics, Culture*, ed. Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryle E. Reiss (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2005), 246.

⁸ Lowinsky, "A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript," 180-82.

⁹ Willem Elders points out that the number of motets dedicated to Mary is much bigger than the number of motets commemorating Savonarola. He also observes that there is a group of motets by composers—Willaert and Jachet of Mantua – whose connection with Florence has not been traced yet. All this permits us to have doubts about a link of the manuscript with Florence; see Elders, *Symbolic Scores*, 82. But it is sufficient for the purpose of this study to state that the motets to the Virgin so largely represented in the Vallicelliana manuscript might be a reflection of the situation in which the Florentines found themselves between 1527 and 1530. From documents it is known that the Florentines sought help from the Virgin Mary in these times. For example, during a horrible epidemic of 1527 the Cardinal Archbishop ordered that all citizens should kneel in prayer at the sounding of the Ave Maria. On August, 18 the picture of the Madonna from Impruneta was brought to the city. It was solemnly greeted by the Signoria at the city gates who accompanied it to the Church of the Annunziata; see Cecil Roth, *The Last Florentine Republic* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1968), 75-76; the black image of the Virgin of the Impruneta was particularly venerated by the Florentines. Impruneta, a site of this miraculous picture, is around seven miles from the Porta Romana. Every time her help was needed she was brought to Florence. For example, in February 1499 "Our Lady was brought in order to inspire the Signoria to choose the correct political course and in October 1529 with the Republic under siege by Imperial forces, the government decided to bring in the Virgin, concerned first of all that such an important source of power not fall into the hands of the besiegers. She was smuggled past the enemy, through the suburbs and into the city. Solemnly met at the gate and accompanied to the cathedral, she was placed in the chapel of San Zanobi." See Richard C. Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience: The Sacred Image," *Studies in the Renaissance 19 (1972)*: 15-16. The Madonna of Impruneta was also brought to Florence on the election of Cardinal de' Medici as Leo X (March 11, 1513), see Melissa Mariam Bullard, *Strozzi and the Medici: Favor and Finance in the Sixteenth-Century Florence and Rome* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 72. It does not seem unreasonable to suggest that some of the Marian motets in the manuscript may have been inspired by the presence of the Virgin of Impruneta in Florence (e.g. some of Lhéritier's motets).

¹⁰ It was probably due to the fact that long after Savonarola's death his writings, sermons, and favorite psalms were still vividly remembered among the Florentines and their meaning and connotations

or to refer to the siege of Florence. Lowinsky suggests that seventeen of the ninety works in the manuscript may be linked with this tragic event for the city.¹¹ Interestingly enough, Festa's *Dominator caelorum* has never been included in any of these groups, nor was it even mentioned in Lowinsky's initial article about the manuscript.¹²

Of Festa's five motets in the Vallicelliana, only *Dominator caelorum* and *Florentia*¹³ do not have concordances with the manuscript Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Capella Sistina, VatS 20. The absence of *Dominator caelorum* and *Florentia* in RVat 20, the major source for Festa's motets, seems to be conspicuous and surprising. If it means that Festa himself did not provide these two motets to be included in the RVat 20 to Johannes Parvus, the main scribe for the Cappella Sistina, how then should *Dominator caelorum* be viewed?¹⁴ Lowinsky points out that

were of course easily associated with current political situations. On Savonarola's influence on music, see *ibid.*, 184-187; *Johannes Lhéritier: Opera Omnia*, ed. Leeman L. Perkins (n.p: American Institute of Musicology, 1969), xvii; Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, 1: 70-74; Patrick Macey, "Savonarola and the Sixteenth-Century Motet," *JAMS* 36 (1983): 422; Patrick Macey, "The Lauda and the Cult of Savonarola," *Renaissance Quarterly* 45 (1992): 439-83; Michele Fromson, "Themes of Exile in Willaert's *Musica Nova*," *JAMS* 47 (1994): 442-487, esp. 454-465; *Savonarolan Laude, Motets, and Anthems*, ed. Patrick Macey, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 116 (Medison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 1999), ix-xxi. The most comprehensive study of the problem is Patrick Macey, *Bonfire Songs: Savonarola's Musical Legacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

¹¹ Lowinsky, "A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript," 192.

¹² The reason for this is that Lowinsky's study was not intended to be a full account of the content of the Vallicelliana manuscript and thus some of the motets were omitted in discussion.

¹³ The work also appears in a few other sources. In TrevBC 36 the work is likewise with the text *Florentia tempus est penitentiae*; see Edward E. Lowinsky, "The Medici Codex: A Document of Music, Art, and Politics in the Renaissance," 113-114. In prints RISM 1537¹, 1538², 1539⁴, 1542⁴, 1559¹ there is a contrafactum of this work with the text *Hierusalem quae occidis prophetas*; see *Costanzo Festa: Opera Omnia*, xiii and xvii.

¹⁴ Brauner says that Festa himself provided Parvus with his best works for the books CS 18 and 20; see Mitchell P. Brauner, "Music from the Cappella Sistina at the Cappella Giulia," *Journal of Musicology* 3 (1984): 287-311 at 304-5. More about the attribution of the motet below.

the Sistine manuscripts written for the official use of the Papal Chapel tended in general to exclude works whose local and historical limitation was so obvious that their use was restricted to one occasion only. For this reason Festa's political message to Florence [the motet *Florentia tempus est penitentiae*] is not to be found in the manuscripts of the Sistine Chapel, while the settings of Psalms 78 [*Deus venerunt gentes*] and 29 [*Exaltabo te Domine*] are included in Codex Cap.Sist. 20.¹⁵

Such an argument cannot, however, be used to explain the absence of *Dominator caelorum*, which despite some variations, has a liturgical derivation and could be viewed in the same way as many other motets in the Vallicelliana. It shall be shown that its function and role may be determined by comparing *Dominator caelorum* with one of the anonymous motets in the manuscript VatS 20. But first it is necessary to look at the motet text derived from the Book of Judith and the historical context of this book, and to give a brief overview of a role Judith played in symbolic and narrative traditions.

* * *

The motet *Dominator caelorum* consists of two movements. The text of the four texted voices (C, AI, T, B) in the first movement and the first line of the second movement, except for slight alterations, comes from the Book of Judith, from the famous chapter 9, in which Judith prostrated herself, put ashes on her head, and said a long prayer to God for help. The middle part, Altus II, has a separately texted cantus firmus. It carries the text and the music from the antiphon for peace *Da pacem Domine*.¹⁶ In each of the partes it is heard only once, and there are only slight rhythmic and melodic

¹⁵ Lowinsky, "A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript," 182.

¹⁶ *LU*, 1867-1868.

differences between these two statements. The combination of these two texts provides a message of prayer for divine help and for peace.¹⁷ The text of the motet goes as follows:

I.
Dominator caelorum et terrae creator
Qui conteris bella ab initio
Eleva brachium tuum super omnes gentes
Qui cogitant servis tuis mala
Et dextera tua gloricicetur in nobis.

I.
Ruler of heaven and creator of Earth
Who destroys wars from the beginning
Lift up your arm against all the people
Who intend evil towards your people
And Your right hand will be glorified in us?

II.
Allide fortitudinem illorum in virtute tua
Et libera nos propter nomen tuum
Et da nobis pacem in diebus nostris
Quia non est alius
Quia pugnet pro nobis
Nisi tu Deus noster

II.
Crush their power with your power
And deliver us for thy name's sake
And grant us peace in our time
There is no other
Who would fight on our behalf
Except you, our Lord

Cantus firmus (Altus II): Da pacem, Domine,
in diebus nostris: quia non est alius qui pugnet
pro nobis, nisi tu, Deus noster.

Give peace, O Lord, in our time because there
is no one else who would fight on our behalf
except you, our Lord.

In the Middle Ages some parts of the book of Judith were read during Rogations in the Gallican church; this type of service was intended for praying to God for help.¹⁸

Also, Judith texts became a part of the liturgy of certain Marian feasts and were read

¹⁸ Ruth Steiner, "Gregorian Responsories Based on Texts from the *Book of Judith*," in *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham*, ed. Terence Bailey and Alma Santosuosso (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007), 23-34 at 32.

during the service of matins in the Divine Office.¹⁹ The text on which Festa's motet is mostly based comes from the third responsory for the Judith.²⁰

R. Domine deus, qui conteris bella ab initio, eleva brachium tuam super gentes quae cogitant servis tuis mala, et dextera tua glorificetur in nobis.

V. Allide virtutem eorum in virtute tua, cadat virtus eorum in iracundia tua.²¹

This text seems to have enjoyed a great popularity among Renaissance composers, as besides Festa's there are settings of this responsory by Johannes de Bacchius, Thomas Crecquillon, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Costanzo Porta, and Philippe Verdelot. At least two of these composers—Palestrina and Porta—set exactly the first part of the responsory (R.).²² Festa seems to have been the only composer who did not use the responsory text verbatim and decided to introduce some slight changes in it: instead of *Domine Deus, qui conteris bella ab initio*, Festa starts the motet with the verse *Dominator caelorum et terrae creator* which probably comes from the first verse of the fourth responsory, but again he does not quote it exactly. The text of the fourth responsory follows as:

¹⁹ Elena Ciletti, "Patriarchal Ideology in the Renaissance Iconography of Judith," in *Refiguring Women: Perspectives on Gender and the Italian Renaissance*, ed. Marilyn Migiel and Juliana Schiesari (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 35-70 at 42; Kelley Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices: Music, Art, and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 114; Steiner, "Gregorian Responsories," 24.

²⁰ It needs to be remembered that there are some variations in the order of the responsories in different sources, see Steiner, "Gregorian Responsories," 26-29.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 33.

²² I had access only to Palestrina and Porta's settings so it is possible that unlike Palestrina and Porta the remaining composers—Johannes de Bacchius, Thomas Crecquillon, and Philippe Verdelot— may have set the entire responsory.

R.4. Dominator domine coelorum et terrae, creator quarum, rex
universae creatura tua, exaudi orationem servorum tuorum.

V. Tu, domine, cui humilium semper et mansuetorum placuit.²³

The reason for introducing some changes may have been that he wanted to signal some message, or that the motet was intended for some specific context. I shall return to this problem later.

The book of Judith starts when King Nebuchadnezzar of Assyria, together with a coalition of nations, goes to war against the great Median king Arphaxad.²⁴ Nebuchadnezzar defeats Arphaxad, but because there are still some pockets of resistance, the king orders Holofernes, his highest-ranking general, to destroy all rebellious spirit. When the Israelites hear about it they begin to prepare for war. In towns such as Bethulia people turn to God for help; they fast and pray. At that time, Achior, commander of the Ammonites, warns Holofernes that God will help and defend the Israelites so long as they are faithful. Holofernes, however, disregarding the warning, surrounds the Israelites in the town of Bethulia. The entire Assyrian army besieges the town for thirty-four days. All the water reserves are depleted for all the inhabitants; the cisterns are going dry. The children become listless and weak. People start to faint and die from thirst. They wonder if God has abandoned them and beg their leader Uzziah to surrender and accuse him of

²³ Steiner, "Gregorian responsories," 34.

²⁴ The paragraph below was derived from Carey A. Moore, *Judith: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible 40 (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1985), 31-37.

not making peace with the Assyrians. He says that if God does not help them within five days he will surrender.

When Judith, the religious, wealthy, and beautiful daughter of Merari, hears about the compromise she becomes very upset. She says that God can do what he wants and nobody can blackmail or give Him an ultimatum, and insists that people should always be faithful to and show their confidence in their God because He has tested His people many times. Besides, she reveals her secret plan of saving the citizens of Bethulia from being killed by Holofernes' soldiers. But before she carries it out she needs to prepare herself and ask God for help. She starts her long prayer (chapter 9). After that she goes into the camp of the Assyrians, captivates Holofernes by her beauty, and finally takes advantage of the general being drunk to cut off his head. She comes back to the city with his head as a trophy. The book closes with a hymn to the Almighty by Judith to celebrate her victory.

The interpretation of the book of Judith faces some problems, as it is often interpreted as a moral tale rather than an accurate historical document. In the writings of early Christians Judith is often viewed as an allegorical figure: "her victory over Holofernes," as Sarah McHam has put it, "was elaborated as the triumph of virtue, specified variously as self-control, chastity, or humility, over the vices of licentiousness and pride."²⁵ She was often presented as a prefiguration of the Virgin Mary and of the Church.²⁶ But one of the most popular renderings of the book of Judith was political; her

²⁵ Sarah Blake McHam, "Donatello's Bronze "David" and "Judith" as Metaphors of Medici Rule in Florence," *The Art Bulletin* 83 (2001): 32-47 at 35.

²⁶ *Ibid.*; Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices*, 113-14.

assassination of Holofernes was used as a symbolic act against tyranny and was used to support political aspirations, sometimes by different opposing factions.

She played such a role in the history of Renaissance Florence “as both a pro-Medici and anti-Medici symbol.”²⁷ McHam demonstrated from the examples of Donatello’s bronzes *David* and *Judith and Holofernes* how the symbolic and rhetoric meaning of these two sculptures, actually evoking republican themes, was assimilated by the Medici family for their political purposes; they helped to create an imagery of the Medici as defenders of Florence and of Florentine liberty against any threat.²⁸ Initially, the sculptures were put in the Medici Palace garden and courtyard by 1469, or even earlier, between 1464 and 1466. *Judith and Holofernes* stood there until 1495, after the expulsion of the Medici from Florence the year before,²⁹ when it was removed from the Medici Palace and placed in a conspicuous public spot in Palazzo della Signoria, in front of the Palazzo Pubblico, as a symbol of the triumph of freedom over tyranny and with a new Latin inscription: “Placed by the Citizens as an Example of Public Health 1495.”³⁰ This was around the time that Savonarola made a famous speech on August, 20 1496 in which he praised the new government. According to Piero Misicattelli, Savonarola was viewed as the Florentines’ hero who corresponded to the proud image of Judith. Like her,

²⁷ Ibid., 115.

²⁸ McHam, “Donatello’s Bronze “David” and “Judith,” 41 and 43; for the description of the sculptures, see Bonnie A. Bennett and David G. Wilkins, *Donatello* (Mt. Kisco: Moyer Bell, 1985), 217-21.

²⁹ Ibid., 32.

³⁰ “EXEMPLUM SAL PUB CIVIS POS MCCCCXCV”: see Harness, *Echoes of Women’s Voices*, 117.

Savonarola was seen as their liberator.³¹ Because of its earlier connotations, the sculpture of Judith was often relocated in the next several years and its meaning was debated by the Florentines; but in spite of this, David and Judith “remained linked as emblems of Florence, specifically as symbols of the decisive way in which the city dealt with outside aggression.”³² Elena Ciletti says that “Judith’s evolution toward a Florentine civic identity is not particularly surprising, given the overtly political nature of the biblical story itself. It is also a function of her long-standing pairing (both visual and conceptual) with David, who came to assume the status of a virtual patron saint in Renaissance Florence.”³³

As an official composer of Clement VII, as Lowinsky calls him, Festa reached for the text from the book of Judith knowing what symbolic connotations it carried. The figure of Judith and her symbolic meaning were well known in Florence, and her role as a civic symbol and a warning to all tyrants and enemies to the city was very vivid among the Florentines.³⁴ Roger J. Crum says that “Donatello, the Medici, and their contemporaries knew the Book of Judith, as they knew Augustine, and Dante.”³⁵ We know that for Florentines the story of Judith could have represented the defense of

³¹ Piero Misciattelli, *Savonarola* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1930), 112.

³² Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices*, 117-18.

³³ Ciletti, “Patriarchal Ideology,” 58.

³⁴ The symbolic image of Judith was used in Florence on different occasions; Judith appears on the Ghiberti’s famous baptistery doors. Also, on a page from an antiphony of around 1508-26 there is a figure of Judith with symbols and mottos of the Florentine republic, see Harness, 118; the representation of Judith as a decoration was on one of the triumphal arches symbolizing the virtue of “Fortezza” during Leo’s Florentine *entrata* in 1515, see Anthony Cummings, *The Politicized Muse: Music for Medici Festivals, 1512-1537* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 72.

³⁵ Roger J. Crum, “Severing the Neck of Pride: Donatello’s Judith and Holofernes and the Recollection of Albizzi Shame in Medicean Florence,” *Artibus et Historiae* 22 (2001): 23-29 at 28.

republicanism against foreign enemy or tyranny; but on the other hand, for the Medici, Judith's figure may have represented their concern for Florentine liberty.³⁶ Pope Clement VII, as a representative of the Medici family, expressed this idea clearly in November 1529 at the time when Charles V's and papal forces besieged Florence; when the Florentine ambassadors reproached him for being too cruel to the Florentines, Clement replied that he was not fighting against the liberties of Florence but against its governors "who were impious tyrants."³⁷ The idea of insinuating that the Medici were defenders of Florentine liberty was clearly embodied in the figure of Judith.

Thus if one looks at Festa's *Dominator caelorum* through the prism of such political connotation one will understand the way it might have been read by Festa and Pope Clement VII. By choosing the text from the book of Judith, Festa shows that he sees the current political situation—during which the Medici were expelled from Florence and a republic was re-established—with Pope Clement's eyes. When the motet text says: "lift up your arm against all the people who intend evil towards your people" and "crush their power with your power" Festa means, like Clement, that all who were for re-establishing a republic were enemies and a threat to Florentine liberty and its citizens, and that this is why they should be punished. While *Florentia* had a form of encouragement to the Florentines to free themselves from the new government and to return under the Medicis' allegations, *Dominator caelorum* is a prayer for punishing a

³⁶ Ibid., 23.

³⁷ Francis A. Hyett, *Florence: Her History and Art to the Fall of the Republic* (London: Methuen, 1903), 511; Hyett refers to Bernardo Segni's *Storie fiorentine* (G. Vanni, 1835), 94.

new government and its supporters. But if it is a prayer to Christ, can it still have some other connotations?

There is another motet by Festa, *Ecce advenit dominator*, with a cantus firmus *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat* stated five times in the tenor, which most likely was composed to glorify Charles V and may have been performed during his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor by Pope Clement VII on February 24, 1530, still during the siege of Florence.³⁸ Klaus Pietschmann's thorough study of *Ecce advenit dominator* shows that the motet might have been performed at the central moment of the coronation and

it would have supplemented the liturgy in a highly symbolic way: the concept allied with direct homage of the emperor to Christ without the pope as middleman was eliminated by Innocent III in order to place the papacy over the emperor in the theological hierarchy. The indirect reintroduction of this concept through Festa's motet would have brought Charles much nearer to the pope in hierarchical terms. That such a gesture by Pope Clement VII toward the emperor appears imaginable is made clear when viewed before the background of the impoverished position of the Medici pope following the sack of Rome in 1527.³⁹

Although the formula *Christus vincit* indicates that the motet was probably performed during the coronation, its connection with this ceremony is not so obvious. Pietschmann

³⁸ The motet is preserved anonymously in two sources: CS 20 and the Civitanova Marche, Biblioteca Comunale, Mss. s.s. (I). In the second one, which can be dated from 1550 to 1560, the text of the cantus firmus reads *Carolus vincit, Carolus regnat, Carolus imperat*; see *Costanzo Festa: Opera Omnia*, vol. 3, xiii; Klaus Pietschmann, "A Motet by Costanzo Festa for the Coronation of Charles V," *Journal of Musicological Research* 21 (2002): 319-54, especially 326. It is also suggested that the motet might have been performed during the Roman visit of Charles V in April 1536, or when he stayed in Florence in May of the same year, see Philippe Canguilhem, "Lorenzo Corsini's 'Libri di Canzone' and the Madrigal in Mi-Sixteenth-Century Florence," *Early Music History* 25 (2006): 1-57 at 37 and n. 110. At one point the motet was thought to be composed for the coronation of Pope Clement VII; see *Costanzo Festa: Opera Omnia*, vol. 3, xiii.

³⁹ Pietschmann, "A Motet by Costanzo Festa," 319-20.

points out that this formula was no longer used around 1530 and had been replaced by another one which did not contain the *Christus vincit* call.⁴⁰ Thus he attempted to find more evidence pointing to Charles V's coronation. According to Pietschmann, the text itself may give some hint that the motet was really performed during that ceremony. The main text of the motet goes as follows:

<p>Ecce advenit dominator dominus et regnum eius in manu eius et potestas et imperium Super humeros eius et vocabitur magni consilii angelus dorminabitur a mari usque ad mare et a flumine usque ad terminus orbis terrarum a solis ortu usque ad occasum laudabile nomen Domini et replebitur in aeternum majestate eius omnis terra, fiat, fiat.</p>	<p>Behold, the ruler, the lord is come, and a kingdom in his hand and power and dominium Upon his shoulders and he shall be called angel of great counsel He shall have dominion from sea to sea and from the river unto the ends of the earth from the rising sun to the going down of the same the Lord's name is to be praised and let the whole earth be filled with his glory, amen, amen.⁴¹</p>
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The composer compiled verses from different sources to describe Christ as the glorious king of the world.⁴² First, two of the citations can be associated with the liturgy of the feasts of Epiphany and Christmas, and indeed the mass formula for the feast of Epiphany was used during Charles's coronation on October 23, 1520.⁴³ The choice of Epiphany

⁴⁰ The study in which the formula *Christus vincit* is largely discussed and to which Pietschmann often refers to is Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958).

⁴¹ The text and its translation were extracted from Pietschmann, "A Motet by Costanzo Festa," 327.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 329.

⁴³ Pietschmann quotes after Hartmann Maurus: "As the archbishop of Cologne began the Introit of the mass, the royal singers in the middle of the choir began to sing: *Ecce advenit dominator deus*. [then] *Kyrie eleison*, [then] *Alleluia*, *Vidimus stellam*; see *ibid.*, 329.

Proper for the coronations of kings, and also for the Aachen coronation, had a long tradition and was associated with the homage paid to the newborn Christ by the wise men from the East.⁴⁴ This tradition was very popular in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance and symbolized a direct identification of kings and ruling families with the holy kings, and as a consequence, it represented the concept of absolute homage to Christ.⁴⁵ Thus the only link between the text of the motet and Bologna coronation is the use of the Introit for Christmas.

The use of the formula *Christus vincit* by Festa, which was out of fashion and did not exist in the strict papal ceremonial at that time, may have been caused by the current political situation. After the sack of Rome, the pope's political role was undermined and thus by sounding a *Christus vincit* cantus firmus in the motet, the pope admitted to Charles's imperial independence, and the direct connection between Christ and the emperor was now emphasized.⁴⁶ Thus the use of the word *dominator* at the beginning of the motet has a symbolic meaning and can be also understood in reference to the emperor himself. Since certain words, such as *dominator* and *a solis ortu ad occasum* are repeated in individual voices, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the motet glorifies the emperor.⁴⁷ Pietschmann suggests that Festa's motet is supplemented by the motet *Coronat pontifex* by Adrian Thiebault, which was probably intended to highlight the

⁴⁴ Ibid., 329.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 330-31.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 340-41.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 344.

pope's role and "to place him on a hierarchical level equal to that of the emperor."⁴⁸ If so, these two pieces may have been performed one after another during the coronation ceremony.⁴⁹

On the other hand, it is well known that the Advent liturgy was very often used in the context of the royal entry ceremony. In her detailed examination of Johannes Brassart's motet *O rex Fridrice/In tuo adventu*—a musical tribute to the new king Frederick, the Habsburg Duke of Austria—Catherine Saucier indicates that the motet text contains some subtleties and dualities which can be read and understood only through the concept of *adventus*;⁵⁰ in the medieval rituals, the ruler's arrival was often interpreted as analogous to the advent of the Christian Messiah. Ernst H. Kantorowicz says that

both king and city are transformed as they approach one another; every terrestrial city becomes another Jerusalem at the Advent of the Anointed, and the ruler at this entry becomes more and more a likeness of Christ. In other words, the liturgical celebration of an *Adventus* reflects, or even stages, the Christian prototype of Messianic entries, that is, the Lord's triumphant Entry as king into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday.⁵¹

Thus it should not be surprising that in several fifteenth-century compositions of this type, similar to Brassart's, one may find some references and allusions to the liturgical season of Advent; this is probably caused by the fact that in many chants sung during the

⁴⁸ Ibid., 341.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 342.

⁵⁰ Saucier, "Acclaiming Advent," 137-79, for the motet text see esp. pp. 142-43.

⁵¹ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent': And the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," *The Art Bulletin* 26 (1944): 207-31 at 210.

Advent season the image of Christ as both earthly and heavenly King recurs repeatedly.⁵² Moreover, in at least a few Advent chants Christ appears as peacemaker or protector.⁵³ In Brassart's motet it is revealed by the textual distinction; while the tenor voice pleads for deliverance from sin at the Saviour's arrival, the upper voices ask for peace.⁵⁴

Now let us go back to the problem of textual changes in *Dominator caelorum*, as they may help us to determine the actual function and use of the work and even an approximate date of the motet's first performance. As we already noticed elsewhere, the most conspicuous change appears at the beginning where *Domine Deus, qui conteris bella ab initio* was replaced by *Dominator caelorum et terrae creator qui conteris bella ab initio*. Why did Festa do that? I think the composer made this change on purpose. It is well known that Festa (of course not only Festa but many other composers as well) had a special preference for treating some of his texts in such a way. While discussing Festa's *Super flumina Babylonis* Lowinsky pointed out that

when a composer of this era chooses the text for a single composition from many disparate parts of the Bible, when he thus constructs a text that occurs neither in the liturgy nor anywhere else, he obviously wishes to say, this is a unique text; it fits a unique situation; look into the sources of the text and you may find the key to its meaning.⁵⁵

And later:

⁵² Saucier, "Acclaiming Advent," 148.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 147.

⁵⁵ *The Medici Codex of 1518: A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 1: 46.

The selection of the text from [...] different sources [...] was prompted by the composer's desire to hint at the occasion for which the work was written and the circumstances surrounding it.⁵⁶

These slight changes made by Festa in the text of the third responsory may help us to determine the context in which the motet may have been performed for the first time. First of all, it is striking that he does not use the word "Deus" in the first verse while other composers who set this text stick to it (the word "Deus" only appears by the end of the motet in the prayer for peace). The reason for this may be that by using the phrase *Dominator caelorum et terrae creator* the composer wanted it to evoke double connotations, adequate both to the new liturgical context and to a specific occasion for which the motet may have been intended. This occasion may have been a meeting of Charles V with Clement VII in Bologna in the late 1529 and early 1530.⁵⁷ This new phrase in the motet text can be interpreted as the direct reference to Christ and at the same time also as a symbolic reference to the emperor. Such a dual rendering of the first phrase and the whole motet does not seem to be unreasonable, especially if we still keep in mind what was said about Festa's motet *Ecce advenit dominator* and its associations with the liturgies of the feasts of Epiphany and Christmas in the context of imperial coronations.

Undoubtedly the motet *Dominator caelorum* is a prayer to Christ for peace and protection against the enemies, and it could refer to many historical situations before 1530 in Italy. On the other hand, it does not have direct references to Christ's coming,

⁵⁶ Ibid., 47-48.

⁵⁷ It must be remembered that the meeting took place when Florence was still under the siege by imperial forces, which began in September of 1529 the city surrendered on August 12, 1530.

and thus no parallels to the the medieval royal/imperial entry can be made. But when we take into consideration all we have said so far, the meeting of Charles and Clement in Bologna still seems to be likely occasion for the motet. Since *Dominator caelorum* may not have been performed at Charles's arrival in Bologna, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that there were numerous other occasions for musical performances during his stay in the city.⁵⁸ Unlike *Ecce advenit dominator*, which is found for the first time in the source RVat 20 and could have been composed for some other occasions besides Charles V's coronation, *Dominator caelorum* was copied into the Vallicelliana manuscript in 1530 or 1531, and thus could not have been for any occasions after 1531. The first word phrase *Dominator caelorum et terrae creator* could have been introduced by Festa to refer to emperor Charles V, as was shown in *Ecce advenit dominator*, in which the word "Dominator" has a symbolic meaning, and the image of emperor as king of earth and heaven can emphasize his Christ-like attributes. Likewise in Advent chants, the use of antiphon *Da pacem* in Altus II throughout *Dominator caelorum* and in the other voices by the end of the second movement might allude to Charles V as peacemaker and protector. This may be only understood in the context of the political situation at that time; as was mentioned elsewhere, Florence was besieged by the imperial forces, and this actually happened after the pope had decided to ask the emperor to intervene. Therefore, the motet can be interpreted as a prayer to Christ as well as a "request" to Emperor for help to get rid of all who opposed the return of Medici rule to Florence. The text from the book of Judith—its symbolic and political connotations with the Medici family and

⁵⁸ For description of various ceremonies that took place during Charles's and Clement's stay in Bologna at that time, see Cummings, *The Politicized Muse*, 128-39.

current political situation; the middle voice expressing a hope for peace; the intentional textual change in the initial phrase and its possible dual rendering as referring to Christ and Charles V permits us to suppose that the motet may have been composed to honor Charles V during his meeting with Clement VII in Bologna.

The question arises about the authorship of *Dominator caelorum*.⁵⁹ Who actually composed this motet—Festa or Conseil? Certainly the absence of *Dominator caelorum* in RVat 20 casts doubt on its attribution to Festa. Mitchell Brauner, in his thesis referring to the Vallicelliana partbooks, pointed out that

it is possible that the scribe [of the Vallicelliana manuscript] was mistaken in this instance just as he was with the *Ave regina celorum* and the *Ave regina celorum mater regis* [these two pieces have conflicting attributions in other sources] The source is not closer to one composer than the other; they were both in the employ of the Sistine Chapel. Also, given three attributions to Conseil in other sources, a scribal mistake in the Vallicelliana manuscript in the case of *Dominator caelorum* seems likely. It is possible, then, to place the motet among Conseil's works with a reasonable degree of confidence.⁶⁰

Interestingly enough, *Dominator caelorum* still appears anonymous in the Ferrarese manuscript called the Meijer partbook, copied by a famous scribe Jean Michel. Because all pieces in this partbook are actually transmitted anonymously, their ascriptions are taken from the *Catalogus Estensium*.⁶¹ Since there are four motets by Conseil (*Dominator caelorum* is followed by one of them—*Beatus Apostolus Andreas*),

⁶⁰ Mitchell Brauner, "Jean du Conseil (Johannes Consilium): His Life and Motets," (unpubl. thesis, Brandeis University, 1978), 18.

⁶¹ This catalogue, owned by the Este family and compiled between 1754 and 1757 by Pellegrino Niccolò Loschi and Giovanni Antonio Panelli, describes three now lost sixteenth-century partbooks, and their contents match those of the Meijer partbook in detail, see Eric Jas, "A Sixteenth-Century Ferrarese Partbook," 37-38.

and their ascriptions to the composer were based on their concordances and ascriptions in *Catalogue Estensium*, one may suppose that this attribution to Conseil is strong.

We know the possible reason for which Festa's motet *Florentia* was omitted from the manuscript VatS 20. But since Festa's *Ecce advenit dominator* is included there, it seems difficult to find a reason why *Dominator caelorum* is absent in the manuscript. Of course one may say that it was Festa's caprice not to provide Parvus with this motet and there is no particular reason behind it; he may have done it on a whim. But such a possible scenario cannot be ignored; Festa and Conseil spent most of their life in the papal chapel and composed motets based on the same texts: *Deus venerunt gentes* probably written in response to the sack of Rome in 1527⁶² as well as *Lumen ad revelationum/Nunc Dimittis*. Thus if *Ecce advenit dominator* was really composed by Costanzo Festa, a papal composer, and performed at the meeting between Charles V and Clement VII in Bologna, as Pietschmann persuasively demonstrates, could not *Dominator caelorum* have been Conseil's small musical contribution to this event? If so, it may have been Conseil who composed *Dominator caelorum* to embellish the Bologna meeting as Festa did by composing *Ecce advenit dominator*.

⁶² Brobeck, "The Motet at the Court of Francis I," 394-95.

Chapter 6

O altitudo divitiarum

According to José M. Llorens's catalog, two anonymous works in the manuscript VatS 38, copied around 1550-1563, should be ascribed to Festa—*Gaude felix ecclesia* (ff. 114v -122r) and *O altitudo divitiarum* (ff. 122v – 126r) (Table 2).¹ Both are included in Festa's *Opera omnia*, although Albert Seay, the editor of the publication, admitted having some doubts about these ascriptions;² Seay was not able to determine on what basis Llorens had made these two attributions.³ The origin of *Gaude felix ecclesia* appears, nevertheless, to be quite clear and secure. What Llorens and Seay apparently missed is the fact that this same motet, with the text *Gaude felix florentia* and ascribed to Andreas de Silva, appears in the manuscript already discussed in this study—RomeV 35-40 (the Vallicelliana Manuscript; no. 59). The motet was thus included in Andreas de Silva's *Opera omnia*.⁴ In the foreword to the edition Winfried Kirsch says that "the historical motet *Gaude felix Florentia* in honor of Pope Leo X, [was] composed probably on the occasion of his election in the year 1513. This motet has also come down with a text

¹ Josephus M. Llorens, *Capellae Sixtinae codices, musicis notis instructi sive manu scripti sive praelo excussi*, Studi e testi 202 (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1960), 76-79. Their status as the anonymous works in the manuscript might have been the reason that Alexander Main did not discuss them in his dissertation.

² For modern editions of the motets *Gaude felix ecclesia* and *O altitudo divitiarum*, see Costanzo Festa: *Opera Omnia*, ed. Albert Seay (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1962-79), 5: 132-47 and 148-56 respectively.

³ *Ibid.*, 5: xi.

⁴ For its edition, see *Andreas De Silva: Opera omnia*, ed. Winfried Kirsch, 2 vols. (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1970-71), 2: 65-82.

parody in honor of the Holy Virgin (*Gaude felix ecclesia*) in a later source [VatS 38].”⁵ If it was really Festa who made textual and musical changes in de Silva’s work, can the work be attributed to Festa? I think that whoever it was actually made only small retouches to make de Silva’s work adjusted to the different performing circumstances; it is clear that a new text in the VatS 38 needed some rhythmic adjustments to produce better declamation.⁶ I think that the motet was not composed as a new work on the basis of the preexisting one but that somebody just “musically interfered” in the final shape of de Silva’s work.

It is worth taking a closer look at Andreas de Silva’s motet. The motet consists of three *partes*; two outer are for six voices and the middle one is for four.⁷ The movements are roughly the same length; the first one has 104, the second 98, and the last one 111 measures. The entire *prima pars* is written in cut-C mensuration; *secunda pars* begins with C2 but later changes to *proportio tripla* (cut-C3; mm. 168) and comes to *tempus imperfectum diminutum* (mm. 187). The last *pars* sticks to *tempus imperfectum* throughout.

⁵ Ibid., 2: ix. It is agreed that the motet with the text *Gaude felix Florentia* in the Vallicelliana Manuscript was originally intended for Pope Leo X’s election in 1513; see for example the discussion on the motet in Edward E. Lowinsky, “A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome,” *JAMS* 3 (1950): 173-32 at 175-77. Sherr reinforced and elaborated this hypothesis by demonstrating that the use of a cantus firmus and the number eleven used in the motet as a structural element might refer symbolically to Pope Leo X; see Richard Sherr, “The Medici Coat of Arms in a Motet for Leo X,” *Early Music* 15 (1987): 31-35. See also facsimile of the alto and bass parts (the beginning of the first movement) where the part of the text with the words *Leonem decimum* is visible, in *Andreas De Silva: Opera omnia*, 2: xxii. The texts of the two versions of the motet are in Lowinsky, “A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript,” 201-202; See also *ibid.*, 175.

⁶ The musical and textual differences between the two versions of the motet are included in the modern edition of the work in *Andreas De Silva: Opera omnia*, 2: 65-82.

⁷ Description of the motet refers to its modern edition in de Silva’s *Opera omnia*, 2: 65-82.

The motet opens with a long duo of the two upper voices (mm. 1-23), after which three other voices come in (mm. 23). Within this opening duo there are five musical-textual phrases that are separated by rests and create points of imitation. They run as follows: *Gaude felix Florentia/Que verum Christi vicarium/Ac indubitatum Petri successorem/Obtinere meruisti*. The first statement of the cantus firmus-ostinato *Gaude felix Florentia* is in measure 30, at the place where other voices intone the words *Leonem decimum*. It is stated three times in the *prima pars*. While five other voices share some melodic material and rhythmic structure among themselves, the cantus firmus does not seem to be integrated with other voices.⁸ The *secunda pars*, written for four voices, does not employ a cantus firmus. It is mainly based on the imitation of the musical-textual phrases between voices and the repetition of the same phrase within one voice (e.g. mm. 116-121 B, 134-139 S). Strict imitation usually concerns only a few initial notes. It is clear, nevertheless, that the melodic and rhythmic material of individual voices is mainly dependent on its exchange between voices. In two places the full texture of the four voices moving simultaneously is interrupted by duo imitation first in mm. 153-167 and then in mm. 174-183. These two places are separated by a seven-measure homorhythmic passage on the words *Gubernaturus enim illam piscatoris navim*. The contrast is additionally strengthened by introduction of different mensuration (♩3). In the *tertia pars* the composer returns to the six-voice texture; unlike the two previous *partes*, this one begins with all voices moving homorhythmically. After three measures some of the

⁸ The cantus firmus cannot be identified with any preexisting melodies. It was suggested that the composer may have written it himself. Sherr suggested a hypothesis that the shape of the cantus firmus might be associated with the shape of the Medici coat of arms or stemma, see Sherr, "The Medici Coat of Arms," 32.

voices become more or less independent rhythmically; this is especially noticeable in the two upper voices. The clear end of the opening passage and some sort of break is in measure 214 where voices come to cadence on *G*. The separation of this introductory part from the rest is probably caused by the fact that all voices here make a presentation of the text—*Salve pater sanctissime*— that is later repeated as a cantus firmus motto only in a tenor voice (it is repeated seven times throughout).

Table 2. The Contents of VatS 38⁹

No.	ff.	Composer	Name	vv.
1.	1v-8	Josquin des Prez	In principio erat Verbum	4
2.	8v-18	Josquin des Prez	In exitu Israel	4
3.	18v-25	Josquin des Prez	Qui habitat in adiutorio	4
4.	25v-29	Anonymous	Laudamus frotissimum Christi martyrem	5
5.	29v-31	Josquin des Prez	In illo tempore assumpsit Jesus	4
6.	31v-35	Firmin Lebel	Ave verum corpus	5
7.	35v-39	Melchor Robledo	Simile est regnum coelorum	5
8.	39v-40	La Fage	Partus et integritas	5
9.	40v-41	Jean Mouton	Per lignum salvi facti sumus	5
10.	41v-50	Josquin des Prez	Miserere mei Deus	5
11.	50v-52	Jean Mouton(Josquin?)	Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus	6
12.	52v-54	Jean Mouton	Benedicam Dominum in omni tempora	6
13.	54v-56	Jean Richafort	Veni sponsa Christi	5
14.	56v-60	Anonymous	Qui sunt isti	5
15.	60v-63	Philippe Verdelot	Si bona suscepimus	5
16.	63v-73	Josquin des Prez	Planxit autem David	4
17.	73v-76	Clemens non Papa	Me oportet minui	5
18.	76v-78	G. P. da Palestrina	Beatus Laurentius	5
19.	78v-82	Cristóbal de Morales	Pater noster-Ave Maria	5

⁹ The list of the works in VatS 38 was adapted from Llorens, *Capellae Sixtinae codices*, 76-79 and The CMME project online <http://www.cmme.org/?page=database&view=sources&id=157> (accessed November 12, 2009). The spelling of composers' names was changed to agree with *New Grove*. Also, in some cases where the attribution was found, anonymous motets were assigned to the composers according to Schmidt-Beste, "A Dying Art: Canonic Inscriptions and Canonic Techniques in the Sixteenth-Century Papal Chapel Repertory," in *Canons and Canonic Techniques, 14th and 16th centuries: Theory, Practice, and Reception History*, ed. Katelijne Schiltz and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Leuven: Peeters Publishers and Booksellers, 2007), 352 and the CMME. Because I did not have an access to the manuscript I noticed that Llorens and the CMME give different folio numbers. I found the CMME to be the more reliable source and thus I decided to stick to the folio numbers as given there.

20.	82v-87	Anonymous	Deus misereatur nostril	5
21.	87v-92	Pierre Moulu	Vulnerasti cor meum	5
22.	92v-97	Andreas de Silva	In te Domine speravi	5
23.	97v-101	Jacquet of Mantua	Aspice Domine	5
24.	101v-106	Jacquet of Mantua	In die tribulationis meae	5
25.	106v-110	Josquin des Prez	De profundis	5
26.	110v-114	Anonymous	O panem vere sacrum	6
27.	114v-122	[Costanzo Festa?]	Gaude felix Ecclesia	6
28.	122v-126	[Costanzo Festa?]	O altitudo divitiarum	6
29.	126v-129	Anonymous	Simile est regnum coelorum	7
30.	129v-133	[Josquin des Prez?]	Inter natos mulierum	7
31.	133v-137	Philippe Verdelot	Congregati sunt inimici	6
32.	137v-141	Philippe Verdelot	Attende Domine ad me	6
33.	141v-144	[Philippe Verdelot]	Sancta Maria Virgo Virginum	6
34.	144v-146	[Adrian Willaert]	Beatus Laurentius	6
35.	146v-148	Andreas de Silva	Crux, clavis coronae spinarum	6
36.	148v-151	Jean Maillard	Fratres mei elongaverunt se a me	6
37.	151v-152	Jean Mouton	Salva nos Domine	6
38.	152v-155	G. P. da Palestrina	Estote fortes in bello	6
39.	155v-159	Firmin Lebel	Puer natus est nobis	6

The ascription of *Gaude felix Florentia* to Andreas de Silva in the Vallicelliana manuscript might raise only one doubt; since the manuscript was compiled around 1530 and contains mainly works related to the latest historical events, why was this motet, composed in 1513 for Leo's election, inserted in this manuscript several years after Pope's death in 1521? But this obstacle is by no means insurmountable: according to Lowinsky, "the authenticity of *Gaude felix Florentia* cannot be doubted on such grounds as that the attribution is made in a manuscript written ca. 1530, that is, at a time when Leo X was already nine years dead and seventeen years after his election. Nor is this a very small time span indeed, particularly by sixteenth-century standards."¹⁰ Moreover, if such criteria against the attribution of the motet were accepted then we would need to

¹⁰ *The Medici Codex of 1518: A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 1: 142 n. 32.

reconsider the authorship of another motet—*Crux, clavis coronae spinarum* (6vv.).¹¹ Ascribed to Andreas de Silva in VatS 38 (ff. 149v-151), this motet appears in the manuscript as an unicum, and around thirty years after de Silva’s death.¹² In any case, however, the problem is not with Llorens’s attribution of the motet *Gaude felix Ecclesia*—this now seems satisfactorily solved in favor of de Silva—but his attribution of the next motet in VatS 38, *O altitudo divitiarum* (ff. 122v-126) to Festa. In other words, does the disproof of Llorens’s one hypothesis cast serious doubt on his other? The possibility that *O altitudo divitiarum* (also anonymous work in the manuscript) may be by Festa’s clearly needs to be reexamined.

Who then was the composer of *O altitudo divitiarum*? Where can the influences on the work be traced? Are there any works that might share some similarities with *O altitudo divitiarum*? Since the motet *Gaude felix Ecclesie* was composed by de Silva and since both motets appear next to each other in the manuscript VatS 38, one may be tempted to suggest that *O altitudo divitiarum* may be by the same composer. A big span of time between Andreas de Silva’s time of activity (he probably died in the late 1520s) and the compilation of VatS 38 does not seem to stand against his possible authorship of *O altitudo divitiarum*. It was mentioned before that de Silva’s motet *Crux clavis corone spinarum* (146v-148r) in VatS 38 appears there as an unicum, and another motet of his in the manuscript, five-voice *In te, Domine, speravi* (ff. 95v-100) has its concordances with

¹¹ Besides *Gaude felix Ecclesia* and *Crux, clavis coronae spinarum* there is still one more work by de Silva in this manuscript—the motet *In te, Domine, speravi* (5vv.) but with concordance in the manuscript PadBC A 17 (Padova, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms A 17).

¹² It can be only supposed that de Silva was still alive after around 1522 as the payment record from the Duke of Mantua indicates; extant sources suggest that he was still alive and in Italy at the end of the decade; see *New Grove*, s.v. “De Silva, Andreas,” by Winfried Kirsch. The motet *Crux, clavis coronae spinarum* does not appear in the composer’s *Opera omnia*. The reason for this might be that *New Grove* indicates the motet is incomplete.

the manuscript PadBC A17 (ff. 133v-135), executed in Padua in 1522. Also, de Silva's *Gaude felix Florentia*, written for the election of Leo X in 1513, first appears in the manuscript RomeV 35-40 ("Vallicelliana manuscript"), probably copied around 1530-31, and it was later included in VatS 38 with a different text.

In de Silva's output there are eight five-voice and four six-voice motets. Some of these motets are bitextual (see the list of the motets in table 3).

Table 3. Five and Six-Part Motets by Andreas de Silva		
Motet Name	Cantus Firmus	Number of Voices
Ave regina caelorum (I)		5vv.
Ave regina caelorum (II)		5vv.
Alma redemptoris mater		5vv.
In te, Domine, speravi	In te, Domine, speravi non confundar in aeternum.	5vv.
Nigra sum, sed Formosa	Nigra sum, sed formosa	5vv.
Omnis pulchritudo Domini	Elevatis minibus, ferebatur in caelum et benedixit eis. Alleluia.	5vv.
Puer natus est nobis	Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis. Alleluia	5vv.
Surrexit pastor bonus		5vv.
Crux clavis corone spinarum		6vv.
Gaude felix Florentia (Gaude felix ecclesia)	Gaude felix Florentia (Gaude felix ecclesia)	6vv.
Illumina oculos meos		6vv.
Regina caeli	Antiphon <i>Regina caeli</i>	6vv.

From Table 3 it may be seen that de Silva was familiar with five- and six-voice texture and the use of a different-texted cantus firmus. In his motets *In te Domine speravi*, *Omnis pulchritudo Domini*, and *Gaude felix Florentia*, the first entry of a cantus firmus is preceded by a point of imitation by the other voices; *Gaude felix Florentia* begins with a long imitative duo between two upper voices. But this cannot be interpreted as a

characteristic exclusively associated with de Silva's music because, as we shall see later, the anticipation of the entry of a cantus firmus by an imitative duo or a point of imitation involving other voices is quite common in the music of the first half of the sixteenth century: it can be encountered in numerous motets and can be deemed typical for many of the axial motets with differently texted cantus firmus. For example, Verdelot's motet *Congregati sunt* has a cantus firmus based on the antiphon/prayer *Da pacem Domine* whose entry (m. 23) is preceded by a point of imitation involving five other voices (mm. 1-22).¹³ Similarly, Verdelot's setting of the psalm *In te, Domine, speravi*, probably inspired (like some other settings of this psalm) by Savonarola's meditations, is constructed in almost the same way; an entry of a cantus firmus in a tenor with the words *Divitias et pauper tuam* (m. 28; in the *secunda pars*—*Divitias et paupertates ne dederis mihi, Sed tantum victui meo tribue necessaria*) is introduced by four-voice imitation. One of many other composers who employed such constructional means was Costanzo Festa (e.g. in his motets *Super flumina Babylonis*, *Florentia*, *Exaltabo te*, *Deus venerunt gentes*, and *Vidi speciosam*). What is important in the context of *O altitudo divitiarum* is that de Silva never varies mensuration signs between a cantus firmus (of the tenor) and the remaining voices; all his motets for five and six voices use cut-C mensuration in the *prima pars*. In this respect, then *O altitudo divitiarum* would be a unique work in de Silva's output.

¹³ For its edition, see *Philippe Verdelot: Opera omnia*, ed. Anne-Marie Bragard (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1966-79), 2:88-94 and *Adrian Willaert: Opera omnia*, ed. Hermann Zenck (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1950-), 4:111-17.

The VatS 38 *O altitudo divitiarum* does not seem to have been the first work based on the text from Romans, as there are two other motets with the text *O altitudo divitiarum* that seem to have been written before the compilation of VatS 38. The four-voice motet attributed to Dominique Phinot (c. 1510-c. 1556) appears in three prints (RISM 1538⁵, RISM 1540⁶, and RISM 1555¹¹); and in one further source—RISM 1535⁵—it is ascribed to Rogier Pathie (c. 1510-after 1564).¹⁴ The other work, the five-voice motet by Cipriano de Rore, was published in Gardane’s *Il terzo libro di motetti a cinque voci di Cipriano de Rore* of 1549 (RISM 1549⁸).¹⁵ The text of these motets is derived from Romans, 11:33-36 (Epistle for Trinity Sunday) and goes as follows:¹⁶

O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae,
 et scientiae Dei:
 quam incomprehensibilia sunt iudicia ejus
 et investigabiles viae ejus.
 Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini?
 Aut quis consiliarius ejus fuit?
 Aut quis prior dedit illi, et retribuetur ei?

 Quoaniam ex ipso, et per ipsum
 et in ipso sunt omnia:
 ipsi honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum.
 Amen.

O the depth of the riches of the wisdom
 and of the knowledge of God
 How incomprehensible are his judgments,
 and how unsearchable his ways!
 For who hath known the mind of the Lord?
 Or who hath been his counselor?
 Or who hath first given to him,
 and recompense shall be made him?
 For of him, and by him,
 and in him, are all things:
 To him be honour and glory, for ages of ages.
 Amen.

¹⁴ For modern edition of this motet, see *Treize livres de Motets parus chez Pierre Attaignant en 1534 et 1535*, ed. Albert Smijers and A. Tillman Merritt, 14 vols. (Paris—Monaco, 1934-1966), 12: 1-6. On attribution of this motet to Phinot, see Glenda G. Thompson, “Music in the Court Records of Mary of Hungary,” *TVNM* 34 (1984): 132-73, at 147 and 162 n. 94.

¹⁵ For a modern edition of this motet, see *Cipriano de Rore: Opera omnia*, ed. Bernhard Meier (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1959-77), 1:122-27. In the late sixteenth-century manuscript ParisBNC 851 there is also a setting of the same text by Rore but for four voices (ff. 53-54). I did not manage to determine if this is a different work (it is not listed in *New Grove*), or an arrangement of the setting for five voices, or the manuscript ParisBNC 851 is incomplete; see <http://www.cmme.org/?page=database&view=sources&id=156> (accessed November 10, 2009). The other settings of the text are by Francisco Guerrero (1528-1599), Hans Leo Hassler (1564-1612), Matthias Hermann, Orlando di Lasso (1532-1594), Claudio Merulo (1533-1604), Ascanio Trombetti (1544-1590), Alexander Utendal (1530-40, died 1581), Girolamo Vespa (c. 1540- after 1596), Matthias Werrecore (died after 1574), and Giaches de Wert (1535?-1596).

¹⁶ *LU*, 910. Because I was not able to see some of the other motets with the text by the composers listed in n. 266 I do not know if they are based on exactly the same text.

The text of the VatS 38 motet is shorter, as the composer only used the first part of the reading for Trinity Sunday (Romans, 11: 33-34). The Tenor II carries a cantus firmus derived from the antiphon *Da pacem*. In the first part, the verse *Da pacem Domine in diebus nostris* is repeated twice. In the second part the rest of the text appears once, with a repetition of the verse *nisi tu Deus noster* at the end of the composition.

The complete text goes as follows:

I.

O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae, et scientiae Dei:
quam incomprehensibilia sunt iudicia ejus
et investigabiles viae eius.

II.

Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini?
Aut quis consiliarius ejus fuit?

Cantus firmus:

Da pacem Domine in diebus nostris
quia non est alius qui pugnet pro nobis
nisi tu Deus noster.

Let us look more closely at the motet. The entry of a cantus firmus (m. 14 TII) is preceded by a point of imitation among four voices (S, A, TI, and BI). The shape of the melodic phrase shared by these four voices is pretty conspicuous; it begins with the third leap up and return to the initial note, after which there is a fifth leap up to *d''* followed by descending phrase, moving in second steps down to *d'*. This phrase reminds one of the opening phrase from Gaspar van Weerbecke's motet *Adonay sanctissime*, first published in Petrucci's *Motetti A numero trentatre* (Venice, 1502; 7v-8r).¹⁷

¹⁷ It also appears in FlorBN Panc. 27 (early 16th century), ff. 70^v-71; SGalls 463 (c.1540) 35v; SGalls 530 ff. 83^v-84. For a modern edition, see *Motetti A numero trentatre* (Venice, 1502), ed. Richard Sherr (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991), 1:21-26.

Example 3. Costanzo Festa — *O altitudo divitiarum* (mm. 1-10)

Prima Pars

O al - ti - tu - do di - vi - ti - a -

rum, di - vi - ti - a

Example 4. Gaspar van Weerbeke — *Adonay Sanctissime* (mm. 1-9)

A- do- nay

san- ctis- si-

This similarity of the beginning of *O altitudo divitiarum* to Weerbeke's *Adonay sanctissime* is curious: it is too precise, I think, to be ignored or dismissed as coincidental, yet there is no obvious connection between the motet texts. It may simply be that the author (whoever he may be) of *O altitudo divitiarum* was familiar with Weerbeke's motet from the popular Petrucci print and unconsciously imitated it; if the imitation is conscious, its meaning is hard to discern.

The beginning of the *secunda pars* employs almost the same schematic procedure as the *prima pars*. Before the cantus firmus comes in (mm. 90), four voices (A, S, TI, and BI) take part in imitation of a phrase on the words *Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini*. The sequence of entries of individual voices participating in the imitation is changed, as

the opening phrase is introduced by an alto—unlike in *prima pars*—and then taken over by the top voice.

The most striking feature of the motet is the inclusion of a cantus firmus with the text of the antiphon *Da pacem Domine*. The presentation of a tenor in long notes, in different mensuration, in the middle of the texture suggests that the work follows an old tradition of writing axial motets. The tenor is presented in the first part in the tenor in *tempus perfectum cum prolatione imperfecta*, while the remaining voices are written in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione imperfecta*. In the second part, all voices, including the tenor the carrying cantus firmus, are written in *tempus imperfectum diminutum*. The use of different mensurations in various voices—(3, 2) in the tenor against (2, 2) in the other voices—was something common in the masses and motets of the earlier Flemish composers.¹⁸ Moreover, the use of different mensurations in the cantus firmus in different two parts of the motet seems to have been uncommon around the time when the manuscript VatS 38 was compiled.¹⁹ For example, none of fifteen cantus-firmus motets by Lasso examined by James Haar, all probably written after 1550, has an alteration of mensuration in the cantus firmus; moreover, all voices, including the voice carrying cantus firmus, conform to the same mensuration. One of the motets composed around the VatS 38 *O altitudo divitiarum* with a different mensuration of the cantus firmus in each of the two parts is Cipriano de Rore's *Quis tuos presul—Quin tenes legum* (6vv.).

¹⁸ Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900-1600* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Medieval Academy of America, 1961), 101.

¹⁹ But it is important to note that in many works, including Festa's, such as e.g. *Ave nobilissima creatura*, *Vidi speciosam*, there is a change of mensuration of a cantus firmus introduced towards the end of the second part. Or in one-part motets toward the end of the work, e.g. in *Jesu Nazarene*, *Super flumina Babylonis*, *Inclitae sanctae virginis Catharinae*.

Published in *Dialogo della musica* of 1544 (RISM 1544²²), the motet was dedicated to Cristoforo Madruzzo, Cardinal of Trent, with whom Rore may have been acquainted, as the motet refers to Madruzzo who was to receive the Cardinal's hat.²⁰

It is also possible that the use of a cantus firmus written in different mensuration (tempus perfectum in the case of *O altitudo divitiarum*) might have a symbolic meaning. I shall demonstrate later that by means of perfect mensuration in a voice carrying a cantus firmus a composer may have intended to refer to the dogma of the Trinity; it needs to be remembered that the main motet text—*O altitudo divitiarum*—is a part of the reading for Trinity Sunday (Romans, 11:33-34). I shall also suggest that the motet *O altitudo divitiarum* may have been composed for the peace meeting between Pope Paul III, Emperor Charles V, and the French King Francis I at Nice, lasted from May 15 until June 20 of 1538. The truce of Nice ultimately ended in a war of almost three years between the emperor and the French king.²¹ The war began after Francesco Maria Sforza's death without heirs on November 1, 1535, which reopened the troublesome question of Milan. As a result, Francis demanded Milan for his second son, Henry, Duke of Orléans; but Charles wanted rather to offer Milan to the king's third son, the Duke of Angoulême. Meanwhile, French troops invaded Italy and together with their Swiss allies quickly overran Savoy and seized Turin, capital of Piedmont, in February of 1536. But because Duke Charles III of Savoy-Piedmont was the emperor's brother-in-law, as their wives

²⁰ The motet was probably composed after 1542, when it was revealed that the bishop Madruzzo was elected a cardinal; see *Cipriano de Rore: Opera omnia*, 6:xi, for edition of the motet, see pp. 176-84.

²¹ Following paragraph is largely based on and adapted from James D. Tracy, *Emperor Charles V, Impresario of War: Campaign Strategy, International Finance, and Domestic Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 158-66 and R. J. Knecht, *Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 274-92.

were daughters of Portugal's John III, Charles took Francis's action as affront and in response the imperial armies invaded Provence. Charles was planning to capture well-fortified Avignon, but because at some point his troops were lacking food and were getting sick he decided to withdraw. Meanwhile, the idea of a combined attack against the Turks was becoming more needed and real. The announcement of a Holy League against the Ottomans on February 8, 1538, involving Venice, the pope, and the Habsburg brothers forced Francis to participate in the peace meeting in Nice. Because Charles and Francis could not stand each other and did not want to sit in one room together, the negotiations were carried out by Pope Paul III, who was shuttling between them. Eventually, the pope convinced both to sign a ten-year truce on June 18, 1538.

It is known that Paul III brought to Nice a group of musicians—singers and instrumentalists. As Robert Stevenson put it, “convinced that music might somehow soothe the principals to a peace treaty, the pope brought along twenty of his own singers: all richly garbed in new velvet cassocks and silk surplices (the cost of these sumptuous garments having been paid for out of his private discretionary funds). En route to the conference he added several instrumentalists—trombonists from Bologna, violinists from Milan, and trumpeters, drummers, and bombard players from Genoa.”²² It is well known that Cristóbal de Morales was among musicians accompanying the pope on his trip to Nice, and one of Morales's works, his six-voice motet in two movements *Jubilate Deo omnis terra*, was specifically written for the peace celebrations in Nice in 1538.²³

²² Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976), 18.

²³ For modern edition of Morales's motet, see *Cristóbal de Morales: Opera omnia*, ed. Higinio Anglès (Rome: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1952-), 13: 184-91.

Published in Moderne's *Quintus liber mottetorum ad quinque, et sex, et septem vocum* of 1542 (RISM 1542⁵) and Scotto's *Il primo libro de motetti a sei voce...* of 1549 (RISM 1549³), this motet might be counted among Morales's most popular compositions. Besides the printing of vocal parts the motet was also arranged for two vihuelas by Enríquez de Valderrábano, printed in Valladolid in 1547, and later for one vihuela by Fuenllana, printed in Seville in 1554.²⁴ Apparently its popularity lasted until 1576, since Victoria then borrowed extensively from Morales's *Jubilate Deo* for his own six-voice *Gaudeamus* Mass.²⁵ The main text of Morales's motet, *Jubilate Deo omnis terra*, contains the names Paulus, Carolus, and Franciscus, indicating the occasion for which it was intended—the peace treaty in Nice in 1538; all the three figures took part in the meeting. Tenor I of the motet carries a six-note cantus firmus/motto based on the word *Gaudeamus* (the melody is derived from the plainsong incipit); this motto is repeated eighteen times throughout the work—eight times in the *prima pars* and ten times in the *secunda pars*. Stevenson seems to be right by pointing that Morales must have been fond of this unifying device since he employed it in his most important works—*Veni Domine et noli tardare*, *Gaude et laetare Ferrariensis civitas*, *Tu es Petrus*, and *Emendemus in melius*.²⁶ In addition to these there are still two other works that use ostinato—*Exaltata*

²⁴ For these two instrumental publications, see Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 99-104 esp. 102 and 153-59 esp. 156.

²⁵ Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, 18-19.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 19.

*est Sancta Dei Genitrix and Virgo Maria.*²⁷ The text of the motet *Jubilare Deo omnis terra* reads as follows:

I. *Jubilare Deo, omnis terra
cantate omnes, jubilate et psalite
quoniam suadente Paulo, Carolus et Franciscus
Principes terrae convenerunt in unum
et pax de caelo descendit.*

II. *O felix aetas, o felix Paule, o vos felices Principes
qui christiano populo pacem tradidistis.
Vivat Paulus, Vivat Carolus, Vivat Franciscus
Vivant, vivant simul, et pacem nobis donent in aeternum.*

It is clearly seen that the text was written for the special occasion. The first verse—*Jubilare Deo, omnis terra*—implies yet that the text could have been at least inspired by two Psalm texts—either Psalm 65 or 99—as both begin with *Jubilare Deo, omnis terra* (the rest of the motet text, though, does not match either of the Psalms). I suggest that since according to the *Liber Usualis* the text of Psalm 65 with the first verse *Jubilare Deo omnis terra* was probably sung on May 12, 1538 (as it is prescribed for the introit for the Third Sunday after Easter), and the meeting between Pope, Charles V, and Francis I began on May 15, 1538, Morales may have been inspired by the Psalm text that was performed just three days before the meeting. Following this track, one may notice that also the use of the text *O altitudo divitiarum* can be placed within the time when the treaty meeting occurred. Prescribed for the reading for Trinity Sunday (Romans, 11:33-34), which in 1538 was on June 16, and so two days before the treaty of Nice was concluded on June 18, the motet would fit very well for the celebration of the recently

²⁷ The last work, *Virgo Maria*, is preserved only in Fuenllana's arrangement for vihuela published in *Orphenica lyra* of 1554 in Sevilla. Its modern edition is in *Cristóbal de Morales: Opera omnia*, 34:117-26.

signed peace truce. Of course, the use of the text prescribed for Trinity Sunday can be regarded as accidental; but its combination with a cantus firmus *Da pacem Domine* should be considered and interpreted as an important clue. Also, a use of *tempus perfectum* mensuration for a cantus firmus, a means not very common at the time, may be seen as planned and intended for some symbolic purposes; in the context of the Nice meeting it may not only be interpreted as the musical representation of the dogma “one God in three Persons”²⁸ but because used exclusively for a cantus firmus *Da pacem*, *tempus perfectum* mensuration may symbolically refer to the three persons participating in the meeting—Paul III, Charles V, and Francis I.

Since Morales, who was just a member of the papal chapel, wrote a monumental motet for this important and significant event, it is hard to imagine that such a prominent papal composer and member of the Cappella Sistina as Costanzo Festa, who composed at least a few occasional works, would not have been present in Nice. Stevenson points out that later, on March 4, 1543, Festa was not among twenty-two able-bodied singers who set out for the encounter between the pope and Charles V. Since the emphasis is put on Festa’s absence during the meeting of 1543, one may suppose that he may have taken part in the pope’s previous peregrinations. In a study on Festa’s motet *Ecce advenit dominator*, which may have been composed for the coronation of Charles V in Bologna in 1530, Klaus Pietschmann states that [Festa] “can be placed in Bologna in the service of the pope by the end of 1529, and it can be assumed that he not only took an active role in

²⁸ Willem Elders says that “the number three can be expressed in the rhythmic movement of the composition, for example by means of perfect mensuration or *proportio sesquialtera*, see idem, “Symbolism in the Sacred Music of Josquin,” in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 534.

the coronation ceremony [of Charles V], but was also intimately involved in his preparations.”²⁹ One may get an impression that Festa very often was a member of Pope’s entourage.

Interestingly, a characteristic already discussed of the motet *O altitudo divitiarum*—the use of C mensuration in the first movement, a trait unusual in the works of most post-Josquin generation of composers—can be found in some Festa’s works, e.g. *Deus venerunt gentes*, *Ecce advenit dominator*, *Video in hac crucis*, and *Vidi speciosam*. All but *Vidi speciosam* may be thought to have been composed around the 1530s.

Table 4. Costanzo Festa’s motets with C mensuration in the first movement and their sources	
<i>Deus venerunt gentes</i>	RomeV 35-40, VatS 20
<i>Ecce advenit dominator</i>	VatS 20
<i>Video in hac crucis</i>	VatS 20
<i>Vidi speciosam</i>	PadBC A17, VatS 20

Two of the manuscripts in the table—RomeV 35-40 and VatS 20—were copied between 1530 and 1540; the former around 1530-31 and the latter around 1539. The manuscript PadBC A17 was copied in Padua around 1522. It is well known that the first work, a motet *Deus venerunt gentes*, as Lowinsky suggested, was probably composed on the sack of Rome in 1527; the next work—*Ecce advenit dominator*, according to Pietschmann, may have been intended for the coronation of Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor in

²⁹ Klaus Pietschmann, “A Motet by Costanzo Festa for the Coronation of Charles V,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 21 (2002): 319-54 at 325.

Bologna in 1530; *Video in hac crucis*, a work included in VatS 20, can be considered as composed around 1530s but on a stylistic basis could be also considered as an early work, composed around 1520.³⁰ The last of the four motets, *Vidi speciosam*, must have been composed before 1522 as this is a compilation date of the Paduan manuscript. The dissemination of Festa's four works with C mensuration in the first movement does not help much to solve a problem with establishing at least approximate date for the motet *O altitudo divitiarum*. The case of *Vidi speciosam* shows that Festa employed this mensuration even before 1520.

What conclusions about *O altitudo divitiarum* may be drawn from all this? The picture emerging is that the motet could be the work of Costanzo Festa and may have been composed by him for the meeting in Nice in 1538; the work possesses some ingredients and compositorial features that can be found in motets that are transmitted under Festa's name—the use of differently texted cantus firmus, the use of C mensuration in the first movement in some of his motets, the use of opening imitative duo, and his practice of writing ceremonial compositions celebrating important events (e.g. *Super flumina Babylonis*, *Ecce advenit dominator*, *Deus venerunt gentes*, *Exaltabo te*, *Florentia*). Interestingly enough, if we assumed that the motet was really composed for the Nice meeting, on stylistic grounds, I think Festa seems to be the only composer who could musically contribute to the meeting (besides Morales).³¹ Are there any other

³⁰ I noticed some general similarities between this motet and Mouton's *Domine, salvum fac regem* (4vv.) first published in Antico's *Motetti novi libro tertio*, no. 11 (RISM 1520²) and later in Glareanus's *Dodecachordon* of 1547 (RISM 1547¹). The opening of Festa's work is to some extent analogous to the opening from Mouton's motet. For modern edition of Mouton's work, see *The Medici Codex*, 2:142-50.

³¹ At the time of the meeting, Palestrina (born 1525-6) was too young to compose a motet for such important event. Nicolas Gombert was a singer in Emperor Charles V's court chapel from 1526, *maître des*

possible conclusions than the ones drawn above? Probably yes. We are dealing with a motet transmitted and ascribed to Festa in only one but a late source. The ascription by Llorens does not seem to be secure since his other one, of *Gaude felix ecclesia (Gaude felix Florentia)*, appears to have been mistaken. One may easily argue that since there is no evidence providing with a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the motet, and since the *terminus ante quem* is the Vatican manuscript from 1550-63, the motet *O altitudo divitiarum* could have been easily composed much earlier, for a different occasion, (not for the Nice treaty), and by an unknown composer. The case of de Silva's two works—*In te, Domine, speravi* and *Gaude felix Florentia*—shows that although inserted in the late manuscript VatS 38 they were actually composed much earlier, the former at least in the 1520s (Silva died probably in the late 1520s) and the latter in 1513 for the coronation of Pope Leo X. I think that *O altitudo divitiarum* could easily have been composed even as early as around the time of Leo X's pontificate. The combination of the text from Romans and a prayer *Da pacem* reminds to some extent of Heinrich Isaac's motet *Optime pastor/Da pacem Domine/Sacerdos et pontifex*, written to celebrate the meeting between Maximilian I's Chancellor, Cardinal Lang, and Pope Leo X in December of 1513.³² But if one adheres to the suggestion that *O altitudo divitiarum* is by

enfants from 1529, accompanied the emperor on his trips (Spain, Italy, Austria, and Germany), and wrote several works for special occasions, but he avoids cantus firmus, ostinato, and double texts. As far as I know the only work by Gombert with double text is *Musae Jovis*, his tribute to Josquin, where he uses *Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis* as a cantus firmus in long notes, see *New Grove*, s.v. "Gombert, Nicolas," by George Nugent and Eric Jas; a modern transcription of *Musae Jovis* is in *Nicolas Gombert: Opera omnia* ed. Joseph Schmidt-Görg (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1951-75), 9:119-26; In addition, Gombert does not use C mensuration in the first movement in any of his motets. And Gombert's works almost never appear in both Cappella Sistina and Cappella Giulia manuscripts. I managed to find only one motet by Gombert in the manuscript VatG XII.4—his *Sancta et immaculate* (4vv.).

³² For a general description of the motet, see Stephanie E. Schlagel, "The *Liber selectarum cantionum* and the 'German Josquin Renaissance'," *Journal of Musicology* 29 (2002): 564-615 at 574-75.

Festa, why was not the motet copied into at least one of the two manuscripts— RomeV 35-40 and VatS 20? The former is a very important source of ceremonial works written, in general, not long before 1530 and the latter is believed to have been entirely dedicated to Festa himself. The fact that it does not appear in VatS 20 makes all we have said so far even more complicated because it neither proves Festa’s authorship nor supports the idea the work was composed for the Nice meeting of 1538 (remember the manuscript was compiled around 1539).³³ But I think that although all these suggestions, hypothesis, and questions seem inconclusive they are at the same time inescapable; taken out of the Vatican manuscript and shown in a broad stylistic and historical context the motet *O altitudo divitiarum*, whether written by Festa or not, seems to be an interesting sample of Renaissance bitextual ceremonial motet.

The motet text and its English translation are in liner notes accompanying a recording of *Heinrich Isaac, Missa de Apostolis*, The Tallis Scholars, directed by Peter Philips, Gimmell Records CDGIM 023. For its modern edition, see *Vier Staatsmotetten des 16. Jahrhunderts von Heinrich Isaac*, Antoine Bruhier, *Jachet de Mantua, Johannes de Cleve*, ed. Albert Dunning, *Das Chorwerk 120* (Wolfenbüttel: Mösler Verlag), 1-22.

³³ However, the reason that the motet was not included in VatS 20 may be that Festa’s intention was to provide Parvus with “perfect” copies of his motets. As Brauner observed, some of the motets in VatS 20 have concordances in earlier manuscript VatG XII. 4 (copied around 1536). The differences in readings between VatG XII.4 and VatS 20 motets in some cases seem to be extensive; see Mitchell P. Brauner, “Music from the Cappella Sistina at the Cappella Giulia,” *Journal of Musicology* 3 (1984): 287-311 at 305. It may be possible that the copy of *O altitudo divitiarum*, as I suggest written for the Nice peace meeting in 1538, and so very close to the time when the manuscript started to be compiled, was not good enough to be included in VatS 20 and Festa did not want to rush with its inclusion in the manuscript.

Chapter 7

Da pacem

The only two motets in the manuscript VatS 18 (copied 1538-39)—*Petrus apostolus* (4vv.) and *Da pacem* (4vv.) are anonymous.¹ Alexander Main, however, considers the two motets to be composed by Festa since all of the remaining works in the manuscript, except for four *Benedicamus Dominos*, were composed by him. Main admits, nevertheless, that at least *Da pacem* does not fit Festa's overall stylistic profile, as "built on a square-cut, slow-moving canon between the lower voices, is not at all a typical composition for Festa; in fact it is, so far as I know, unique in his output."²

The other piece, *Petrus apostolus*, is one of the two motets in Festa's output that begin with a chant incipit (the other one is *Domine, non secundum peccata*), which is often a characteristic feature of liturgical works such as Magnificats and antiphons.³ This motet takes its text and music from the antiphon for the Octave of SS. Peter and Paul (July 6) while the other one is based on the antiphon *Da pacem Domine*. The texts go as follows:

¹ The manuscript contains primarily works by Festa: eight Magnificats and thirty hymns. In addition to two anonymous motets there are still four anonymous *Benedicamus dominos*; see Costanzo Festa: *Opera Omnia*, ed. Albert Seay (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1962-79), 5:xi. These two motets plus another one *Sancta Dei genetrix* also appear in VatG VIII.39, and again all unattributed, but José M. Llorens assigns them to Palestrina; see José M. Llorens, "Tres ignoradas antifonas de Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina identificadas en el fondo musical de la Cappella Giulia," *Anuario musical* 22 (1967): 1-19, esp. 4; see also Clara Marvin, *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina: A Guide to Research* (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2002), 304; *New Grove* does not list them as Palestrina's. About their attribution to Palestrina see below.

² Alexander Main, "Costanzo Festa: The Masses and Motets," (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1960), 39 and 75.

³ Richard Sherr, "Illibata Dei Virgo Nutrix and Josquin's Roman Style," *JAMS* 41 (1988): 434-64 at 455 and 461 n. 21; John T. Brobeck, "Some 'Liturgical Motets' for the French Royal Court: A Reconsideration of Genre in the Sixteenth-Century Motet," *Musica Disciplina* 47 (1993): 123-57 at 132.

Petrus Apostolus,
et Paulus Doctor gentium,
ipsi nos docuerunt legem tuam Domine

Peter the Apostle
And Paul the Doctor of the gentiles
Have taught us your law, o Lord

Da pacem, Domine
In diebus nostris
Quia non est alius qui pugnet pro nobis
Nisi tu Deus noster

Give peace, O Lord
In our days
For there is no other who would fight for
Us except you, our God

These two motets represent a tradition of polyphonic setting of these two antiphon texts. The most famous fifteenth-century settings of *Petrus Apostolus* and *Da pacem* are by Guillaume Dufay and by Gilles Binchois respectively. Both are three-voice settings in *fauxbourdon* texture in which the chant melody is in the discantus.⁴ In the Roman tradition these two antiphons were very often paired, probably because of the local importance of St. Peter. In the manuscript VatSP B80 there are two settings of *Petrus apostolus* (3vv., f. 233 and 4vv., f. 38) and one three-voice *Da pacem* (f. 234). The other *Da pacem* (f. 234^v) in this manuscript is the ornamented superius to *Da pacem* on f. 234.⁵ The other settings of these two antiphons exist in VatS 15 (probably copied between 1490 and 1500) and in VatS 18.

Christopher Reynolds points out that before the seventeenth century there were no polyphonic settings of Magnificat antiphons in the Cappella Sistina manuscripts. They contained hymns, Magnificats, polyphonic antiphon settings for Marian texts, and occasional pieces for Office hours others than Vespers, but the settings of *Petrus*

⁴ Modern edition of Dufay's work in *Guillelmi Dufay: Opera Omnia* ed. Heinrich Besseler CMM (American Institute of Musicology, 1966), 102. Binchois' piece is in *The Sacred Music of Gilles Binchois*, ed. Philip Kaye (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 187.

⁵ Christopher Reynolds, "The Origins of San Pietro B 80 and the Development of a Roman Sacred Repertory," *Early Music History* 1 (1981): 257-304, esp. table on 297-304; Christopher Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's, 1380-1513* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 83.

apostolus, the Magnificat antiphon celebrating the basilica's patron, and *Da pacem* seem to have been unique.⁶ The conspicuous and striking presence of these two antiphons, always appearing together, in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century papal manuscripts permits us to count them among the works belonging to a canon of the repertory of the papal chapel; a repertory that includes polyphonic settings of the antiphon *Lumen ad revelationem gentium*, the canticle *Nunc dimittis*, and the tract *Domine, non secundum*.⁷

The use of the melody of the old antiphon *Da pacem Domine* as a cantus firmus in polyphonic settings seems to have been very popular throughout the Renaissance.⁸ In many compositions this melody becomes a structural foundation of a work and serves as a cantus firmus; in other works, the same cantus firmus appears in a canon between two voices. Such a dual treatment of the melody can be seen in Philippe Rogier's output, as in his five-voice setting of *Da pacem Domine* the altus carries the melody of the antiphon as a cantus firmus, while in his six-voice setting the same melody is a foundation of a canon at the second between the two tenor voices.⁹ The list of composers who set *Da pacem* antiphon polyphonically is long but for the purpose of this study it is sufficient to mention just a few: Alexander Agricola (3vv.), Antoine Brumel (4vv.), Carlo Gesualdo

⁶ Reynolds, *Papal Patronage*, 83.

⁷ For the overview of this repertory, see Jeffrey Dean, "The Evolution of a Canon at the Papal Chapel," and Mitchell P. Brauner, "Traditions in the Repertory of the Papal Choir," in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 138-166 and 167-174 respectively.

⁸ The antiphon *Da pacem Domine* dates back to the Antiphonale Romano from the time of St. Gregory I (590-604); see *Philippe Rogier: Opera Omnia*, ed. Lavern Wagner (American Institute of Musicology, 1974-76), 2 and 3:ix.

⁹ *Ibid.*; see also *Philippe Rogier: Eleven Motets*, ed. Lavern J. Wagner, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 3 (New Haven: A-R Editions, Inc.: 1966), 10.

(6vv.), Nicolas Gombert (5vv.; with II pars *Fiat pax in virtute tua*), Orlando di Lasso (5vv., and two settings in 6vv.), Francesco de Layolle (6vv.; with additional two verses – *Fiat pax in virtute tua. Et abundantia in turribus tuis*), Jean Mouton (6vv.), Johannes Prioris (6vv.), and Claudin de Sermisy (two settings; 3vv. and 4vv.).¹⁰

Besides several settings of *Da pacem* with strong attributions there are also some anonymous ones, of which one is the subject of more careful analysis here, as it shall be shown that it shares some characteristics with Festa's setting.¹¹ It appears in the Bolognese manuscript Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale MS Q 19 ("Rusconi

¹⁰ For modern editions of these works, see *Alexander Agricola: Opera Omnia*, ed. Edward R. Lerner (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1961-70), 4:47; *Antoine Brumel: Opera Omnia*, ed. Barton Hudson (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1969-72), 5:28; *Carlo Gesualdo: Sämtliche Werke*, ed. G. E. Watkins (Hamburg: Ugrino Verlag, 1961), 9:19-22; *Nicolas Gombert: Opera Omnia*, ed. Joseph Schmidt-Görg (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1970), 8:143-150; *Orlando di Lasso: The Complete Motets*, ed. Peter Bergquist, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance* 130 (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, Inc., 2002), 234-237; *Orlando di Lasso: The Complete Motets*, ed. James Erb, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance* 114 (Madison: A-R Editions, Inc., 1998), 109-112; *Orlando di Lasso: The Complete Motets*, ed. Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance* 141 (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, Inc., 2005), 19-24; for Francesco de Layolle, see *Music of the Florentine Renaissance*, ed. Frank D'Accone (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1973), 5:28-33; for Jean Mouton, see J. M. Shine, "The Motets of Jean Mouton," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1953), 2:213; for Johannes Prioris, see *Johannis Prioris: Opera Omnia*, ed. Conrad Douglas 3 American Institute of Musicology (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1985), 29-31; for Claudin de Sermisy, see *Treize livres de motets parus chez Pierre Attaingnant en 1534 et 1535*, ed. A. Smijers and A. T. Merritt (Paris and Monaco: 1934-64), 7:183-184 and 11:69-80.

¹¹ An interesting but not discussed in this study anonymous setting of *Da pacem* is present in three manuscripts and one print; in MS Capetown, Grey 3.b.12 (fols. 110v-111r) and ParisBNF 1597 (f. 2v-3r; copied in Paris c. 1500) it has three voices while in FlorBN Panc. 27 (fols. 31v.-32r.; copied either in Mantua or Florence at the beginning of the sixteenth century) and *Motetti A. Numero trentatre, Venetiis, O. Petrucci 1502* it appears in a four-voice version (add. Altus) for a modern edition, see *Italian Laude & Lating Unica in MS. Capetown, Grey 3.b.12*, ed. Giulio Cattin (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1977), xxxii and 73-74 and *Sixteenth-Century Motet: Motetti A numero trentatre (Venice, 1502)*, ed. Richard Sherr (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1991), 91-95. The another anonymous *Da pacem* appears in Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale MS Q 18 (fols. 30v.- 31r.), see Susan Forscher Weiss, "Bologna Q18: Some Reflections on Content and Context," *JAMS* 41 (1988): 63-101, esp. 79-80 and also table 69. In the manuscript FlorC 2439 (the Basevi Codex), probably copied between 1506 and 1514 (see *Census-Catalogue*, 1: 233-234) there is a three-voice setting of *Da pacem* attributed to Johannes Ghiselin but on stylistic grounds is considered to be not his, for its edition, see *Johannes Ghiselin-Verbonnet: Opera omnia*, ed. C. Gottwald, *CMM* (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1961-68), 1:48:49 and v. In the manuscript ChiN M91 (Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MS. –VM 1578. M91), copied around 1527-9, there is an anonymous setting of *Da pacem* for five voices. For a modern edition, see Colin Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, 2:265-270.

Codex”; fols. 54v.-55r.), probably compiled between 1516 and 1518, and is written for four voices.¹² One may notice some general features this motet shares with Festa’s *Da pacem*. It has the same combination of clefs – c1, c3, c3, and F3 with the same number of flat signatures at the clef sign.

Let us look more closely at the two motets. The foundation of Festa’s *Da pacem* (ex. 1) is a canon written out in the lowest voice, the Bassus in an F3 clef. The higher voice takes over the melody, starting it a fourth higher on G. The two upper voices, soprano and alto, appear to be completely independent and their melodic vocabulary/profile and rhythmic patterns are in contrast to the two lowest voices, which are in slower motion. This general observation is not entirely correct, as in the course of the work, which is only thirty seven bars long, there are three short points where this clear distinction—fast upper two voices and slow lower two voices—is blurred a little bit. At the beginning only the alto part is distinctively fast-moving and melismatic whereas the soprano, moving in longer note values (mm. 1-3), is less mobile and seems to act as though it is introducing the entry of the canon in the two lowest voices; indeed its head motive g’ - f’ - g’ can be interpreted as the preparation/introduction of the canon. Later (mm. 13-17) the alto voice joins the two lower voices in their slow motion and all three lower voices—alto and two canon voices—create a sort of an accompaniment to the top

¹² For a description of the manuscript, see Jessie Ann Owens, Introduction to *Bologna Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS. Q19* (“Rusconi Codex”), facsimile edition (New York and London, 1988), published as vol. 1 of *Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, 29 vols., ed. Howard Mayer Brown, pp. v-xvi; for the latest convincing evidence and attempt at dating the manuscript; see Robert Nosow, “The Dating and Provenence of Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 19,” *Journal of Musicology* 9 (1991): 92-108, esp. 107-108;

voice. Another conspicuous spot appears after the canon dies away in the tenor voice (m. 32) and all voices end the motet at almost the same rhythmic pace.

Although at first glance the two upper voices seem to move independently, one may notice some points of hidden rhythmic-melodic imitation between these voices which usually happen in the middle of a phrase (e.g. mm. 6-8; 10-12; 16-20; 23-26; 30-33). Also, there appear some sequences—repeats of melodic and rhythmic motives within the alto voice (mm. 4-5 and 6-7; 20-21 and 22) and the two upper voices are bound by the same rhythm (mm. 3-4).

Example 5. Costanzo Festa—*Da pacem* (from VatS 18) adapted from *Opera omnia*.

The image displays a musical score for the motet 'Da pacem' by Costanzo Festa. It consists of two systems of four staves each, representing four voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The music is written in a single system with a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the vocal staves. The first system covers measures 1 through 4, and the second system covers measures 5 through 8. The lyrics for the first system are: 'Da pa cem, da pa' and 'Da pa cem, pa'. The lyrics for the second system are: 'cem, Do mi ne, in' and 'cem mi ne in', 'cem, Do mi ne', and 'Do mi ne,'.

Example 5. (continued)

10

di - e - bus no

di e bus no

in di e bus

in di e bus no stris:

15

stris: qui - a non est a li us

stris: qui a non est a li

no stris qui a non

qui a non a

20

qui a non est a li us, a li

us a li

a li

li

25

us qui pu gnet pro no bis, pro no

us qui pu gnet pro no bis, pro

us qui pu gnet

us qui pu gnet pro

Example 5. (continued)

The image displays a musical score for a vocal ensemble, consisting of four staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and their corresponding lyrics. The score is divided into two systems, starting at measure 30 and 35. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The lyrics are: "bis ni si tu De us", "no bis ni si tu De us no", "pro no bis ni si", "no bis ni si tu De us", "no ster", "tu De us no ster.", and "no ster.".

The Bologna Q19 *Da pacem* is constructed in an almost identical way. As in Festa's work, the two lower voices, bassus and tenor, are based on the canon at the upper fourth. The melody of *Da pacem* starts in the bassus on D and then it is taken over by the tenor on G. But before the canon starts, two upper voices introduce in imitation the initial three-note motive of *Da pacem* (mm. 1-3). Likewise, the Bologna Q19 *Da pacem* contains a few inside-phrase imitation between two upper voices (mm. 8-9A – 9-10S; 10-11A- 11-12S; 12-13A – 13-14S; 33-34A-34-35S; a long passage mm. 37-40S- 37-40A; 46-47S – 46-47A); a short homorhythmic passage (mm. 3-4); and a repetitive rhythmic-melodic sequence within the Alto voice (mm. 21-22 and 24-25; the slight changes are

instead of the octave leap f'-f'', there is a leap of fourth d''- g''). Jon Banks ends his discussion about the motet in the context of the manuscript Bologna Q19 saying that

the motet is a simple exercise in canonic formation and its clothing in routine counterpoint and is not really comparable to the other pieces in BQ 19; nevertheless each voice is texted so that it was presumably intended for performance along with the rest of the manuscript, and a modicum of charm must be admitted when considering for example the sequences in mm. 36-40.¹³

Of course one may say that there are still some differences between these two pieces; Festa ends the whole piece with something like a coda (mm. 32-37) where all voices move in more or less the same rhythmic pace. Nothing like this happens in Bologna *Da pacem* which ends with all voices being still divided in fast-moving upper and slow-moving lower voices.

¹³ Jon Banks, *Motet As a Formal Type In Northern Italy, ca. 1500*, 2 vols. (New York: Garland, 1993), 1:151.

Example 6. Anonymous *Da pacem* from the manuscript Bologna Q19 (ff. 54v.-55r.)

The image displays a musical score for the motet "Da pacem" from the manuscript Bologna Q19, spanning folios 54 verso and 55 recto. The score is presented in four systems, each containing four staves: a vocal line (Soprano), a vocal line (Alto/Tenor), a vocal line (Bass), and a basso continuo line. The music is written in a mensural style with a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are in Latin and are placed below the corresponding vocal staves. The first system (measures 1-4) begins with the vocal line singing "Da - pa - cem Do -". The second system (measures 5-8) continues with "Da pa -", "Do - mi - ne in di - e - bus", "cem Do - mi - ne in -", and "pa - cem Do mi". The third system (measures 9-12) contains the lyrics "nos - stris: quo - ni -", "di - e bus nos stris:", "ne in di e", and "in di e bus". The fourth system (measures 13-16) concludes with "am non - est a - li - us", "quo ni am non", "bus nos stris:", and "nos tris: quo". The basso continuo line provides a harmonic foundation with sustained notes and simple rhythmic patterns.

Example 6. (continued)

21

qui pug - net qui
est a - li - us
quo ni am non est
ni am non est a

26

pug - net pro no -
qui pug net
a li us qui
li us qui pug

41

S 1 us nos - ter, De -
S 2 us no - ster
S 3 De - us
B De - us nos -

46

S 1 us nos - ter.
S 2 [De - us] nos - ter.
S 3 no - ster.
B ter.

The authenticity problem of Festa's *Da pacem Domine*— remember it is an anonymous work in VatS 18 and VatG VIII.39—may seem to be an easy one since in the first manuscript it is found among the works attributed to Festa while in the second one it appears after anonymous Magnificats attributed to Festa on the basis of concordances with VatS 18.¹⁴ Thus the ascription of the work to Festa, though controversial, cannot be dismissed out of hand. Although this composition appears anonymously in these two sources, the context in which it is found permits us to suppose that it was composed by Festa. Moreover, there are several works in Festa's output that employ a canon and thus to some extent could be said as having some characteristics in common with the VatS 18 *Da pacem*. For example, his *Regina celi* (5vv.)¹⁵ is based on a canon between the soprano and tenor using the Gregorian melody of the Marian antiphon.¹⁶ Festa's sequence setting of *Inviolata integra et casta* for eight voices, preserved in two Vatican manuscripts—VatS 46 (c. 1508-27; Festa's piece was inserted into the manuscript probably around 1520s¹⁷) and VatS 20 (c. 1539; contains exclusively Festa's works)— is also a canonic work. The composer often uses canons in his hymn and Magnificat cycles. Thomas Schmidt-Beste points out that

¹⁴ Llorens, "Tres ignoradas antifonas," 9-10.

¹⁵ It is preserved in three sources: VatS 46 (ff. 151v.), VatG XII. 4 (ff. 64v.), and FlorL 666 (the Medici Codex; ff. 141v.-142); for its edition, see *Costanzo Festa: Opera Omnia*, 5:9-14 and Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex*, 2:384-90.

¹⁶ *The Medici Codex of 1518: A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 1:231.

¹⁷ *Census-Catalogue*, 4:49-50. For the date of the inclusion of Festa's work, see Thomas Schmidt-Beste, "A Dying Art: Canonic Inscriptions and Canonic Techniques in the Sixteenth-Century Papal Chapel Repertory," in *Canons and Canonic Techniques, 14th-16th centuries: Theory, Practice, and Reception History*, ed. Katelijne Schiltz and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Leuven: Vitgeverij Peeters, 2007), 345-46.

[Festa] uses them in a slightly different fashion than earlier composers, who, if they had chosen to use canonic techniques, had normally used them throughout—that is in all movements of a mass, all partes of a motets, or all sections of a liturgical composition. Such had been the practice in the earlier Papal Chapel repertory as well. Festa, in contrast, uses canon structurally, to reinforce the climax of the final verse or final mass section; he makes use of the widespread practice to expand the texture by one voice in the final section of a piece, from four to five or from five to six by adding not a notated but a canonic voice.¹⁸

While Schmidt-Beste's statement is true of Festa's hymns and Magnificat, Festa's two above-mentioned motets—*Regina celi* and *Inviolata integra et casta*—employ a canon throughout the composition. In other words, what seems to be characteristic of Festa's canonic treatment in his hymns and Magnificats is not so in his motets.

The interest in writing canonic compositions seems to have been particularly lively among composers active at the papal chapel. Schmidt-Beste says that in many manuscripts copied for the papal chapel there are works with canonic writing; for example the manuscript VatS 35 (c. 1487-90) contains eight masses with a canon written by such composers as Heinrich Isaac, Marbriano de Orto, Ockeghem, and Compère. This affinity of writing canonic works was consistently cultivated in the papal chapel throughout the sixteenth century. In the manuscript VatS 38 (c. 1550-63) there are no fewer than thirteen canonic motets of the thirty-nine written by Jean de la Fage, Mouton, Morales, Josquin, Willaert, Andreas de Silva, Maillard, and Palestrina.¹⁹ Thus it may be difficult to determine who of all these composers played the most important role in shaping Festa's canonic writing. According to Lowinsky, Festa's *Regina celi* (5vv.) may

¹⁸ Schmidt-Beste, "A Dying Art," 346.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 348.

be a reflection of Mouton's influence.²⁰ If in some compositions the association with Mouton's works may seem to be clear, in others, like in Festa's Magnificat, one may notice his individual approach. Looking for analogies between Festa's securely attributed works, such as his *Regina celi*, for example, and *Da pacem* of VatS 18, one may notice that *Regina celi* lacks one important characteristic of *Da pacem*—the two stylistically contrasted duets (two upper and two lower voices). Although in *Regina celi* the two upper voices are treated canonically they do not stand out from the others in terms of rhythmic pace.²¹ This characteristic is shared with the Bologna Q19 *Da pacem*. Thus this line of argumentation leads us to suppose that the Bologna Q19 *Da pacem* may have also been composed by Festa because the *Da pacem* of VatS18 shares some the same traits with the *Da pacem* of Bologna Q19, or at least Festa may have used the Bologna Q19 *Da pacem* as a model for his work in VatS 18.²²

But on the other hand the suggestion that the VatS 18 *Da pacem* may have been composed by a different composer may not be so far from the truth, as the work is exceptional and little at odds with Festa's output in terms of its construction and

²⁰ *The Medici Codex*, 1:231. It is the truth that Mouton inspired many composers at the time; for example, Divitis's *Per lignum* was evidently modeled on Mouton's motet on the same text. The relation and resemblance between the two works is also confirmed by the fact that in two sources—FlorL666 (the Medici Codex) and BolC Q19 (Rusconi Codex)—they appear close to each other separated only by one piece. Likewise Mouton's work, Divitis's *Per lignum* also employs canonic technique; for comment on the both motets, see *ibid.*, 1:188.

²¹ Of course the use of a canon in Festa's *Regina celi* is not a strong argument to support the idea of his possible authorship of *Da pacem*. Since there were many other composers using this contrapuntal technique at that time, e.g. Mouton, by mentioning the motet *Regina celi* I only intended to emphasize that the technique was familiar to Festa.

²² The manuscript Bologna Q 19 is a source of Costanzo Festa's five motets. These five motets are *Regem archangelorum* (fols. 11'-12; 4vv.), *O pulcherima virgo* (ff. 41'-43; 4vv.), *Elizabeth beatissima*, (ff. 52'-53; 4vv.), *Quis dabit oculis meis*, (ff. 76'-78; 4vv.) and *Regem regum dominum* (ff. 124'-127; 4vv.), see *Costanzo Festa: Opera Omnia*, 5,x; Nosow, "The Dating and Provenence of Bologna," 98; see also the list of works included in BQ 19 in Banks, *Motet As a Formal Type in Northern Italy*, 1:249-252.

structure. In my opinion, Llorens's suggestion that *Da pacem* as well as *Petrus Apostolus* may be by Palestrina does not seem reasonable in light of what we know about Palestrina's life and the dissemination of his works in the papal musical institutions. Since Palestrina was born in 1525 or 1526²³ he must have been in his early teens when VatS 18 was compiled in 1538-1539.²⁴ As was said elsewhere, Palestrina's music began to be intensively copied into the manuscripts of the Vatican choirs about 1570. Before that time, the manuscripts were mostly dominated by the music of Carpentras, Festa, and Morales.²⁵ Is it then likely that the works of such a young composer were included in the manuscript VatS 18 so long before that time?

I think that the key to the understanding of the problem may be Banks's comment on the motet already quoted elsewhere; he says that "the motet [Bologna Q19] is a simple exercise in canonic formation and its clothing in routine counterpoint and is not really comparable to the other pieces in BQ 19." If so, could it be a student piece written by a composer at the beginning of his career? Undoubtedly the anonymous BQ 19 *Da pacem* stands out from Festa's works in BQ19 and also the Medici Codex (the earliest two manuscripts containing his works) in terms of stylistic features. Although the Medici Codex works betray influence of older masters such as Josquin and Mouton, Festa managed to show in them his individual approach and touch. The Motets *Deduc me Domine*, *Super flumina Babylonis*, *Regina celi laetare*, and *Angelus ad pastores ait*,

²³ *New Grove*, s.v. "Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da," by Lewis Lockwood, Noel O'Regan, and Jessie Ann Owens.

²⁴ *Census-Catalogue*, 5: 32.

²⁵ Dean, "The Repertory of the Cappella Giulia in the 1560s," 487.

despite containing some technical awkwardnesses, are characterized by originality, great expression, and astonishing formal cohesiveness. The same could be said about Festa's works in BQ 19; here yet Mouton's influence seems to be even bigger than in the works from the Medici Codex. With his famous *Quis dabit oculis nostris*, modeled on Mouton's motet with the same text, *Regem archangelorum*, and *Regem regum Dominum*, Festa indeed shows his predilection for the French master. If the BQ 19 *Da pacem* was to be attributed to Festa on the basis of its similar characteristics with the VatS 18 *Da pacem*, the work would have to be considered as Festa's earliest work since it does not fit the main body of his works in the two mentioned manuscripts—the works seemingly more mature. But of course the stylistic distinction and separateness of the BQ 19 *Da pacem* cannot be treated as the ultimate obstacle to counting the work among Festa's works. On the other hand, if we accept that the BQ 19 *Da pacem* is his, how should the VatS 18 *Da pacem* be treated? If we take the dates of the compilation of the two manuscripts as the approximate dates of the two *Da pacems*, then the VatS 18 (1538-39) *Da pacem* is around twenty years younger than the BQ 19 (1516-18). It is likely, of course, that for some reasons Festa could have used the BQ 19 *Da pacem* as a model for the new composition. But why would he then decide to write a work in a style cultivated around twenty years earlier?

Let us put the discussion of the motet aside for a while and see what the circumstances were in which the BQ 19 *Da pacem* was composed. It seems, though, that the tradition of setting the antiphon *Da pacem* polyphonically with a use of a canon was pretty common around the turn of the sixteenth century. Interestingly enough, it also seems that a group of the composers related to the French court were particularly

interested in writing such compositions. In Antico's print *Motetti novi e chanzoni francoise a quattro* (RISM 1520³)²⁶ there are two motets on *Da pacem*: one is by Johannes Prioris (ff. 15v.-16r.) and the other one is by Antoine Brumel (ff. 11v.-12r.).²⁷ The canonic treatment is used in both of them. Jean Mouton composed a motet *Da pacem* (6vv.) in which the sixth voice is canonically derived.²⁸ Also Antonius Divitis wrote a setting of the antiphon.²⁹ Preserved incomplete, as only the fragment of the altus carrying the canon *Ad Minima Fuga in Dyathessaron* is available, this motet is included in the manuscript LonBL 19583, copied around 1535 in Ferrara for the use at the court of Ercole II d'Este, Duke of Ferrara.³⁰ I think that Compère's *Quis numerare queat-Da pacem* can be also included in this group of works.³¹ Although the main text of the motet

²⁶ This publication contains Divitis's *Ista est speciosa* (ff. 14v-15r), a work also based on the canon.

²⁷ No evidence confirms Prioris's sojourn in Italy but it is known that he was *maistre de chapelle* in the service of the French king Louis XII. He probably died by January 1515 since his name does not appear in the accounts of Louis's funeral; see *New Grove*, s.v. "Prioris, Johannes," by Louise Litterick. Brumel also spent some time in Paris as a teacher of the children at Notre Dame between 1498 and 1500, but later was employed as *maestro di cappella* for Alfonso I d'Este of Ferrara from 1506 to 1510. He must have died soon after 1512, since a document from this year indicates that the composer was ill at that time; see *New Grove*, s.v. "Brumel, Antoine," by Barton Hudson.

²⁸ The only source for the motet is *Selecti aliquot moduli... liber primus* of 1555, published by Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard in Paris. For a modern edition, see Shine, "The Motets of Jean Mouton," 213.

²⁹ Divitis is found as master of the chapel of Queen Anne de Bretagne in 1510, where he made acquaintance with Mouton, Richafort, and Sermisy. Evidence proves that he attended the funeral of Louis XII in 1515. Together with Mouton, Antoine de Longueval, and Pierre Moulu, Divitis remained at the royal court and now served in the chapel of François I until around 1525 as the records of the king's household list Divitis, as a singer there. If Richardus Antonius listed as a member of the Cappella Giulia was Divitis it would mean that he was in Rome in 1526; see *Antonius Divitis: Collected Works*, ed. B. A. Nugent, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 94 (Madison: A-R Editions, Inc., 1993), xiv.

³⁰ *Census-Catalogue*, 2: 50-51.

³¹ For an edition of the motet, see *Loyset Compère: Opera Omnia*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1958-72), 3:9-14. Compère left Milan in 1477 and was present at the French court in 1486. Since then he was not known to have been related with any Italian courts or chapel; see Louise Litterick, "Performing Franco-Netherlandish Secular Music of the Late 15th Century," *Early*

is different than the text of the cantus firmus (which is the *Da pacem*) the motet belongs to the group since the tenor cantus firmus derived from the antiphon is treated here canonically. Exceptions to this rule are settings by Adrian Willaert, a composer of four-part *Da pacem*,³² who was mostly associated with Italian musical centers—Rome, Ferrara, and Venice—however, there are also some premises suggesting that before coming to Italy he had also spent some time in Paris,³³ and two settings (3vv. and 4vv.) by Claudin de Sermisy. In these three motets the canon is absent.

Although the print RISM 1520³ is later than the manuscript BolC Q19 (compiled c. 1518) the two motets *Da pacem* by Brumel and Prioris in Antico's publication seem to have been composed earlier, since Brumel and Prioris died sometime around 1515. As far as I know there is no canonic setting of the antiphon before Brumel and Prioris's settings (but if Compère's *Quis numerare queat/Da pacem* is considered to count among canonic

Music 8 (1980): 474-485. The presence of Compère's motet in the manuscript VatS 15 (fols. 196'-199) may be interpreted as the indication that the motet may have been copied in the manuscript during the composer's sojourn in Rome in 1495. Finscher points that since "*Petrucci's Motetti A* furnish the year 1502 as *terminus ad quem*, the text probably refers to the peace of Vercelli between Charles VIII and Ludovico il Moro in 1495, or to the French occupation of Milan in April 1500. It may be safely assumed therefore that Compère's motet was written between 1495 and 1502." See Ludwig Finscher, *Loysyet Compère (c1450-1518): Life and Works* (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1964), 121. I think it is less probable, but of course not unreasonable, that since the date of the print is 1502 and the dates of manuscript compilation 1495-1502, the motet could have also been composed during the time when Compère was dean at the church of St Géry in Cambrai between 1498 and 1500. Its presence in the Vatican manuscript yet strengthens the idea of its Italian origin. Similar in construction is Lhéritier's motet *Miserere mei, Domine/Ne proicias me* (6vv.) preserved only in the the Vallicelliana Manuscript (B.II.55-60) in which the antiphon, its initial phrase, is treated in a canon.

³² The motet is preserved in two sources—in manuscript CambraiBM 125-8 (f. 128v; copied c. 1542, probably in Bruges); see *Census-Catalogue*, 1:125-126, and in Susato's print *Liber secundus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quatuor vocum vulgo moteta vocant...* of 1553 (RISM 1553⁹; f. 10v.).

³³ According to Zarlino's *Dimostrazioni harmoniche* of 1573, Willaert may have spent some time in Paris studying with Jean Mouton before he finally appeared in Italy. During his stay there he may have composed some chansons written in a style popular at the French royal court of Louis XII. Later, in 1542 while in Venice he was granted a permission to visit Flanders (probably Bruges), see *New Grove*, s.v. "Willaert, Adrian," by Lewis Lockwood. Since the manuscript CambraiBM 125-8 was copied around that time one may wonder if his *Da pacem* may not have been composed during his visit to the North.

settings of *Da pacem* then the beginning of writing such works would be moved to around the turn of the sixteenth century). This permits us to suggest a hypothesis that the composers active at the French court may have been the ones who began the tradition of conceiving canonic settings of the antiphon *Da pacem*.³⁴ The question arises then whether one should seek a composer of the *Da pacem* in Bologna Q19 among the composers related to the French court? Yes, I think that such hypothesis should not be dismissed. On the other hand, a composer such as Costanzo Festa, not necessarily directly connected with the French court, who indeed was very familiar with French music, especially with the works by Mouton (see e.g. his *Quis dabit oculis nostris* based on Mouton's piece with the same text) might have used "Parisian" settings of *Da pacem* as models for BolQ 19 and VatS 18.

It may be useful to summarize. The context in which the VatS 18 *Da pacem* (copied 1538-39) is found implies Festa's authorship of the work. By comparing the motet with another *Da pacem* in Bologna Q19 (1516-18) we may come to the conclusion that both works have some stylistic features in common. From this, conjecture may be made that the Vatican *Da pacem* may have been modeled on Bologna *Da pacem*. If so, was it Festa who composed both of the works? Or was he just the author of the Vatican one and used the Bologna manuscript's setting as a model? Who then was the composer of Bologna Q19? The context backs up Festa's authorship of VatS 18's *Da pacem* but the

³⁴ Although it was already said that canonic writing was especially prominent in the works preserved in the manuscripts of the Papal Chapel, most of the canonic settings of *Da pacem* are found in the sources outside the Cappella Sistina. I have not managed to determine the reason why so many composers related to the French court wrote canonic settings of *Da pacem*. Of course one of many likely reasons were warlike times. It might be also a coincidence that so many composers related with Paris wrote the settings of *Da pacem* and I am far from considering Paris as a place where the tradition of writing such settings of *Da pacem* originated.

overall stylistic profile of the motet does not agree with what is otherwise known about Festa's style. This undermines our theory about Festa's authorship of the work in Bologna Q19. But even if we agreed that Festa composed both *Da pacem*—VatS 18 and Bol Q19—how should we explain the fact that both pieces seem to be removed from the stylistic norm of the other works composed by Festa around the time of their insertion into the manuscripts; and how should we reconcile two stylistically similar works but composed over the span of around twenty years? What should be their place in Festa's output (if they are really his)?

It was demonstrated that many of the composers of canonic *Da pacems* were connected with the French court. Moreover, it seems reasonable to suppose that the tradition of the canonic *Da pacem* may have been begun by the composers associated with Paris. Thus, one may wonder if Bologna Q19's setting should be regarded as a work by some composer active at some point of his career in Paris, or if its composer should instead be searched for among other composers, such as Festa, for example? I do not pretend to know all the answers to these questions. I think, though, that the problem of the authorship of VatS 18 *Da pacem* is not as simple as it appears to be. The case of Josquin's *Missa Une mousse de Biscaye* shows that much of how we perceive certain compositions depends on the context in which the given pieces are found.³⁵ What is

³⁵ Josquin's *Missa Une mousse de Biscaye* was published in Petrucci's book of 1505. Although the mass is attributed to Josquin in all three sources, its distinctive features make it conspicuously different from the preceded *Missa L'ami Baudichon* and Josquin's other works; see Bonnie J. Blackburn, "Masses on Popular Songs and on Syllables," in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 51-87 at 72. There was a proposition to consider the work as written by Gaspar van Weerbeke; see e.g. Jaap van Benthem, "Was 'Une mousse de Biscaye' Really appreciated by L'ami Baudichon?" *Muziek & Wetenschap* 1 (1991): 175-94 but it was rejected by Eric F. Fiedler "on the basis of a comparative analysis of voice-setting, imitation and the treatment of cantus firmus in van Weerbeke's other masses,"; see E. F. Fiedler, "A New Mass by Gaspar Van Weerbeke? Thoughts on Comparative Analysis," in *Studien zur Musikgeschichte. Ein Festschrift für Ludwig Finscher*, ed. A. Laubenthal and K.

interesting is that in all three sources the mass is attributed to Josquin, in one of them—Petrucci’s *Missarum Josquin liber secundus*—the ascription should be even regarded as solid, but on stylistic grounds the mass leaves us doubtful about its attribution to Josquin.

Wegman says that

a firmly attested ascription (of *Missa Une mousse*) is challenged at least partly on the basis of a weakly attested one (of *Missa L’ami Baudichon*)—for no other apparent reason than that the modern perception of Josquin’s style favours the latter but not the former. With this we have become caught in a methodological circle, having no other beacon of certainty than the force of current opinion: Josquin’s works *must*, in all circumstances, be seen to represent the pinnacle of musical achievement. Yet this opinion is no longer based on firmly attested works; on the contrary; it has become self-fulfilling in dictating which works we should accept and which we should reject.³⁶

The context in which VatS 18 *Da pacem* is found—as in the case of the mass—does not seem to be a sufficient argument. Is the presence of the works attributed to Festa in the manuscript strong argument to attribute *Da pacem* to the composer? The case of VatS 18’s *Da pacem* reminds one of the anonymous *Ave rosa speciosa* from the Chigi Codex. As an anonymous motet surrounded by the motets by Johannes Regis, *Ave rosa speciosa* would appear to be easily seen as written by the composer. Indeed, some of its stylistic features—as Houghton demonstrated—place the motet within Regis’s orbit; some others, nevertheless, disagree with Regis’s overall stylistic profile. And although Regis seems to be the most likely candidate for its authorship the motet was not, to my

Kusan-Windweh (Kassel, 1995): 72-87; I refer to the conclusions on Fiedler’s article made by Anne-Emmanuelle Ceulemans in her “A Stylistic Investigation of ‘Missa Une mousse de Biscaye’” *TVNM* 48 (1998): 30-50 at 46. Ceulemans herself, on the other hand, points that “it is not difficult to find works which present some of the peculiarities [found in *Missa Une mousse de Biscaye*]. So far, however, I have not been able to find a work which shares all these characteristics and would facilitate the attribution of the *Missa Une mousse de Biscaye*, see *idem.*, 46. For Rob Wegman’s defense of its attribution to Josquin, see his “Who Was Josquin?” in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), esp. 30-33.

³⁶ Wegman, “Who Was Josquin?”32.

great disappointment, included on the recording containing Regis's complete works made by the Clerk's Group.³⁷

To be frank, I am not for removing VatS 18's (and VatG VIII.39) *Da pacem* from Festa's putative canon (as an anonymous work it has never been included there, though). Its appearance in the company of Festa's works in the two Vatican manuscripts is indeed suggestive of his authorship. But any decision about the authorship of VatS 18 *Da pacem* needs to be made above all by considerations of the consequences it might cause. By approving this ascription we would need to agree to broaden our modern perception of Festa's style. If we then began to search for a composer of the Bologna Q19 *Da pacem*, Costanzo Festa would seem to be probably one of its potential authors, because on the stylistic grounds the two works have some traits in common. Unfortunately, besides the context in which VatS 18 is found nothing else helps to strengthen the idea of Festa's authorship of the motet. The context may be a helpful clue indicating a composer or a stylistic orbit to which a work might belong; on the other hand, our perception of a work may be distorted by adhering to this context as the only stylistic range to which—according to our modern norms and criterias—a work should belong.

The problem is that we sometimes do not know how to deal with anonymous compositions. Left with doubts and uncertainties about their authorship we seem to care less about their artistic value. Unable to reach a strong and unanimous conviction about their attribution and stylistic plausibility, we finally bite the bullet and let them live their own life. But not “taken care of,” they are slowly drifting away from the canon of our

³⁷ *Johannes Regis: Opera omnia*, The Clerks, dir. Edward Wickham (Musique en Wallonie, MEW 0848-0849, 2CDs, rec. 2007).

favorite works and sooner or later become forgotten. Murray Steib's ending passage from the article on (Josquin's?) *Missa Allez regretz* makes an important point, I think, relevant to our discussion.

Style criticism can be very deceptive. [Josquin's?]*Missa Allez regretz* is an excellent example of the importance of not relying on stylistic evidence alone when dealing with a doubtful attribution. On the basis of style characteristics, and with an attribution to Josquin, this Mass can be seen as one of his very early works. [...] On the other hand, if we remove the attribution, as I have done, I doubt that anyone would place it in his canon; it certainly is atypical of his mature works, and youthful works, by their very nature, are difficult to characterize. [...] What I fear most for *Missa Allez regretz* is that it will suffer the same fate as those verses that were thought to be by Sannazaro: now that we know that it is not by Josquin, it will sink in reputation, be considered less than mediocre, and silently pass away into oblivion.³⁸

One may wonder then if removed from the context of the works from the VatS 18, would the motet *Da pacem* fit into Festa's output? Would Festa be the first composer we would look at in search for a composer of this work?

³⁸ Murray Steib, "A Study in Style, or Josquin or Not Josquin: The *Missa Allez regretz* Question," *Journal of Musicology* 16 (1998): 519-44.

Chapter 8

Sancta Maria succurre miseris

The text of the motet comes from the Magnificat antiphon originally proper to the feast of Our Lady of the Snow, but later also assigned to the other Marian feasts through the year.¹ The text of the antiphon reads:

Sancta Maria,
succurre miseris,
juva pusillanimes,
refove flebiles,
ora pro populo,
interveni pro clero,
intercede pro devoto femineo sexu.
sentiant omnes tuum juvamen
quicumque celebrant
tuam sanctam commemorationem.

Holy Mary,
Succor the wretched,
Help the faint-hearted,
Revive the weeping,
Pray for the people,
Intervene for the clergy,
Intercede for the faithful feminine sex.
May whomsoever celebrates your
Commemoration,
Feel your help.

Because the text appears as the inscription on the pillars framing the Madonna in the Holy House of Loreto it was associated with the Santa Casa and became particularly

¹ Composed by Bishop Fulbert of Chartres (c. 951-c. 1029), it appears in his *Sermo IX, De Annuntiatione Dominica*. The prayer appears in the Roman Breviary for various Marian feasts. A partial indulgence is attached to this prayer. The origin of the text is unclear, but it seems likely that its original version is in the Pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo ccviii* of Ambrosius Autpertus, abbot of Benevento (ob. 784) in which it starts as *Succurre sancta genitrix*; see Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 70. The enormous popularity of devotion to Mary in the eighth and ninth centuries inspired a wide spread of a number of Marian prayers and hymns: *Ave Maris Stella*, *Gaude, Maria Virgo*, *Sub tuum Praesidium*, and *Sancta Maria, succurre miseris*, to name a few; see Paula D. Leveto, "The Marian Theme of the Frescoes in S. Maria at Castelseprio," *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990): 411. The fact that some of these prayers became extremely popular around this time does not mean that they were written then. An early Greek version of the prayer *Sub tuum praesidium*, for example, was dated to the fourth century; see O. Stegmüller, "Sub tuum praesidium. Bemerkungen zur ältesten Überlieferung," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 74 (1952): 76-82. The hymn *Ave Maris Stella*, initially attributed to St. Bernard (1090-1153), was later antedated because it was found in a St. Gall manuscript of the ninth century.

popular among sixteenth- and seventeenth-century composers.² Since this association seems to have been so obvious, the composers used the musical vocabulary from the Litany of Loreto in their settings of the Marian texts.³ A number of references to the litany chant in these settings prove that the influence of the litany on the sacred music was evident then. David Blazey demonstrated that although there are six chants for the litany in the *Processionale Monasticum*, a formula of the Litany of the Saints was favored more than the others.⁴ David Blazey says that

this is inferred by the frequent appearance in 17th-century settings of the Loreto litany of a motif strongly associated with the first of the Marian invocations *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis* and invariably following the shape of the formula for the Litany of the Saints. That this chant was used in Loreto itself seems to be indicated by the fact that it was often quoted by composers

² The list of composers who left settings of *Sancta Maria succurre miseris* includes Benedictus Appenzeller, Adriano Banchieri, Pierre Certon, Clemens non Papa, Juan de Esquivel Barahona, Nicolas Gombert, Francisco Guerrero, Jean Lh eritier, Guglielmo Lipparino, Claudio Monteverdi, Crist bal de Morales, Francisco de Pe alosa, Philippe Rogier, Philippe Verdelot, Lodovico Viadana, and Tom s Luis de Victoria. Of all these settings, Appenzeller’s work is undoubtedly the most popular and well-known. His four-voice *Sancta Maria succurre miseris* was written down on tablecloth and dedicated to Mary of Hungary in 1548. The work is a very skillfully planned canon. In the *prima pars* only the superius and tenor are written down while in the *secunda pars*—the tenor and the bassus—there are four indications given on how to achieve four voices out of the two. On the motet, see Eric Jas, “*Tafelmuziek* voor Maria van Hongarije,” *Musique antique* 10 (1993): 22-3; idem, “Another Mass by Benedictus Appenzeller,” *TVNM* 44 (1994): 100. See also Thompson, “Music in the Court Records of Mary of Hungary,” 132-173, at 143-144 and Thomas R oder, “Verborgene Botschaften? Augsburger Kanons von 1548,” in *Canons and Canonic Techniques, 14th-16th centuries: Theory, Practice, and Reception History*, ed. Katelijne Schiltz and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Leuven: Peeters Publishers and Booksellers, 2007), 235-52 at 248.

³ The form of the Litany of Loreto as it is known to us was definitely approved by the Church in 1587. But there is still controversy about its origin and history. Some writers suppose that it might have been written at the time of the translation of the Holy House (1294), others trace it back to the times of Pope Sergius I (687) or St. Gregory the Great. The fact is, nevertheless, that its first printed copy dates from 1558 (Dillingen, Germany) while the first Italian copy comes from 1576. So far no manuscript of the Loreto Litany has been discovered. But it is probable that the litany became in use in the Holy House by the end of the fifteenth century or in the early years of the sixteenth century, during the time when in other places similar litanies were being adapted for public use. The first documents indicating that the litanies were sung in the sanctuary date from 1531, 1547, and 1554, see *Catholic Encyclopedia* online <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09287a.htm> (accessed April 21, 2010)

⁴ For the Litany of the Saints, see *LU*, appendix 2-7*

such as Antonio Cifra and Lorenzo Ratti, directors of music at the Santa Casa.⁵

Eleven intonations of the invocation *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis* in Monteverdi's *Sonata sopra Sancta Maria* are set to the melody used for the Litany of the Saints. The same melodic formula was also later used by Monteverdi in his motet for two voices and continuo *Sancta Maria succurre miseris*, printed in Giovan Battista Ala's *Primo libro de concerti ecclesiastici* of 1618.

The melodic formula associated with the Litany of the Saints does appear in a chant for the Litany of Loreto in a modern book of chants—*Processionarium Iuxta Ritum S. Ordinis Praedicatorum* of 1913 (ex. 7). Moreover, the melodic material from this version of the litany seems to have been employed by Festa in his setting of the prayer *Sancta Maria succurre*. This proves that this version of the litany, published in *Processionarium* of 1913, circulated in Italy at least around the middle of the sixteenth century since Festa's motet was first published in 1543.⁶

Festa's setting of *Sancta Maria succurre* is for three voices and is preserved in four sources (RISM 1543⁶, 1549¹³ [tenor only], 1551³, 1569⁵). Of all settings of the prayer, Festa's seems to be one of the simplest and shortest.⁷ Although it has been

⁵ David Blazey, "A liturgical role for Monteverdi's *Sonata sopra Sancta Maria*," *Early Music* 17 (1989): 175. For the chants used for the Litany of Loreto, see *Processionale Monasticum* (Solesmes, 1893), 281-88.

⁶ It may have been known even earlier as an echo of the melodic formula on *Sancta Maria ora pro nobis* can be already found in the setting by Verdelot. The earliest source for this work is PadBC A17, probably copied c. 1522. For an edition of this work, see *Philippe Verdelot: Opera Omnia*, ed. Anne-Marie Bragard (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1979), 3:21-25; more about the work below.

⁷ Peñalosa's setting is also scored for three voices and, like Festa's, is 66 measures long. For edition of Peñalosa's motet, see *Francisco de Peñalosa (c. 1470-1528): Opera Omnia*, ed. Dionisio Preciado (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1986), 1:97-100. Because there are

assumed so far that the plainchant is not used as a foundation in the motet, I shall argue that the composer employed melodic material from the version of the Litany of Loreto not as found in *Processionale monasticum* but as included in *Processionarium*.⁸ The opening phrase of the motet in the upper voice (mm. 1-5; ex. 8) seems to have been derived from the melodic formula on the words of the first invocation *Sancta Maria* of the litany. While this correspondence may be coincidental, its presence in the upper voice at the outset of Verdelot's motet *Sancta Maria succurre miseris* (mm. 1-3 S, 2-5 T, 5-7 CT, 5-7 B; ex. 9) and Jean Conseil's *Sancta Maria, mater Dei succurre miseris*⁹ (mm. 1-3 B, 1-3 T, and especially 3-5 A, 4-6 S; ex. 10) may be considered as a useful indicator that the composers may have referred to the same version of the Litany of Loreto.

The melodic formula for the second group of invocations in the Litany of Loreto from the *Processionarium*, beginning with *Speculum justitiae, ora pro nobis*, is exactly the same as the one of the Litany of the Saints—*Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*. Festa refers to the initial motive of this phrase a few times by presenting a clearly recognizable but not complete form. The first time the head motive is employed is on the words *iuva pusillanimes* (mm. 16-18; ex. 11), where it is presented in two voices (S, AI) as a basis of the imitation between them. Later on the same words, it is repeated only in the upper

some similarities between Festa's and Conseil's settings of the prayer (about which below), I looked for the same links between Festa's and Peñalosa's settings, as both arrived in Rome at relatively the same time. Unfortunately, I did not find any.

⁸ Albert Seay says that "the plainchant is not used as a foundation" in Festa's work; see *Costanzo Festa: Opera Omnia*, xviii under *Sancta Maria succurre*.

⁹ Conseil's motet was published in Attaignant's *Liber quartus XXIX. Musicales quatuor vel quinque parium vocum modulos habet...* of 1534 (RISM 1534⁶). The motet starts with the verse slightly different than the other motets as the formula *mater Dei* is added after *Sancta Maria* and the word *amen* is given a special musical treatment at the end. For an edition of the motet, see *Treize livres de motets parus chez Pierre Attaignant en 1534 et 1535*, ed. A. Smijers and A.T. Merritt (Paris and Monaco, 1934–63), 4:188-192.

voice with some slight ornamentation (mm. 19-21; ex. 12). Further evidence to suggest that Festa had access to this version of the Litany of Loreto are quotations of two other phrases. For the setting of the textual verse *refove flebiles* Festa used three different melodic phrases. The one used in the middle voice of the motet (mm. 24-27; ex. 13 and mm. 63-65; ex. 14) clearly corresponds to the melodic formula for the fifth group of invocations beginning with *Regina angelorum*. This phrase is also present in Conseil's setting of the prayer on the words *quicumque celebrant* (mm. 61-64 A). In addition to this, Festa also quotes a phrase for *qui tollis peccata mundi* of the Litany on the words *tuum iuvamen* (mm. 49-52 S; ex. 15).¹⁰ The four-note head motive of this phrase is also repeated three times in the upper voice on *qui cumque celebrant* (mm. 55-60) and in the middle voice (mm. 58-59). It may be again coincidence that such formulas appear in Festa's setting of the prayer, but interestingly enough the same phrases were also employed by Jean Lhéritier in his setting of *Sancta Maria succurre miseris* (on the words *succurre miseris*, mm. 8-11, B and *iuva pusillanimes*, mm. 12-22; ex. 16) and by Conseil on the words *refove flebiles* (mm. 23-27 S, A, T, B; ex. 17).¹¹ Moreover, some similarities are found between Festa's and Conseil's settings exclusively; remember, both were composers of the papal chapel and must have known each other very well and who wrote motets based on the same texts. In the first presentation of the words *succurre miseris* (mm. 5-8 B, S), Festa uses a melodic phrase with a characteristic leap of a fourth

¹⁰ Although in the upper voice this phrase is not separated from the musical setting of the words *sentiant omnes* (mm. 47-49), in the middle voice the phrase *tuum iuvamen* is preceded by a rest that makes it a separate phrase.

¹¹ For modern edition of Lhéritier's work, see his *Opera omnia*, ed. Leeman L. Perkins, 2 vols. (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1969), 1:69-71.

up at the beginning. A trace of such phrase can be found in Conseil's motet on the same words but at first glance its appearance is masked a little, as the first note *g'* (m. 9 A) is here the last note of the preceded musical-textual phrase ending with the word *Dei* (mm. 8-12). Thus the original shape of the phrase lacks an initial leap of the fourth at the beginning. Also, Conseil seems to refer to Festa's work by using a phrase on the words *intercede pro devoto* (mm. 36-40 B), which corresponds with the melodic phrase on the words *intervene pro clero* in Festa's setting (mm. 34-37 B).


These extraordinary parallels between the version of the Litany of Loreto published in the *Processionarium* of 1913 and Festa's setting of *Sancta Maria succurre miseris* are intriguing. It has been shown that the melodic formula so often used in the settings of *Sancta Maria succurre miseris* and so strongly associated with the Litany of the Saints appears in the Litany of Loreto from the *Processionarium*. This suggests that the formula was already applied to the Litany of Loreto around the middle of the sixteenth century since it appears in Festa's setting. It needs to be emphasized, nevertheless, that Blazey's focus in the article is on the Litany of Loreto in which the melodic formula from the Litany of the Saints is used with the first Marian invocation *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*. Thus the relationship between this Marian phrase and the settings of *Sancta Maria succurre miseris* by so many composers from around the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth century is so clear. In *Processionarium* the formula from the Litany of the Saints is presented on the invocation *Speculum justitiae, ora pro nobis* and therefore it does not presumably have anything to do with the later settings of the prayer *Sancta Maria succurre miseris*. The point I am making in this study is that this formula, not used together with the invocation *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis* but with

another one—*Speculum justitiae, ora pro nobis*, was incorporated in the Litany of Loreto earlier and used by Costanzo Festa. Moreover, contrary to previous assumptions, the extensive use of the melodic material from the Litany of Loreto in Festa's motet and other settings by some other composers also implies that Festa did use melodic material from the chant for his setting.

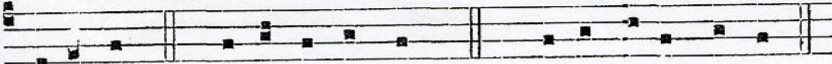
Example 7. The Litany of Loreto from *Processionarium Iuxta Ritum S. Ordinis Praedicatorum* published in 1913.

LITANĒ LAURETANĒ B. M. V.

Omni Sabbato, finita post Antiphonam *Salve Regina*.
 Oratione *Concéde nos.*, a duobus Fratribus et Conventu
 alternatim cantentur Litaniae beatæ Mariæ V. tono se-
 quenti, vel alio pro consuetudine locorum.

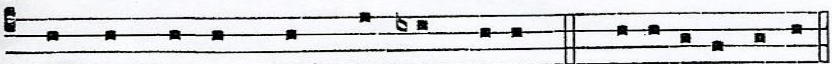
toni vj. 

KYRI- E e-léison. R. Christe e-léison. Kyri- e

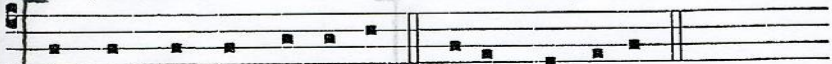


e-léison. Christe audi nos. R. Christe exáudi nos.

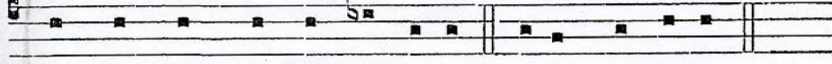
92 AD PROCESSIONEM B. M. V.



Pa- ter de cæ- lis De- us, R. mi-serére nobis.
 Fi- li Red-émptor mun-di De- us, R. mi-serére nobis.
 Spí- ri- tus sancte De- us, R. mi-serére nobis.
 Sancta Trí- ni- tas u- nus De- us, R. mi-serére nobis.



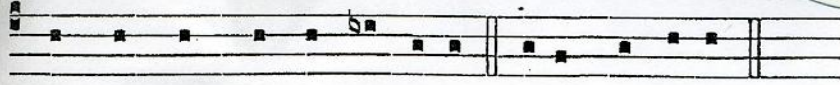
Sancta Ma- rí a, R. ora pro nobis.
 Sancta De- i Gé-ni-trix, ora pro nobis.
 Sancta Vir-go Virgi-num, ora pro nobis.
 Ma- ter Chri-sti, ora pro nobis.
 Ma- ter divinæ grá-ti- æ, ora pro nobis.
 Ma- ter pu- rí-ssima, ora pro nobis.
 Ma- ter ca- stí-ssima, ora pro nobis.
 Ma- ter invio- lá- ta, ora pro nobis.
 Ma- ter inteme-rá- ta, ora pro nobis.
 Ma- ter a- má- bi- lis, ora pro nobis.
 Ma- ter admi- rá- bi- lis, ora pro nobis.
 Ma- ter boni consi- li- i, ora pro nobis.
 Ma- ter Cre- a- tó- ris, ora pro nobis.
 Ma- ter Salva- tó- ris, ora pro nobis.
 Vir-go pru- den- tis- sí- ma, ora pro nobis.
 Vir-go ve- ne- rán- da, ora pro nobis.
 Vir-go præ- di- cán- da, ora pro nobis.
 Vir-go po- tens, ora pro nobis.
 Vir-go cle- mens, ora pro nobis.
 Vir-go fi- dé- lis, ora pro nobis.



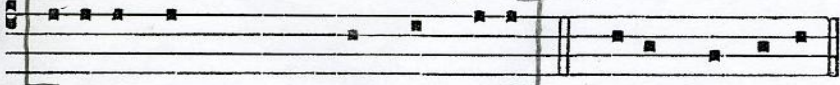
Spé- cu- lum ju- stí- ti- æ, ora pro nobis.
 Se- des sa- pi- én- ti- æ, ora pro nobis.
 Cau- sa no- stræ læ- ti- ti- æ, ora pro nobis.

Example 7. (continued)

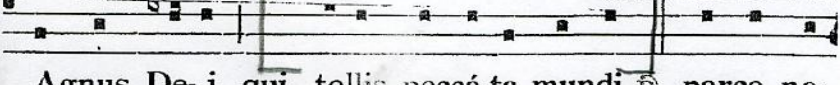
AD PROCESSIONEM B. M. V.



Vas spi-ri-tu-	á-le,	ora pro nobis.
Vas ho-no-	rá-bi-le,	ora pro nobis.
Vas insigne devoti-	ó-nis,	ora pro nobis.
Ro-sa	my-sti-ca,	ora pro nobis.
Tur-ris Da-	vi-di-ca,	ora pro nobis.
Tur-ris e-	búr-ne-a,	ora pro nobis.
Do-mus	áure-a,	ora pro nobis.
Fœ-de-ris	arca,	ora pro nobis.
Já-nu-a	cæ-li,	ora pro nobis.
Stel-la ma-tu-	tí-na,	ora pro nobis.
Sa-lus in-fir-	mó-rum,	ora pro nobis.
Refúgium	pec-ca-tó-rum,	ora pro nobis.
Consolátrix	af-fli-ctó-rum,	ora pro nobis.
Auxílium	Christia-nó-rum,	ora pro nobis.

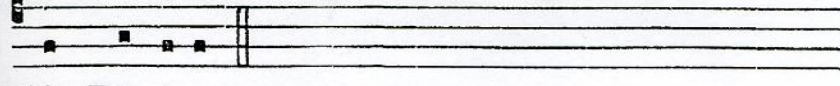


Regina	Ange-lórum,	ora pro nobis.
Regina Pa-	tri-archárum,	ora pro nobis.
Regina	Pro-phe-tárum,	ora pro nobis.
Regina A-	po-sto-lórum,	ora pro nobis.
Re-	gí-na Mártyrum,	ora pro nobis.
Regina	Con-fes-sórum,	ora pro nobis.
Re-	gí-na Vírginum,	ora pro nobis.
Regina San-	ctó-rum ómnium,	ora pro nobis.
Regina sine labe originali con-cépta,		ora pro nobis.
Regina in coelum assumpta		ora pro nobis.



Agnus De-i, qui tollis peccá-ta mundi, R. parce no-
Agnus De-i, qui tollis peccá-ta mundi, R. ex-áudi
Agnus De-i, qui tollis peccá-ta mundi, R. mi-se-ré-

94 AD PROCESSIONEM B. M. V.



bis Dómine.
nos Dómine.
re no-bis.

Example 8. Costanzo Festa—*Sancta Maria, succurre miseris* (mm. 1-9)

San - cta Ma - ri - a, suc - cur - re mi - se - ris,

San - cta Ma - ri - a, suc - cur - re mi - se - ris,

San - cta Ma - ri - a, suc - cur - re mi - se - ris,

Example 9. Philippe Verdelot—*Sancta Maria, succurre miseris* (mm. 1-8)

SUPERIUS: San - cta Ma - ri - a, suc - cur - re mi - se - ris,

CONTRA-TENOR: San - cta Ma - ri - a, suc - cur - re mi - se - ris,

TENOR: San - cta Ma - ri - a, suc - cur - re mi - se - ris,

BASSUS: San - cta Ma - ri - a, suc - cur - re mi - se - ris,

Example 10. Jean Conseil—*Sancta Maria, mater Dei* (mm. 1-9)

Musical score for Example 10, showing vocal parts for Superius, Contratenor, Tenor, and Bassus, and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are "Sancta Maria, mater Dei, succurre".

5

Sanc - ta Ma - ri - a, ma - ter De - i,
 - - ta Ma - ri - a, ma - ter De - - - i, De - - - i,
 - - - a, ma - ter De - i, suc - cur - re
 ma - ter De - i, De - - - i, suc -

Example 11. Costanzo Festa—*Sancta Maria, succurre miseris* (mm. 14-18)

Musical score for Example 11, showing vocal parts for Superius, Contratenor, Tenor, and Bassus, and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are "se... ris, iu - va pu - sil - la - ni - mes,".

15

se - - ris,
 - - ris,
 - - ris,
 iu - va pu - sil - la - ni - mes,
 iu - va pu - sil - la - ni - mes,
 iu - va pu - sil - la - ni - mes,

Example 12. Costanzo Festa — *Sancta Maria, succurre miseris* (mm. 19-22)

20

iu - va pu - sil - la - ni - mes re - fo -

iu - va pu - sil - la - ni - mes re - fo - ve,

iu - va pu - sil - la - ni - mes re - fo - ve

Example 13. Costanzo Festa — *Sancta Maria, succurre miseris* (mm. 23-27)

25

ve, re - fo - ve fle - bi - les:

re - fo - ve fle - bi - les:

8 fle - bi - les, re - fo - ve fle - bi - les:

Example 14. Costanzo Festa — *Sancta Maria, succurre miseris* (mm. 62-66)

65

ra - ti - o - nem, tu - am com - me - mo - ra - ti - o - nem.

ra - ti - o - nem, tu - am co - me - mo - ra - ti - o - nem.

8 ra - ti - o - nem, tu - am com - me - mo - ra - ti - o - nem.

Example 15. Costanzo Festa — *Sancta Maria, succurre miseris* (mm. 48-52)

ti - ant om - nes tu - um iu - va - men,
ti - ant om - nes tu - um iu - va
sen - ti - ant om - nes tu - um iu - va - men,

Example 16. Jean Lhéritier — *Sancta Maria, succurre miseris* (mm. 12-23)

se - ris, iu - va pu - sil - la - ni -
ris, iu - va pu - cil - la - ni - mes,
ris, iu - va pu - sil - la - ni mes,
ris, iu - va pu - sil - la - ni mes,
mes, re - fo - ve fle - bi - les, re -
iu - va pu - sil - la - ni mes, re - fo - ve fle - bi - les, re -
iu - va pu - sil - la - ni mes, re -

Example 17. Jean Conseil — *Sancta Maria, mater Dei* (mm. 22-27)

25

la- - - -ni - mes, re - fo - ve fle - bi - les, re -

-fo - ve fle - - bi - les, re - fo - ve fle - bi -

- ni-mes, re - fo - ve fle - - bi - les, re -

les, re - fo - ve fle - bi - les, re - fo -

Chapter 9

Festa and the Song of Songs

There is a big controversy over whether the Song of Songs should be read, literally, or if we should seek a symbolic meaning behind it.¹ However it is perceived, the tradition of reading of the Song of Songs yielded around one hundred Latin commentaries written between the sixth and fifteenth centuries.² The reason why the text was so important and popular in the Middle Ages and why it was a source of such different renderings may be found in the Bible itself; thus over the ages the poem either was read by rabbinical fathers as an allegory of God's love, or by Christian's teachers as the relationship between Christ and the Church.³ The tradition of applying some individual verses of the Song of Songs to Mary seems to date back to SS. Ambrose and Jerome.⁴ But it was not until around the late eleventh century that the whole poem began

¹ The authorship of the Song of Songs is still a matter for debate despite the fact that King Solomon is mentioned in the poem (3: 7, 9); see Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 125 and *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, second edition (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 2003), 13:318. Probably Origin was the first who articulated a problem concerning an interpretation of the text; he observed that literal meaning of the Song is carnal love while the veiled one (spiritual love) is not expressed; see Ann W. Astell, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), 1-2. But despite a problem the interpretation of the poem creates there was not written any non-allegorical interpretation during the Middle Ages; see E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 4.

²Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved*, 3.

³ Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 125-126.

⁴ Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 12. Ambrose and Jerome, who were also among the first Marian commentators, referred to the mystery of Mary's maternal virginity and her relationship with other virgins, but not to the events commemorated by the Marian feasts, not to her own birth and death. Also, they both interpreted only a few verses, not the whole poem; see Rachel Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion, Marian Exegesis, and the Historical Sense of the Song of Songs," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 27 (1996): 85-116, at 86-87; and idem., "*Quae est ista quae ascendit sicut aurora*

to be read exclusively in the Marian sense;⁵ the Church-Christ relationship was substituted by the other one, in which the Bride was the faithful Virgin-Bride loyal to Christ. It seems to have been natural that shortly afterwards this faithful Virgin began to be identified with Mary.⁶ Thanks to St. Bernard of Clairvaux's (1090-1153) eighty-six sermons on the Song (*Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*) and his new type of commentary reflecting the aura of mysticism so characteristic of his times, the poem reached a popularity on an unprecedented scale.⁷

The Song texts seem to have found their place in Marian liturgy from its very beginning. It turns out that even one of the earliest antiphonaries, the Antiphonary of

consurgens?: The Song of Songs as the *Historia* for the Office of the Assumption," *Medieval Studies* 60 (1998): 55-122 at 65-66.

⁵ It must be remembered that the list of the first Christian exegetes who had laid the ground for a Marian interpretation of the Song before that time is long; it includes Ambrose, Jerome, Justus von Urgel, and Bede; two Carolingian writers Paul the Deacon and Pachasius Radbertus, and Peter Damian. But it was only in the twelfth century the Song began to be interpreted from the single viewpoint of Mary's historical relationship to Christ; see Astell, *The Song of Songs*, 43 and n. 6. Around the twelfth century the Marian commentaries on the Song were widespread and a number of commentators who saw in the Song a record of the life of the Virgin Mary and her relationship with her son, Jesus Christ, includes at least dozen names; see Rachel Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion," 85.

⁶ Astell, *The Song of Songs*, 15-16 and 42-72.

⁷ Interestingly enough, at the time when Bernard wrote his texts on the Song and the cult of the Virgin Mary reached its apogee, a very important change took place in secular literature. This new current in the poetry of the period—sometimes called courtly love and associated with the idealization of woman—may have been a reflection of devotion to the Virgin Mary; see Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 134. Ewert H. Cousins points out that the mutual influence or interaction between the secular (cultivated in the court) and religious love (cultivated in the cloister) are not easy to define. But the fact is that as the twelfth century progressed love became the central theme and thus besides Bernard so many other writers turned to make commentaries on the Song; see Ewert H. Cousins, Preface to *Bernard of Clairvaux: Selected Works* (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), 7. The coexistence of the two movements might be yet clearly observable in the polyphonic music of the time. David Rothenberg says that "during the twelfth through fifteenth centuries, as Mary became more and more prominent in the liturgy and devotion of Eastertide, secular springtime song resonated increasingly with the spirituality of the Easter season, and nowhere was this resonance more concretely expressed than in polyphonic music. By simultaneously sounding secular love songs, Marian prayers, and liturgical melodies from the Easter liturgy, polyphonic compositions could use musical harmony to represent the spiritual harmony between these diverse musical and textual materials; see David Rothenberg, "The Marian Symbolism of Spring, ca. 1200- ca. 1500: Two Case Studies," *JAMS* 59 (2006): 319-398 at 323.

Compiègne of around 860-880, contains a relatively large number of the Song antiphons (this number becomes only much larger in the antiphonaries around the twelfth and thirteenth centuries).⁸ It should not be surprising that some of the Song texts played a prominent position in the Marian liturgy; the allegorical association of Mary and the Song enabled the texts from the poem to be linked with certain Marian doctrines and her life. Referring to the Assumption, for example, Bernard of Clairvaux quoted the verses from the Song: *Who is this that cometh up from the wilderness, leaning upon her beloved?* Further on, he viewed Mary *as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun and pillars of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense.*⁹ The verses from the Song also refer to the other Marian feasts; with some amendments *Tota pulchra es Maria, et macula originalis non est in te* (Song of Songs, 4:7) appears in the liturgy for the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin;¹⁰ *Quam pulchra es Maria Virgo, suavis et decora* was seen in the other Marian feasts through the year;¹¹ and the first verse of the Song, *Osculetur me osculo oris sui* (*Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth*) was associated with most of the twelfth- and early thirteenth-century authors of Marian commentaries to the Annunciation, as it reflects Mary's answer to Gabriel: Let it be to me

⁸ Shai Burstyn, "Early 15th-Century Polyphonic Settings of Song of Songs Antiphons," *Acta Musicologica* 49 (1977): 200-227 at 206-207.

⁹ Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 129-130.

¹⁰ *LU*, 1320.

¹¹ *Processionale monasticum*, 272.

according to your words (Luke 1:38);¹² in the monastic breviary, nevertheless, it is the first reading in Matins for Assumption B.M.V.¹³

The first surviving polyphonic settings of the texts from the Song date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but still their appearance was sporadic.¹⁴ In order to realize how popular Marian and Song texts were towards the end of the fourteenth and in the first half of the fifteenth centuries in England it is sufficient to take a brief look at the list of compositions in Old Hall and of John Dunstaple. This English interest in Marian texts is a reflection of a great adoration and devotion to the Virgin in England.¹⁵ Toward the end of the fifteenth and in the sixteenth century the polyphonic settings of the Song of

¹² Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion," 101; see also Astell, *The Song of Songs*, 61.

¹³ *Breviarium monasticum*, editio tertia (Bruges: Desclée, De Brouwer et soc., 1941), pars altera, 573. I quote after Peter Berquist; see his Introduction to *Orlando di Lasso: The Complete Motets 19, Motets from Printed Anthologies and Manuscripts, 1580-1594*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 130 (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 2002), xvi and xxii n. 27; see also Rachel Fulton, "Quae est ista quae ascendit sicut aurora consurgens?" 62. It also appears for the feast of the Mary's Nativity under 002227za in the CANTUS database <http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/> (accessed March 10, 2009)

¹⁴ One of such pieces with textual amendments *Anima mea liquefacta est/Descendi in hortum meum* I managed to spot in the Montpellier Codex, one of the largest manuscripts of thirteenth-century polyphonic music; see *The Montpellier Codex*, ed. Hans Tischler, 4 vols. Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 8 (Madison: A-R Editions., 1985), 4:94. Also *Tota pulchra es – Anima mea liquefacta est* is included in *English Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, ed. Ernest H. Sanders, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 14 (Paris: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1979), 111-112.

¹⁵ For an overview of this tradition and an analysis of some chosen early fifteenth-century polyphonic settings of the Song of Songs antiphons; see Burstyn, "Early 15th -Century Polyphonic Settings," 200-227. Actually a cult of the Virgin Mary was spread in England much earlier, as Mary Clayton demonstrates in her thorough study of the cult in England from c. 700 to the Conquest. She says that "by the tenth century, Anglo-Saxon devotion to the Virgin had resulted in the dedication of large numbers of churches and monasteries to her, in the composition of private and of public liturgical prayers, in the celebration of the yearly round of Marian feasts, in the acquisition of relics of Mary and in the composition and dissemination of vernacular texts describing the life and death of the Virgin,"; see Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*, 1. Peter Lefferts points out that the English polyphonic fourteenth-century cantilenas, with their texts mostly devoted to the Blessed Virgin Mary, must be seen within the context of the increased veneration of Mary in England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and as equivalent to the votive antiphon in the fifteenth century; see Peter M. Lefferts, "Cantilena and Antiphon: Music for Marian Services in Late Medieval England," *Current Musicology*, 45/47 (1990): 247-282 at 249-250.

Songs were becoming more expressive, and more sophisticated rhetorical devices were employed. Composers like Josquin, who composed two motets to texts from the Song, *Ecce tu pulchra es* and *Descendi in ortum meum*,¹⁶ and Jacques Arcadelt, Clemens non Papa, Nicolas Gombert, Jean de la Fage, Johannes Lupi, Cipriano de Rore, and Adrian Willaert, to name but a few, also wrote compositions set to the Song. The culmination of the popularity of the Song was Palestrina's book of twenty-nine motets for five voices, issued in 1584.¹⁷ Monteverdi's exquisite publication *Vespro della Beata Vergine* of 1610 containing two settings from the Song, *Nigra sum* and *Pulchra es*, and the setting of *O quam pulchra* for tenor and basso continuo published in Leonardo Simonetti's *Ghirlanda sacra* in 1625 (RISM 1625²) appears to mark the end of a development which began before the fifteenth century.

In Festa's output there are four motets which use the verses from the Song of Songs: *Vidi speciosam* (6vv.), *Ecce iste venit* (6vv.), *Surge amica mea* (3vv.), and *Quam pulchra es* (there are two versions of this motet for 3vv. and 4vv.). Festa's *Vidi speciosam* is one of two six-part motets based on liturgical text that is derived from the Song of Songs. *Vidi speciosam* is a Responsory at Matins on the Feast of the Assumption B.M.V (August 15th).¹⁸ In the text, the Virgin ascending into heaven is likened to the beautiful one rising like a dove over the rivers, like a lily of the valley or the rose in Spring. Marina Warner points out that Doctors of the Church expounded the Song of

¹⁶ Because of stylistic anomalies, the motet *Descendi in ortum meum* is published as an *opus dubium* in the *New Josquin Edition*, ed. Richard Sherr 14 (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2002), 26-27.

¹⁷ *Motetorum liber quartus ex Canticis canticorum*...Palestrina also based three of his parody Masses on Song settings.

¹⁸ *Antiphonale Monasticum* (1934), 1200-1.

Songs in Marian terms and made prediction of the Assumption in the following verse:
 “Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness like pillars of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense, with all powders of the merchant?”¹⁹ Besides Festa’s, there are at least a few other settings of this responsory, but probably the most famous are by Johannes Lupi and Tomás Luis de Victoria.²⁰ Victoria’s *Vidi speciosam* (6vv.) was first published in 1572 and was a model for his own six-part *Vidi speciosam* Mass.²¹ The form of the motet is a reflection of the plainsong responsory. The form is AB (*Prima pars*) and CB (*Secunda pars*) where the first section sets the text of the responsory proper and the second section sets the text of the versus and ends with a repetition of the concluding lines of the responsory. Following this formal scheme, Victoria clearly made the cut

¹⁹Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 99.

²⁰ One anonymous *Vidi speciosam* appears in two manuscripts—LucAS 238 (c. 1470, with later additions c. 1485-1500) and one in CS 15 (c. 1495-1500); according to Strohm the Lucca setting might have been performed in Bruges in the ceremonies of August 15 and it is based on a responsory for the Assumption of the Virgin which is used in all four voices. The melody does not appear in modern chant books but can be found in Gaspar von Weerbecke’s *Stabat mater dolorosa*; see Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 133-134. Cumming points out that the chant appears primarily in the tenor. It is also carried by discantus at the beginning of each pars and somewhere else, but hardly in other voices; see Julie E. Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 274-6 and 353 n. 40. Weerbecke’s four-part setting of a responsory *Vidi speciosam* only (with no versus) was published in Petrucci’s *Motetti A numero trentatre* of 1502; see *Selections from Motetti A numero trentatre (Venice, 1502)*, ed. R. Sherr, 1 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991), 75-79. Franchinus Gaffurius’s *Vidi speciosam* is preserved in MilD 4 (olim 2266) which belongs to the group of manuscripts containing the so-called *motetti missales*. For examination of the manuscript MilD 4, see Lynn Halpern Ward, “The *Motetti Missales* Repertory Reconsidered,” *JAMS* 39 (1986): 491-523. Ward gives two antiphons for the Assumption of B.M.V. as the source of the text for the motet. Because I did not have access to the piece, I was not able to determine on what antiphons it was actually based. For modern edition of Felice Anerio’s four-part setting of the responsory *Vidi speciosam*, see *Musica Divina sive Thesaurus Conventuum Selectissimorum...*, ed. Karl Proske 8 vols. (Regensburg, 1853; repr. New York, 1973), II: 351-354. Pierre de Manchicourt’s eight-part setting is in his *Opera Omnia* ed. John D. Wicks, CMM (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1971), 1: 163-177.

²¹ For a modern edition of the motet; see *Thomae Ludovici Victoria Abulensis Opera omnia*, ed. F. Pedrell, Ih (Leipzig, 1902; rep. by Breitkopf & Härtel, 1965), 111-118, and *Tomás Luis de Victoria: Opera omnia*, ed. Higinio Anglés, *MME* 26 (1965): 98-107. In addition to the Antonio Gardano publication of the motets in 1572, Victoria’s *Vidi speciosam* also appeared in 1576 (part 1 only), in 1583, 1585, 1589 (twice) and 1603.

(mm. 49) right before the introduction of the second part of the respond starting with the words *Et sicut dies verni*. This means was also used in the second part (mm. 123-4), where the repetition of the concluding material of the responsory crowns the motet. While Victoria used the whole text of the responsory verbatim, Johannes Lupi made some changes;²² he omitted the words *in vestimentis eius* in the responsory and did not set the versus *Quae est ista quae ascendit per desertum*. Instead, for the second part of the motet he chose the text of the antiphon for the feast of the Assumption of the B.V.M.²³ Festa's setting of the *Vidi speciosam* is different from the two discussed above.

Costanzo Festa – *Vidi speciosam* (6vv.)

I. Vidi speciosam, sicut columbam ascendentem desuper rivus aquarum, cuius inaestimabilis odor erat nimis in vestimentis eius. Et sicut dies verni circumdabant eam flores rosarum et lilia convallium. Quae est ista quae ascendit per desertum, sicut virgula fumi, ex aromatibus myrrhae et thuris. Veniat dilectus meus in ortum meum ut comedat fructum pomorum suorum .

I. I saw her, fair as a dove taking flight over running waters, and a priceless perfume permeated her garments. As in springtime, she was surrounded by roses in bloom and lilies of the valley. Who is this that comes up from the desert, as a pillar of smoke of aromatical spices, of myrrh. Let my beloved come into my garden, and eat the fruit of his apple trees.

II. Quae est ista quae processit sicut solet formosa, tamquam Jerusalem. Viderunt eam filia Sion et dixerunt: Beata es Maria quae credidisti Domino[omnia] perfecta sunt in te quae dicta sunt tibi: ecce exaltata est super choros angelorum: Intercede pro nobis ad Dominum Deus nostrum.

II. Who is she that comes forth as the sun, beautiful as Jerusalem. The daughters of Zion saw her and called her: You are blessed, Mary, who believed the Lord [all] has been fulfilled in you that was spoken to you by the Lord behold you have been raised up above the choirs of Angels. Intercede to the Lord, our God for us.

²² Modern edition of Lupi's *Vidi speciosam* appears in *Johannes Lupi: Opera Omnia*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn *CMM* (American Institute of Musicology, 1980), 1:70-78, for commentary, xxv-xxvi.

²³ *LU*, 1600⁴. In one place Lupi differs from the text in *LU*. Instead of the word "ascendit" Lupi gives "processit."

Cantus firmus: Assumpta est Maria in caelum: Cantus firmus: Mary is taken up into heaven:
Gaudent angeli, laudantes benedicunt the Angels rejoice, praising, they bless God.
Dominum.

The work is divided into two parts; the first one is a setting of the whole responsorium *Vidi speciosam* with the versus *Quae est ista quae ascendit per desertum*, but instead of repeating the concluding lines of the responsory (starting with the words *Et sicut dies*) Festa used the Third Antiphon for the Second Nocturn for the Assumption of the B.V.M. *Veniat dilectus meus*.²⁴ The second part starts with the Third Responsory for the First Nocturn with the text *Quae est ista, quae processit sicut sol, et formosa tam qua Jerusalem Viderunt eam filiae Sion, et beatam dixerunt: Et reginae laudaverunt eam* (Festa's setting lacks the words *Et reginae laudaverunt eam*)²⁵ following by the twelfth responsory sung at Matins for feast of the Virgin.²⁶ The cantus firmus, which appears twice in each of the *partes* in the second altus, is taken from the antiphon *Assumpta es Maria*.²⁷

Festa's *Ecce iste venit* is another Song motet for six parts. The text in five voices (C, A1, A2, Br, B) is from the Song of Songs (2: 8-14) and is used as the Reading for the

²⁴ I did not manage to find this antiphon in the modern chant books but it is available online in the Medieval Music Database of La Trobe University as CAO 5329, see <http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/MMDB/index.htm> and at the CANTUS database <http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/> (accessed March 20, 2009).

²⁵ Ibid., CAO 7455. This responsory is the second for the Second Nocturn for the feast of B.M.V. in *Liber Responsorialis*, pro Festis I. Classis et Communi Sanctorum, juxta ritum monasticum (Solesmes: Typographeo Sancti Petri, 1895), 253.

²⁶ *Liber Responsorialis*, 258. It is also used as the Second Responsory for the Third Nocturn on the Fifth Day within the Octave of the Assumption of the B.V.M.; see *Breviarium Romanum ex Decreto SS. Concilii Tridentini... Cum Officiis Sanctorum* (Paris/Lyon, 1828), 690.

²⁷ *LU*, 1605.

Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.²⁸ The tenor is based on the Magnificat of the first tone and appears only once throughout the work.²⁹

Costanzo Festa – *Ecce iste venit* (6vv.)

I. *Ecce iste venit, transiens in montibus, transiliens colles. Similis est dilectus meus capreae, hinnuloque cervorum. En ipse stat post parietem nostrum, respiciens per fenestras, prospiciens per cancellos. En dilectus meus loquitur mihi. Surge, propera, amica mea, columba mea, formosa mea, et veni.*

I. Behold he comes leaping on the mountains, springing across the hills. My beloved is like a goat and a young stag. Behold he stands behind our wall looking in through the windows watching through the lattices. And my beloved speaks to me, arise swiftly my friend my beautiful, and come.

II. *Jam enim hiems transiit; imber abiit, et recessit. Flores apparuerunt in terra nostra; tempus putationis advenit: vox turturis audita est in terra nostra; ficus protulit grossos suos; vineae florentes dederunt odorem suum. Surge, amica mea, speciosa mea, et veni: columba mea, in foraminibus petrae, in caverna maceriae, ostende mihi faciem tuam, sonet vox tua in auribus meis: vox enim tua dulcis, et facies tua decora.*

II. For now the winter has passed, the rain has gone and departed. The flowers appear on the earth, the time of pruning has come: the voice of the turtle dove is heard in our land: the fig tree has put out its thick shoots: the flowering vines have given off a smell. Arise, my friend, my lovely one, and come: my dove in the clefts of the rock, in the hollow places of the wall, show me your face, let your voice sound in my ears: for your voice is sweet, and your face beautiful.

Cantus firmus: Magnificat anima mea Dominum. Et exultavit spiritus meus in Deo salutary meo.

Cantus firmus: My soul doth magnify. And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour

In Gardane's *Motetti trium vocum* of 1543 (RISM 1543⁶) there are two motets by Festa for three voices based on the texts from the Song. The text of the first one—*Surge amica mea* (Song of Songs, 2: 13-14) goes as follows:

²⁸ *LU*, 1539.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 207.

Costanzo Festa – *Surge, amica mea* (3vv.)

I. Surge, amica mea, speciosa mea et veni, columba mea in foraminibus petrae, in caverna maceriae, ostende mihi faciem tuam, sonet vox tua in auribus meis, vox enim tua dulcis et facies tua decora.

II. O pulcherrima mulierum, vulnerasti cor meum soror mea, sponsa mea, dilecta mea, formosa mea, unica mea. Descende in ortum meum; flores apparuerunt in terra nostra. Vineae dederunt odorem suum; ficus protulit grossos suos. Filia Hierusalem, venite et videte quia amore languo.

I. Arise, my friend, my lovely one, and come, my dove in the clefts of the rock, in the hollow of the wall, show me your face, let your voice sound in my ears, for your voice is sweet, and your face is beautiful.

II. O you most beautiful among women, you wounded my heart, my sister, my bride, my beloved, my beautiful, the only one. Come down into my garden; the flowers appear on our earth. The vines in flower yield their sweet smell; the fig tree has put out its thick shoots. Daughter of Jerusalem, come and behold that I languish with love.

Because Festa's *Quam pulchra es* appears in Antico's *Motetti liber quartus* of 1521 (RISM 1521⁵) and in VallaC 15 as a four-part work, Main suggested that other Festa's five three-voice motets may also have originally been written for four voices. According to Main, Gardane simply dropped the altus so that the works could fit into a print.³⁰ Albert Seay suggested that Festa's four-part setting published in 1521 is his original work and that is why he published only this version of the motet,³¹ but Picker points out that the three-voice version is complete in itself and the altus, which does not contribute anything to the work, might have been added by Antico.³²

³⁰ Alexander Main, "Costanzo Festa: The Masses and Motets," (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1960), 33 and *Costanzo Festa: Opera omnia*, ed. Albert Seay, 5:52 under *Sancta Maria succurre miseris*.

³¹ *Costanzo Festa: Opera omnia*, 5:xvi and 54-56.

³² *The Motet Books of Andrea Antico*, ed. Martin Picker, *Monuments of Renaissance Music* 8 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 62-63. For another modern edition of Festa's four-part setting of *Quam pulchra es*; see *ibid.*, 414-17. The modern edition of Festa's three-part motet is in Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, 2 vols (New York:

Perhaps the most interesting thing about Festa's setting of *Quam pulchra es* is that the work in its three-part version published in Gardane) was later used by Claudio Monteverdi for his own setting of the text. The first who noticed the similarity between Festa's and Monteverdi's three-part settings of the text was Arnold Hartman. Leo Schrade carried out a comparative study and showed that Monteverdi's setting of *Quam pulchra es* is based on the four motives of Festa's composition.³³ Monteverdi's settings of *Quam pulchra es* is included in his collection of twenty three short three-voice motets *Sacrae cantiunculae tribus vocibus* published by Gardano in 1582 (this collection also contains two other settings of the texts from the Song of Songs—*Veni in hortum meum* and *Surge propera*).³⁴ He published his motets at the age of fifteen probably still influenced by his great master and teacher Marc' Antonio Ingegneri (1535–d.1592) who was made *maestro di cappella* at Cremona Cathedral around 1580. Because the collection was dedicated to the canon Don Stefano Canini Valcarenghi, as the first motet for the Feast of St. Stephen suggests, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that like Ingegneri, who seems to have been dedicated to the Counter-Reformation movement, young Monteverdi may have written the motets inspired by the religious ideas and new

Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935), 2:198-9. Both versions of the motet are included in *Constantius Festa, Sacrae Cantiones 3, 4, 5, 6 vocibus*, ed. Edvardus Dagnino, Monumenta polyphoniae italicae (Rome: Pontif. Institutum Musicae Sacrae, 1936), 2:15-17 and 26-28.

³³ Leo Schrade, *Monteverdi: Creator of Modern Music* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1950), 94-96.

³⁴ The list of the motets as it is in *Claudio Monteverdi: Tutte le opera*, ed. G. F. Malipiero (Asolo, 1926-42, 2/1954-68), XIV/1 contains twenty six works, but it must be remembered that three motets are divided into a *prima* and *secunda pars* and that is why there are twenty three motets on the list in Paolo Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, trans. Tim Carter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 10-11.

qualities flourishing in Cremona at the time.³⁵ Monteverdi's motets of the *Sacrae cantiunculae* are characterized by extreme simplicity and brevity. They are written to Latin texts mostly from the Vulgate, the Roman and Ambrosian Breviaries, and the Roman Missal.³⁶ Schrade points out that Monteverdi preferred lyrical and expressive texts which were dedicated to the liturgy of saints, or of the Virgin Mary, or refer to the Christ's life.³⁷ The composer treated some of the texts very freely, making various deviations from the established versions.³⁸ This makes us want to know what the real purpose of the motets was, since this free and easy treatment of official texts did not fit into the liturgical formula, nor conform to the principles of the Counter-Reformation. The brevity and the use of only three voices might suggest that the motets were intended to be performed in a specific diocese or monastery where the performing musical resources were limited.³⁹ Or they may have been performed in some musical meeting or academy.⁴⁰

A very general analysis and comparison of the two versions of Festa's *Quam pulchra es* (one published in Antico's print, ex. 17 and another in Gardane, ex. 18) show quite interesting differences between them. At first glance one may be struck by their length; the four-part version published in Antico's book is sixty six measures long while

³⁵ Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 10.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 10. For more about Ingegnari's devotion to the Counter-Reformation movement, see Schrade, *Monteverdi*, 81-83.

³⁷ Schrade, *Monteverdi*, 86-87.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 88

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁴⁰ Denis Stevens, *Monteverdi: Sacred, Secular, and Occasional Music* (Cranbury, New Jersey: Associated University Press, 1978), 98.

the three-part version in Gardane is shorter—it has fifty one measures. Gardane apparently does not seem to have been satisfied with the introductory part (mm. 1-11; on the words *Quam pulchra es et quam decora*) and with the very ending part of the version in Antico's print (mm. 63-66; on the words *et facies decora nimis*). The reason why the printer removed these two sections may be that the first eleven measures (mm. 1-11), with some modifications, are later repeated in the following part (mm. 12-23). This can be clearly seen in the alto part, which is almost the same in these two sections. On the other hand, the last four measures (mm. 63-66) in Antico's print are almost an exact repetition of the previous measures (mm. 58-62). Gardane's extensive interference in Festa's four-part *Quam pulchra es* seems to confirm Picker's hypothesis about the altus dropped by Gardane as a part not contributing anything to the contrapuntal structure of the work. Likewise, a reason why a printer made up his mind to do some other reductions may be that he may have found two sections of the four-part version unneeded because they are only repetitions of other sections.

It was already said that in a version of Festa's *Quam pulchra es* published in Antico's book the opening section (mm. 1-11; ex. 17) was later almost exactly repeated in the following measures (mm. 12-23; ex. 17). What seems to be clearly altered between these two sections is the successive entry of the imitative motive, as the opening point of imitation in both of the sections has a different layout. At the very beginning, the imitative phrase first appears in the tenor part, than moves to the top, and ends up in the lowest part. In the following section (mm. 12-23), on the other hand, the initial imitative phrase first appears in the highest part, then moves to the tenor and at the end appears in the lowest part. This makes clear why Monteverdi's *Quam pulchra es* is different from

Festa's published in Antico's book. Obviously Gardane's omission of the altus and the opening section of the four-part version caused Monteverdi to see Festa's motet not only as the three-voice work but also as a composition with a point of imitation beginning in the top voice (unlike in Antico's book where it begins in the tenor).

A comparison of the three works (Festa's two versions and Monteverdi's *Quam pulchra es*) shows that Monteverdi's motet is the shortest one; it is only thirty seven measures long. One may be tempted to suggest that since Gardane removed some repetitive sections which—we may only speculate that Gardane thought this way—did not bring anything new to the overall shape of the work, Monteverdi may have done the same thing but to greater extent. In general, I agree with Leo Schrade who says that Monteverdi uses four motives—phrases from Festa. “For the first part of *Quam pulchra es*”—says Schrade—“the quotations from Festa are more or less literal, but always characteristically changed or shortened; for the second part, they are few and almost entirely free. At all events, the changes Monteverdi made are extraordinary and conclusive because he changed the declamation, the cadences, the motives, the accentuation, the rhythms, the phrasing, and the harmony.”⁴¹ I think that in addition to these four phrases there is still one motive missed by Schrade that seems to have been used by Monteverdi in his *Quam pulchra es*. In both versions of Festa's work, in the very ending part, there is a characteristic melodic motive moving down and beginning with a dotted half note and ending with two half notes. It appears on the words *facies decora*

⁴¹ Schrade, *Monteverdi*, 94 n. 8. The motives and phrases used by Monteverdi from Festa are summarized in idem., 95. Schrade's analysis is also presented in Geoffrey Chew, “A Model Musical Education: Monteverdi's Early Works,” in *Cambridge Companion to Claudio Monteverdi*, ed. John Whenham and Richard Wistreich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 33-36 at 35.

nimis (starts with the last syllable of *facies*; ex. 17, mm. 56-66 and ex. 18, mm. 45-51).

That Monteverdi refers to this specific motive can be seen in the highest part on the words *enim tua dulcis* (ex. 19, mm. 28-30). Here it has exactly the same shape as in two Festa's settings. Later on (ex. 19, mm. 29-37), Monteverdi seems to refer to it by changing and embellishing it.

The examination of the texts of the two versions of Festa's *Quam pulchra es* reveals a difference. During the course of the Renaissance, many composers used for their settings of *Quam pulchra es* the following combination of verses from Song of Songs 7:6-7, 5, 4, 11, 12, with Alleluia or Amen at the end (Antiphon for Feast of the Nativity of the B.V.M.):

The text of *Quam pulchra es* often used by Renaissance composers

Quam pulchra es et quam decora carissima in deliciis tuis. Statura tua adsimilate est palmae, et ubera tua botris. Caput tuum ut Carmelus collum tuum sicut turris eburnea. Veni, dilecte mi, egrediamur in agrum, et videamus si flores [fructus] parturierunt, si floruissent mala punica. Ibi dabo tibi ubera mea.

How fair you are and how beautiful, dearest in your delights. Your stature is likened to a palm, and your breasts to clusters of grapes. Your head as Carmel, and your neck like a tower of ivory. Come, my beloved, let us go into the field, and see if the flowers bear fruit, if the pomegranates flower. There I will give you my love (breasts).⁴²

But the combination of verses in Festa's settings of *Quam pulchra es* is different. Both have the same text except the first verse of the four-part piece which is like the one used

⁴² Translation is adapted from *Sacred Music From the Cathedral at Trent: Trent, Museo Provinciale D'Arte, Codex 1375 (Olim 88)*, ed. Rebecca L. Gerber, *Monuments of Renaissance Music* (Chicago: The Chicago University Press, 2007), 106. This text, with some slight changes, seems to have been quite common among Renaissance composers. I am aware of at least a few of them, by Noel Bauldeweyn, John Dunstaple, John Pyamour, Johannes Lupi, Nicolas Gombert, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and two anonymous settings are in TrentC 88 fols., 329^v - 330 and LonBL 19583.

in the settings by other composers (this first verse is absent in the three-part version because of Gardane's removal of the opening section).⁴³

Costanzo Festa—*Quam pulchra es* (4vv.) (published in Antico)

Quam pulchra es, et quam decora	How beautiful you are and how comely
Quam pulchra es, amica mea, columba mea, formosa mea:	How beautiful you are my love, my dove, my beautiful one
Veni, dilecta mea; vox enim tua dulcis, et facies decora nimis.	Come, my beloved; for your voice is sweet, and your face exceedingly comely.

Costanzo Festa—*Quam pulchra es* (3vv.) (published in Gardane)

Quam pulchra es amica mea, columba mea, formosa mea:	How beautiful you are my love, my dove, my beautiful one
Veni dilecta mea, vox enim tua dulcis, et facies decora nimis.	Come, my beloved, for your voice is sweet, and your face is exceedingly comely.

Here arises a problem; since Monteverdi refers to Festa's three-part motet in Gardane's print with the text beginning as *Quam pulchra es amica mea*, why does his motet have instead *Quam pulchra es et quam decora*, which would suggest that he also saw Festa's motet as it is in Antico's book? I shall return to this problem later.

Costanzo Festa – *Quam pulchra es* (4vv.)/ Monteverdi – *Quam pulchra es* (3vv.)

Quam pulchra es, et quam decora	How beautiful you are and how comely
Quam pulchra es, amica mea, columba mea, formosa mea:	How beautiful you are my love, my dove, my beautiful one
Veni, dilecta mea; vox enim tua dulcis, et facies decora nimis.	Come, my beloved; for your voice is sweet, and your face exceedingly comely.

Monteverdi's use of and reference to Festa's motet may suggest that he had a special predilection for Festa's music. The truth is that during the Renaissance (probably likewise in other periods of music history) each generation of writers and composers

⁴³ As far as I know there is no another setting of the text similar to Festa's four-part work.

singled out a group of composers from the contemporary or older generations whom they treated as heroes and giants of music;⁴⁴ for example, a printer Johann Ott praises Josquin in the dedication to *Novum et insigne opus musicum* (Nuremberg, 1537) and Adrian Petit Coclico, in his *Compendium musices* (Nuremberg, 1552), calls Josquin one of the most outstanding musicians. But on the other hand, according to Gioseffo Zarlino, the author of *Le institutioni harmoniche* of 1558, and Gaspar Stoquerus, who wrote *De musica verbali libri duo* of around 1570, it was Adrian Willaert who should be granted a title of the author of the new music which all should imitate.⁴⁵ Willaert was also Monteverdi's musical beacon; Monteverdi's brother, Giulio Cesare Monteverdi, in a letter defending his brother's new style, gives a long list of composers representing the first practice which was finally perfected by Willaert.⁴⁶ As the first exponent of the second practice Monteverdi names Rore, whose followers are Ingenieri, Marenzio, Wert, Luzzaschi, Peri and, Caccini.⁴⁷ Indeed, there are many instances in which Monteverdi used existing models for creating his own works. Geoffrey Chew says that "examples of *imitatio* [in Monteverdi's works] discussed in the literature tend to be drawn from works up to 1590 [the year of publication of his second book of madrigals] probably because it has been assumed that Monteverdi used the procedure only during his apprenticeship as a

⁴⁴ The problem of the attitude to and understanding of the musical past in the Renaissance is very well examined in Jessie Ann Owens, "Music Historiography and the Definition of 'Renaissance,'" *Notes* 47 (1990): 305-30.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 310-312.

⁴⁶ In addition to Willaert, Giulio Cesare also mentions Ockeghem, Josquin, Pierre de la Rue, Jean Mouton, Crequillon, Clemens non Papa, and Gombert. For Giulio Cesare's manifesto printed with the *Scherzi Musicale* of 1607 and its translation, see Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1978), 536-44, for the list of composers; see esp. 540.

⁴⁷ Howard M. Brown, *Music in the Renaissance* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1976), 369.

composer. The extent to which imitation is in evidence in works of his maturity is, therefore, insufficiently understood, though it is clear in isolated works.”⁴⁸ What then was the reason that Monteverdi used some melodic material from Festa’s work? Did he, as a young composer, admire Festa’s music and decide to acknowledge Festa’s greatness by referring to this tiny motet? If so, why did Giulio Cesare, speaking on behalf of his brother, not mention Festa’s name among the other composers?

In order to make an attempt to answer these questions or at least to suggest hypotheses why Monteverdi became interested in Festa’s motet it may be helpful to look briefly at Monteverdi’s motet collection *Sacrae cantiunculae* and make some general observations. Besides the motet *Quam pulchra es* (no. 6) there are also two other motets written to the text of the Song of Songs—*Veni in hortum meum* (no. 2) and *Surge propera* (no. 4). By looking at the opening phrase of all of the three motets one may come to conclusion that they have something in common. It seems to me that the most striking characteristic is an appearance of three intervals—the third up and down (with or without a filling tone) and a fifth or fourth leap up. This is particularly clearly seen in *Veni in hortum meum* and *Quam pulchra es* (the first three measures of their top voices). In the motet *Surge propera* the interval of a fifth up is here replaced by the fourth between *d'* and *g'* with two filling tones (two first measures of the top part). Interestingly enough, a similar sequence of intervals is also present in other motets of the collection; the two-part motet *Tu es pastor-Tu es Petrus* (no. 9-10) has the opening phrase beginning in almost the same way as *Veni hortum meum* except that in both *partes* of *Tu es pastor* after the fourth note there is a fourth leap up (*f²-b b'*) instead of *f²-c'*. Similarly, the first

⁴⁸ *New Grove*, s.v. “Monteverdi, Claudio,” by Geoffrey Chew, vol. 17, p. 37.

phrase of *O Domine Jesu Christe-O Domine Jesu Christe* (no. 15-16; top voice, mm. 1-4) is also a reminiscent of the motive discussed here with the exception that it is transposed to *g'* and again has a leap of fourth up.

Another interesting thing about the collection is that eighteen of the twenty-six motets begin with a point of imitation similar to Festa's three-part setting, namely, that the first phrase is introduced by the top voice, then appears in the middle and finally ends up in the lowest voice. Table 5 below shows which of Monteverdi's motets have such an opening imitation sequence (marked +).⁴⁹ Obviously, in a three-part composition a layout of voices coming in in a point of imitation cannot vary much and the option with a top voice entering as the first may seem to be the most practical. Yet, the fact that so many of the motets in *Sacrae cantiunculae* are characterized by such an opening point of imitation may not be coincidental but planned to have the collection organized in more or less consistent way.

Table 5. Motets from Monteverdi's <i>Sacrae cantiunculae</i> of 1582 (a list of motets as it is in Malipiero's edition)		
No.	Name	
1.	Lapidabant Stephanum	
2.	Veni in hortum meum	+
3.	Ego sum pastor bonus	+
4.	Surge propera	+
5.	Ubi duo	+

⁴⁹ It is worth noting, nevertheless, that in some of these motets the lowest part does not take part in the imitation as it introduces different melodic material, not similar to the one presented by the two upper voices, see for example the motets *Ubi duo* (no. 5), *Domine pater* (no. 8), and *Qui vult venire* (no. 25).

6.	Quam pulchra es	+
7.	Ave Maria	+
8.	Domine pater	+
9.	Tu es pastor (<i>prima pars</i>)	
10.	Tu es Petrus (<i>secunda pars</i>)	
11.	O magnum pietatis (<i>prima pars</i>)	
12.	Eli clamans (<i>secunda pars</i>)	+
13.	O Crux benedicta	
14.	Hodie Christus natus est	+
15.	O Domine Jesu Christe (<i>prima pars</i>)	
16.	O Domine Jesu Christe (<i>secunda pars</i>)	
17.	Pater venit hora	+
18.	In tua patientia	
19.	Angelus ad pastore ait	+
20.	Salve crux pretiosa	+
21.	Quia vidisti me	+
22.	Lauda Sion Salvatorum	+
23.	O bone Jesu	+
24.	Surgens Jesus	+
25.	Qui vult venire	+
26.	Justi tulerunt spolia	+

All these differences and observations can lead us to some conclusions. The first obvious reason why Monteverdi became interested in Festa's *Quam pulchra es* from Gardane's print may be its brevity and simplicity. These two features more or less characterize all motets included in the collection of *Sacrae cantiunculae*. Thus, from a practical point of view Monteverdi could have seen Festa's composition, after some additional reductions and changes, as an ideal candidate to fit into the collection. The layout of the opening point of imitation, beginning in the top part and ending in the lowest, and its characteristic intervallic scheme, reminiscent of the opening phrase of Monteverdi's other motet in the collection *Veni in hortum meum* as well as some others, may have been a reason why Monteverdi used Festa's motet as a basis for his own composition. Considering the problem of textual similarity between Monteverdi's *Quam pulchra es* and Festa's four-part version of *Quam pulchra es* from Antico's book, one may be tempted to suggest that Monteverdi may have also seen Festa's motet published in Antico's book since they share the same text. Although this scenario cannot be excluded, it seems to me, nevertheless, that Monteverdi's intention was to stick to the tradition of setting the text of *Quam pulchra es* followed by *et quam decora* cultivated by other composer such as for instance Gombert and Palestrina. It is interesting that Festa's other motets in Gardane's print of 1543 like e.g. the two-part *Surge amica mea* (3vv.) did not attract Monteverdi's attention although its text from the Song of Songs and the first imitative motive are to some extent similar to Monteverdi's *Veni in hortum meum*. It seems difficult to find out why only Festa's *Quam pulchra es* found its way into Monteverdi's collection of 1582. Whatever the reason was, it seems to me that Monteverdi picked out this motet for practical reasons rather than to emulate its style and

to pay homage to Festa, especially that the name of Festa seems to have never been mentioned by Monteverdi among other composers he seems to have respected.

Example 18. Costanzo Festa—*Quam pulchra es* from Antico's *Motetti libro quarto* of 1521 (reproduced from *Opera omnia*)

The musical score is presented in four systems, each with four vocal staves. The lyrics are in Latin and are distributed across the staves as follows:

- System 1:**
 - Staff 1: Quam pul - chra es et
 - Staff 2: Quam pul - chra es
 - Staff 3: Quam pul - chra es et quam de - co
 - Staff 4: Quam
- System 2:**
 - Staff 1: quam de - co ra, et quam de - co - ra;
 - Staff 2: et quam de - co ra;
 - Staff 3: ra, et quam de - co ra;
 - Staff 4: pul - chra es et quam de - co - ra, et quam de - co - ra;
- System 3:**
 - Staff 1: Quam pul - chra es, a - mi - ca me
 - Staff 2: Quam pul - chra es, pul - chra
 - Staff 3: Quam pul - chra es, a - mi - ca me -
 - Staff 4: Quam pul - chra
- System 4:**
 - Staff 1: a, a - mi - ca me -
 - Staff 2: es, a - mi - ca me - a, co -
 - Staff 3: a, a - mi - ca me - a,
 - Staff 4: es, a - mi - ca me - a, co - lum - ba

Example 18. (continued)

25
 a, co - lum - ba me - a,
 lum - ba me a, for - mo - sa
 co - lum - ba me a, for - mo - sa
 8 me - a, for - mo - sa me

30
 for - mo - sa me a, for - mo - sa me - a; Ve -
 me - a for - mo - sa me - a; Ve - ni
 me a;
 8 a, for - mo - sa me - a;

40
 ni, ve - ni, ve - ni di - le - cta me - a, di - le - cta
 ve - ni, ve - ni, ve - ni, ve - ni di -
 Ve - ni, ve - ni, ve - ni di - le - cta me -
 8 Ve - ni di - le - cta me -

45
 me - a, vox e - nim tu - a dul -
 le - cta me - a, vox e - nim tu - a dul -
 a, vox e - nim tu - a dul -
 8 a, vox e - nim tu - a dul -

Example 18. (continued)

50

cis, tu - a dul

cis, tu - a dul

cis, tu - a dul

cis, tu - a dul

55

cis, et

cis, et fa - ci - es de -

60^b

cis, et fa - ci - es de - co - ra ni -

et fa - ci - es de - co - ra ni -

fa - ci - es de - co - ra ni - mis, et fa -

co - ra ni - mis, et fa - ci - es de - co - ra ni -

65

mis, et fa - ci - es de - co - ra ni - mis.

mis, et fa - ci - es de - co - ra ni - mis.

ci - es de - co - ra ni - mis de - co - ra ni - mis.

mis, et fa - ci - es de - co - ra ni - mis.

Example 19. Costanzo Festa—*Quam pulchra es*, from Gardane's *Motetta trium vocum* of 1543

Quam pul - chra - es a - mica me - a

Quam pul - chra - es a - mica me - a

Quam pul - chra - es a -

8 a - mica me - a a - mica me - a co - lum - ba mea

mica me - a a - mica me - a co - lum - ba mea

15 co - lum - ba mea for - mo - sa me - a

for - mo - sa me - a

for - mo - sa me - a for - mo - sa me -

22 for - mo - sa me - a ve - ni ve - ni ve - ni di - lec - ta me -

for - mo - sa me - a ve - ni ve - ni ve - ni di - lec - ta me -

a for - mo - sa me - a ve -

Example 19. (continued)

29

a di - lec - ta me - a vox e - nim tu - a dul -
a di - lec - ta me - a vox e - nim tu - a
ni di - lec - ta me - - - a vox e - nim tu - a

36

cis tu - a dul - cis
dul - cis tu - a dul - cis
dul - cis tu - a dul - cis vox e nim tu - a dul - cis fa -

44

tu - a dul - cis fa - ci - es de - co - ra ni - mis.
fa - ci - es de - co - ra ni - mis. et ni - mis.
ci - es de - co - ra ni - mis. de - co - ra de - co - ra ni - mis.

**Example 20. Claudio Monteverdi—*Quam pulchra es*
from *Sacrae cantiunculae* of 1582 (adapted from Malipiero's edition, vol. XIV)**

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, the middle staff is the lute line, and the bottom staff is the basso continuo line. The music is in a minor key and common time. The lyrics are in Latin and are written below the vocal staff. The score includes measure numbers 8, 15, and 22.

System 1:

Vocal: Quam pul - chra es et quam de-co - - - ra
 Lute: Quam pul - chra est et quam de-co -
 Continuo: Quam pul - chra est et

System 2 (starting at measure 8):

Vocal: et quam de-co - ra et quam de-co - ra quam pul - chra es a - mi-ca me - a a -
 Lute: - - ra quam pul - chra es a-mi - ca me - a a - mi-ca me - a
 Continuo: quam de - co - ra et quam de - co - ra quam pul - chra est a - mi-ca

System 3 (starting at measure 15):

Vocal: mi - ca me - a co-lum-ba me - a for - mo - sa me - a ve -
 Lute: a - mi - ca me - a co - lum - ba me - a for - mo - sa me -
 Continuo: me - - - a co - lum - ba me - a for -

System 4 (starting at measure 22):

Vocal: ni ve - ni ve - ni ve - ni di - lec - ta me - a vox e - nim
 Lute: a ve - - - ni di - lec - ta me - a vox e -
 Continuo: mo - sa me - a ve - - ni di - lec - ta me - a

Example 20. (continued)

29

tu - a dul - cis et fa - ci - es de - co - ra ni - mis et fa - ci - es de - co - ra ni - mis

- nim tu - a dul - cis et fa - ci - es de - co - ra ni - mis de - co - ra ni - mis

vox e - nim tu - a dul - cis et fa - ci - es de - co - ra ni - mis

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for three voices in a single system. The top staff is the soprano line, the middle is the alto line, and the bottom is the tenor line. The music is in a minor key, indicated by one flat in the key signature. The lyrics are in Latin. Three specific melodic phrases are highlighted with rectangular boxes: 1) The first box in the soprano line covers the notes for 'tu - a dul - cis'. 2) The second box in the soprano line covers the notes for 'fa - ci - es de - co - ra ni - mis'. 3) The third box in the tenor line covers the notes for 'fa - ci - es de - co - ra ni - mis'. The lyrics are: 'tu - a dul - cis et fa - ci - es de - co - ra ni - mis et fa - ci - es de - co - ra ni - mis' for the soprano; '- nim tu - a dul - cis et fa - ci - es de - co - ra ni - mis de - co - ra ni - mis' for the alto; and 'vox e - nim tu - a dul - cis et fa - ci - es de - co - ra ni - mis' for the tenor.

PART II. The Anonymous Motet *Ave rosa speciosa* in the Chigi Codex

Chapter 10

Ave rosa speciosa and the Chigi Codex

Many collections of polyphonic music were clearly organized by genre. Bonnie Blackburn demonstrated that church choirbooks were often devoted to a single genre—Masses, motets, lamentations, hymns, psalms, Magnificats. On the basis of choirbooks belonging to the Sistine Chapel one might notice that in some choirbooks masses appear next to motets, while in the others motets are found together with hymns and Magnificats.¹ The Chigi Codex is one in which masses appear together with motets.² Originally the manuscript was organized in a way that masses were to be followed by motets. This order was later distorted as the motets were inserted into the main body of the manuscript; six motets were added to the section with masses and two motets at the end of the motet section. The first section with masses was originally entirely devoted to Ockeghem (folios 3v-136r), followed by a group of masses by other composers (Barbireau, Agricola, de la Rue, Josquin, Brumel, Busnoys, and Compère).³ These two

¹ Bonnie Blackburn, *Music for Treviso Cathedral in the Late Sixteenth Century: Reconstruction of the Lost Manuscript 29 and 30* (London: Royal Musical Association, 1987), 29. For the layout of music manuscripts in the fifteenth century, see also Julie Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 48-62.

² On the contents, history, and dating of the Chigi Codex; see Herbert Kellman, "The Origins of the Chigi Codex: The Date, Provenance, and Original Ownership of Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Chigiana C VIII 234," *JAMS* 11 (1958): 6-19; idem, "Introduction," to *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vaticana, MS Chigi C VIII 234*, *Renaissance Music in Facsimile 22* (New York: Garland, 1987), v-xi; and idem, ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts, 1500-1535* (Amsterdam: Ludion, distributed by University of Chicago Press, 1999), 125-127; see also Emilio Ros-Fábregas, "The Cardona and Fernández de Córdoba Coats of Arms in the Chigi Codex," *Early Music History* 21 (2002): 223-58.

³ The manuscript is the most important source of Ockeghem's and Regis's music; it contains fifteen compositions by Ockeghem (thirteen masses and two motets) and five of eight motets by Regis. Kellman's idea that the Chigi Codex was compiled between around 1498 and 1503 and was intended as a commemorative collection of works by Ockeghem and Regis seems to be persuasive in terms of how many

mass sections were later split by insertions of four motets (folios 136v-142r). The original motet section (folios 241v-284r), containing twelve works of which four are written as anonymous (of which one is textless) was later extended by two additional motets—*Asperges me* (probably by Madrid) and *Vidi aquam* (anonymous).⁴ At first glance the original group of motets is dominated by the works dedicated to the Virgin Mary (marked in bold in the table).

works by these two composers were inserted into the manuscript; see Kellman, “The Origins of the Chigi Codex.” 15-16. The idea is also strengthened by Fallows’s findings and suggestions concerning Regis’s death in 1496 (Ockeghem died in 1497); see David Fallows, “Life of Johannes Regis, ca. 1425 to 1496,” *Revue belge de musicologie* 43 (1989): 143-72.

⁴ Textless composition for four and six voices is intriguing in the motet context of the manuscript. Houghton suggests a few reasons why the motet is without text; “it is an instrumental piece; the original text was inappropriate for a sacred collection or for the donor or intended recipient of the codex: the copying was incomplete.” He points to a wide range of characteristics that might place the work in the orbit of a number of composers but he concludes that “a number of indicators that are insignificant or unconvincing by themselves, when taken together, point to La Rue as the author of the textless motet”; see Edward F. Houghton, “The Anonymous Motets of the Chigi Codex,” in *Uno Gentile Et Subtile Ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honor of Bonnie J. Blackburn*, ed. M. Jennifer Bloxam, Gioia Filocamo, and Leofranc Holford-Strevens (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 431-35. I thank Prof. Houghton for sharing his article with me prior to its publication. Currently there is a general agreement among scholars that the motet *Asperges me* is by Madrid; although the name “Madrid” appears only over *Asperges me* (this made Kellman suppose that “Madrid” could also refer to the place where the insertion was made; see idem, “The Origins of the Chigi Codex,” 8). Tess Knighton points, that the style of the second of the motets, *Vidi aquam*, is very similar to *Asperges me*, and might also be by Madrid; see idem., *New Grove*, s.v. “Madrid, Juan Fernández,”; on the attribution of these two works; see also Kenneth Kreitner, *The Church Music of Fifteenth Century Spain* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), 58-60 and Houghton, “The Anonymous Motets of the Chigi Codex,” 439-40. In addition to the Chigi Codex, *Sile fragor* is still found in five other sources (four manuscripts and one print, for the list of sources, see Houghton, “A Close Reading,” 90); the attribution to Compère is made on the basis of Petrucci’s *Motetti A. numero trentare* (RISM 1502¹) in which the motet is ascribed to the composer. The motet *Lux solempnis adest-Repleti sunt omnes* is attributed to Regis in Petrucci’s *Motetti a cinque* (RISM 1508¹). On the motet *Ave rosa speciosa*, see below.

**Table 6. The motet section of the Chigi Codex
(Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiana C VIII 234)**

241v-245	Josquin	Stabat Mater-Comme femme desconfortée
245v-249	Weerbeke	Stabat Mater-Vidi speciosam
249v-253	Isaac	Angeli archangeli-Comme femme desconfortée
253v-257	Anon.	Textless composition a 4 and 6
257v-261	[Regis]	Lux solempnis adest-Repleti sunt omnes
261v-265	Regis	Celsitnantis ave genitrix-Abrahae fit promissio
265v-269	Anon.	Ave rosa speciosa-Beata mater
269v-273	Regis	O admirabile commercium
273v-276	Regis	Lauda Syon salvatorem-Ego sum panis
276v-279	Ockeghem	Intemerata Dei mater
279v-281	[Compère]	Sile fragor
281v-284	Regis	Clangat plebs flores-Sicut lilium

284v-286	Madrid (?)	Asperges me
286v-287	Anon.	Vidi aquam

Three of the motets from the original body are not related to Marian devotion; *Lux solempnis adest-Repleti sunt omnes* was probably intended for the feast of Pentecost and *Lauda Syon salvatorem-Ego sum panis* seems to have been prescribed for the feast of

Corpus Christi.⁵ The insertion of the two last motets—*Asperges me* and *Vidi aquam*—might be surprising as they do not fit the subject of the remaining motets. From the liturgical point of view, nevertheless, their appearance together is absolutely appropriate as both are the antiphons used during the ritual sprinkling of the congregation before Sunday mass; *Asperges me* is used in all seasons except for the Easter season and Palm Sunday while *Vidi aquam* serves as a substitution of *Asperges me* in the period from Easter until Pentacost.⁶

At least a few of the Marian motets in the original layer might be understood as a reflection of changing religious sensibilities in late medieval religious devotion; they

⁵ *Lauda Syon salvatorem* is a sequence prescribed for the feast of Corpus Christi. Its cantus firmus is compiled from a part of the antiphon *Ego sum panis vivus* (*I am the living bread*; *Antiphonale Romanum*, p. 533) whose text comes from St. John 6:48-50 and the Versus Alleluaticus *Caro mea vere est cibus* (*My flesh is true food*; *LU*, 945) for the same feast.

⁶ The Chigi Codex is not the only source in which these two antiphons are found together; another known to me is Petrucci's *Fragmenta Missarum* (RISM 1505¹), in which two settings of *Asperges me* followed by two settings of *Vidi aquam* open the book; see Stanley Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci: Catalogue Raisonné* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 602-4; Boorman comments that "it opens, somewhat unusually for any Italian source of music for the mass, with two settings each of three different liturgical texts. For the first two, *Asperges me* and *Vidi quam*, settings by well-known composers (Compère and Brumel) are preceded by works by Fortuila. Both texts, with the third, *Salve sancta parens*, could be used for festal masses, matched by the final work in the edition, a *Haec dies*, intended for the Easter liturgy"; see *ibid.*, 286. The inclusion of the antiphons *Asperges* and *Vidi aquam* is astonishing in terms of their relation with other works in both sources—the Chigi Codex and Petrucci's *Fragmenta Missarum*. In the former the antiphons were inserted after the main body of the manuscript was compiled thus one might be doubtful about the reason and appropriateness of their appearance there in the context of other works; they may have been placed there at random, not necessarily related in a liturgical way to the remaining works. But in the latter the antiphons seem to have been intended as an integral part of the whole edition since they open the book and their presence together with other works there was seemingly planned in advance. Jennifer Bloxam notes that although the contents of Petrucci's book is in general Marian-oriented, their placement in the book still seems to be appropriate for Marian celebrations; see M. Jennifer Bloxam, "'I have never seen your equal': Agricola, the Virgin, and the Creed," *Early Music* 34 (2006): 391-407 at 395. The question is if the antiphons in the Chigi Codex were meant as a part of the motet section only (dominated by Marian motets), or of the entire manuscript. I think that their liturgical use—as part of entrance ritual—is clearly emphasized in Petrucci's book where they appear at the beginning together with the setting of the Marian introtit *Salve sancta parens* (*LU*, 1263-1264); their liturgical function seems to be implied in the print by their placement at the beginning of the book. Thus it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the antiphons *Asperges me* and *Vidi aquam* in the Chigi Codex were intended, like in *Fragmenta Missarum*, as the opening motets, but for some reasons (e.g. there was no enough room for such inclusion) the scribe made up his mind to place them at the end.

present the Virgin Mary as the most important figure after her son Jesus Christ. They also echo contemporary theological discussions on Mary's role as Christ's mother in a drama of salvation and her involvement in the Incarnation. It is no wonder then that the appearance of three initial motets in the Chigi Codex—Josquin's *Stabat Mater-Comme femme desconfortée*, Weerbeke's *Stabat Mater-Vidi speciosam*, and Isaac's *Angeli archangeli-Comme femme desconfortée* coincided with the peak of popularity of the feast devoted to the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin. Herman Kellman says that

introduced through the efforts of Jan van Coudenberghe in Abbenbroek, Roemersvaal, and Bruges in the 1480s, veneration of the Seven Sorrows immediately flourished, and confraternities of that name were founded in these towns and in Brussels in the 1490s, supported by Philip the Fair, an ardent follower of the cult. In that same period Petrus de Manso wrote his cycle of texts, which around 1495 was given to a number of composers who competed to set it in chant.⁷

Another evidence of a significant role the feast of the Seven Sorrows played in people's minds at the turn of the sixteenth century is manuscript BrusBR 215-16 (dated around 1516-23) entirely devoted to the feast.⁸ It contains only four polyphonic pieces followed by the Office in chant:⁹

⁷ *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, 67. The beginning of the development of the cult of the seven sorrows reaches back to the middle of the twelfth century when it was probably influenced by the cult of the five joys of the Virgin. Thus originally it had five sorrows. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the number of sorrows reached seven. In 1304 Benedict XI approved the Order of Servites devoted to the veneration of the sorrows. In 1423 the feast of the Sorrows of the Virgin Mary was instituted in Cologne; see Sandro Sticca, *The Planctus Mariae in the Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages*, trans. Joseph R. Berrigan (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1988), 60.

⁸ Petrus Alamire's manuscript Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 215-16 is entirely devoted to the commemoration of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin. Because the feast of the Seven Sorrows was especially favored by Philip the Fair it seems likely that the manuscript was prepared at his request; see Eugene Schreurs, "Musical Relations between the Court and Collegiate Chapels in the Netherlands, 1450-1560," in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Court Ceremony in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Juan José Carreras and Bernardo García García, English ed. Tess Knighton, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 103-120 at 113.

**Table 7. The Contents of the Manuscript BrusBR 215-16
(dated around 1516-23)**

1v-20	Missa Septem doloribus beatissime Marie (5vv.)	La Rue
20v-33	Missa de Septem doloribus dulcissime Marie	anon.
33v-38	Memorare mater/Numquam fuit pena maior (7vv.)	Pipelare
39v-43	Stabat mater dolorosa iuxta crucem (5vv.)	[Josquin]
44-49v	Plainchant for feast of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin	

Besides the Seven Sorrows, there were some other feasts in honor of the Virgin Mary that were officially instituted in the fifteenth century. One of the motets in the manuscript might be considered as written to commemorate the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary; the feast, officially approved by Sixtus on 27 February 1477, resulted in a usage of the newly written Office known as *Sicut liliun* by the Franciscan Leonardo Nogarola.¹⁰ But although the tenor of Regis's motet *Clangat plebs flores-Sicut liliun* in the Chigi Codex has a text derived from the Song of Songs (*Sicut liliun inter spinas sic amica mea inter filias; As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters*), very important immaculist source, the work cannot be considered with certainty as intended for the feast of the Immaculate Conception. The fact is that a verse *Sicut liliun*

⁹ It is worth noting here that although the *Stabat mater* has a specific liturgical place in the liturgy, originally in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it was just a prayer to Mary's sorrow and was included in many books of hours next to *Obsecro* and *O Intemerata*. Interestingly enough, the melody for this sequence was composed much later than the text itself and thus in BrusBR 215-16 the sequence in the plainchant mass is *Astat virgo virginum* instead; see David Rothenberg, "Angels, Archangels, and a Woman in Distress: The Meaning of Isaac's *Angeli archangeli*," *Journal of Musicology* 21 (2004): 514-578 at 537-538.

¹⁰ Bonnie Blackburn, "The Virgin in the Sun: Music and Image for a Prayer Attributed to Sixtus IV," *JRMA* 124 (1999): 157-95 at 178. More on the dogma of the Immaculate Conception and its history below.

inter spinas sic amica mea inter filias was also sung on the feast of the Assumption.¹¹

Besides, the main text of the motet does not give a clue for which specific feast the motet was written. I do not mean to suggest yet that it may not be for the feast of the Immaculate Conception.

I will argue in a further part of this study that the anonymous motet *Ave rosa speciosa* in the Chigi Codex may have been written under the influence of, and as a response to the growing popularity of the rosary movement (the first confraternity of the rosary was created in Cologne in 1475 by Jacob Sprenger, who died in 1495) and may have been intended for the Immaculate Conception as well.

* * *

The anonymous six-voice motet *Ave rosa speciosa* in the Chigi Codex has recently been a subject of intense debate among musicologists. The problem of its authorship does not allow scholars to get a wink of sleep.¹² Because in the manuscript the piece is surrounded by five motets by Regis and because some stylistic features are reminiscent of his other works, Edward Houghton suggested that *Ave rosa speciosa*

¹¹ Ruth Steiner, "Marian Antiphons at Cluny and Lewes," in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong and Medieval Music Society Centennial Essays* ed. Susan Rankin and David Hiley (Oxford University Press, 1993), 175-204 at 187-88.

¹² Edward F. Houghton's proposal in his "A 'New' Motet by Johannes Regis," *TVNM* 33 (1983): 49-74 to attribute the work to Regis was accepted by some other musicologists; see Kellman, "Introduction," v; Fallows, "Life of Johannes Regis, ca. 1425 to 1496," 145 n. 8 and 168; Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 484. But some others received this idea with caution; see Heinz-Jürgen Winkler, "Studien zu den Tenormotetten von Johannes Regis nebst einer kritischer Edition des Motettencorpus der Handschrift Rom, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Fondo Chigi C VIII 234," (Ph.D. diss., Heidelberg University, 1993), 5 n. 7; Sean Gallagher, "Models of Varietas: Studies in Style and Attribution in the Motets of Johannes Regis and his Contemporaries," (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1998), esp. 269-286; Pamela F. Starr, "Southern Exposure: Roman Light on Johannes Regis," *Revue belge de musicologie* 49 (1995): 27-38 at 35.

should be attributed to the composer. This thesis was greeted with some skepticism by Heinz-Jürgen Winkler and Sean Gallagher; although they admit that certain aspects of the work situate it within Regis's orbit, they would rather leave open the question of its attribution. This study does not claim to solve this problem; rather its goal is to put this piece in certain context that might help us understand its circumstances.

What is so unusual about *Ave rosa speciosa*? The motet is divided into two parts (mm. 1-58 and 59-212). Within this division the work is further divided into three parts due to its mensural organization—the first part is in tempus perfectum, the second in imperfectum diminutum, and the last one in sesquialtera proportion. Houghton points out that these changes “divide the work into three sections whose large scale rhythmic effect is one of progressive acceleration, similar to that found in many works of Ockeghem.”¹³

It has been observed that the central basis of the composition is the chant antiphon *Beata mater et innupta virgo*; written in the tenor voice, the chant is intended to create a strict canon between the two tenors. These two voices, situated in the very middle of the motet, seem to play a role of a spine of the entire composition. The chant *Beata Mater*, a Magnificat antiphon, is prescribed for various feast of the Virgin.¹⁴ Ruth Steiner says that

¹³ Houghton, “A ‘New’ Motet by Johannes Regis,” 49.

¹⁴ The whole text reads: *Beata mater et innupta Virgo, gloriosa regina mundi intercede pro nobis ad dominum (Blessed Mother and Virgin unwed, glorious Queen of the world, intercede for us with the Lord)*. The interesting thing and maybe relevant to our motet is that there is another Magnificat antiphon used for the Feast of Rosary (*LU*, p.1681) whose text—similar to our antiphon—follows as: *Beata mater et intacta Virgo, gloriosa Regina mundi sentient omnes tuum juvamen, quicumque celebrant tuam sacratissimi Rosarii solemnitatem (Blessed mother and unspotted Virgin, glorious Queen of the world, may all experience thine aid, who celebrate thy solemnity of the most holy Rosary)*. Houghton points out, after Bonnie Blackburn's and Edward Lowinsky's suggestion, that *Ave rosa speciosa* has some structural similarities with Josquin's *O virgo prudentissima*. They both are for six voices with a cantus firmus as two-part canon based on the chant antiphon *Beata mater et intacta (innupta) virgo* (the melody seems to be the same in both cases). Houghton points that *innupta* is found in place of *intacta* in several sources of Josquin's motet; see Houghton, “A ‘New’ Motet by Johannes Regis,” 56-57 and 59 n. 25. Interestingly, it seems as if

this chant appears on five different days (the four Marian feasts and Christmas) but the most frequently it was used for the feast of Assumption.¹⁵ The lowest part is provided with the *L'homme armé* tune,¹⁶ which carries fragments of the three different texts—*Ave regina caelorum* (the Marian antiphon),¹⁷ *Beata mater* (the cantus firmus antiphon), and

Josquin chose only six stanzas of Poliziano's text for his motet *O virgo prudentissima*. Howard M. Brown points that "it seems likely, even though there is no documentary evidence to support such a conclusion, that the composer himself must have made the decision to choose to supply music for only six of Poliziano's ten stanzas, and to set them against the antiphon *Beata mater et intacta virgo*, which he used as a canonic cantus firmus in tenor and altus. Characteristically, by his choice and arrangement of only six of Poliziano's ten stanzas, Josquin enhanced the rhetorical emphasis of the poem: he made of it an even stronger, more personal, and more dramatic plea to the Virgin Mary for her help than Poliziano appears to have intended"; see Howard M. Brown, "Notes Towards a Definition of Personal Style: Conflicting Attributions and the Six-Part Motets of Josquin and Mouton," in *Proceedings of the International Josquin Symposium, Utrecht 1986*, ed. Willem Elders (Amsterdam: Vereniging Voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1991), 185-207 at 190; a composer of *Ave rosa* also seems to have made a selection of stanzas from the main text (more on this below). For brief description of Josquin's motet; see John Milsom, "Motets for Five and More Voices," in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 281-320 at 288-289.

¹⁵ In CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant, <http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/>, (accessed October 7, 2009) I found thirty three sources with *Beata Mater et innupta virgo*, of which fifteen were prescribed for the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, nine for the Purification and the remaining for some other Marian feasts and Christmas; see also Steiner, "Marian Antiphons at Cluny and Lewes," 175-204 at 186. In the manuscript from the monastery Saint-Maur-des-Fossés (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 12044), copied in the first half of the twelfth century, the antiphon *Beata mater et innupta Virgo*, preceded by the antiphon *Ave rosa paradisi frondens*, are prescribed for the feast of the Assumption, idem., 181.

¹⁶ The tradition of using the *L'homme armé* tune in the sacred and secular polyphonic music mostly of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is astonishingly rich. The melody appears as a cantus firmus in around thirty Mass settings from about 1450 to 1600 (it needs to be remembered that there are still works with the tune composed after that time even until the twentieth century). For the brief overview of the tradition in the Renaissance, see Lewis Lockwood, "Aspects of the *L'homme armé* Tradition," *JRMA* 100 (1973): 97-122. For the possible association and link of the tradition with the Order of the Golden Fleece; see William Prizer, "Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries: Philip the Fair and the Order of the Golden Fleece," *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 113-53 and Barbara Hagg, "The Archives of the Order of the Golden Fleece and Music," *JRMA* 120 (1995): 1-43. For study of individual works, see Leeman L. Perkins, "The *L'homme armé* Masses of Busnoys and Okeghem: A Comparison," *Journal of Musicology* 3 (1984): 363-96; Richard Taruskin, "Antoine Busnoys and the *L'homme armé* Tradition," *JAMS* 39 (1986): 255-93.

¹⁷ Before the thirteenth century the Marian antiphons *Alma redemptoris mater*, *Ave regina caelorum*, *Regina caeli laetare*, and *Salve regina*, were originally used as real Antiphons; see Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Indiana: Bloomington University Press, 1958), 404. *Ave regina caelorum* (*Hail Queen of Heaven*) as the one of the four mentioned Marian antiphons retained at the Council of Trent, was ordered to be sung at the end of Compline from the Purification (Feast of the Presentation; February 2) until Wednesday in Holy Week; see *New Grove*, s.v. "Ave regina caelorum," by John Caldwell.

Ave rosa speciosa (the main text). It seems, however, as if one thing has been missed here so far. After two verses of *Ave regina caelorum* (*Ave regina caelorum/Ave domina angelorum*; mm. 1-12), there appears one verse—*Ave virgo sanctissima* (mm. 29-33)—which is not a part of *Ave regina caelorum* and does not appear in any other voices throughout the work.¹⁸

¹⁸ Because the musical setting of this verse is distinctively different from the preceding and following phrases (the *L'homme armé*-tune is not quoted here any longer), and because the first four notes of the phrase imitate the beginning of the phrase in Bassus I (mm. 26) it is reasonable to suppose that the text/verse *Ave virgo sanctissima* (mm. 29-33 B II) comes from another source and was interpolated in the textual web of the motet deliberately. More about this verse and its possible sources below.

Example 21. Motet *Ave rosa speciosa* (mm. 1-34), transcription by Edward F. Houghton

[Superius] A - ve ro - sa

Contra A - ve ro - sa

[Tenor I]

Tenor [II] Be - a

Bassus [I] A

Bassus [II]

spe - ci - o - sa a - ve Jes - se vir - gu -

spe - ci - o - sa a - ve Jes -

Be - a - ta ma -

ta ma - ter

ve - ro

A - ve

la cu - jus fru - ctus

se vir - gu - la cu - jus

ter et in - nu -

et in - nu - pta vir -

sa spe - ci - o - sa

re - gi - na

Example 21. (continued)

no - stri lu - ctus re - la - xa -
fru - ctus no - stri lu - ctus re - la - xa -
pta vir - go
go glo - ri -
ve Jes - se vir - gu - la
cae - lo - rum

15
vit vin - cu - la A -
vit vin - cu - la A - ve
glo - ri - o - sa
o - sa re - gi -

20
ve cu - jus vi - sce - ra con - tra mor - tis fœ - de -
cu - jus vi - sce - ra con - tra mor - tis fœ - de -
re - gi - na
na mun - di
A - ve Do - mi - na an -

Example 21. (continued)

25
ra e - du - xe - runt fi - li - um A - ve ca - -
ra A - -
mun - - - di
A - - ve
- - - ge - lo - - - rum

30
- - - rens si - - - mi - - - li mun - do de -
ve ca - - - rens si - - - mi - li mun - do de - - - mum
ca - rens si - - - mi - li
A - - ve vir - - - go san -

mum fle - bi - li re - pa - ra - sti gau - di - -
fle - bi - li re - pa - ra - - - sti gau - di - - - um A - -
- - - ctis - si - ma Be - - -

The main text of the motet, *Ave rosa speciosa*, comes from the sequence *Ave mundi spes Maria* in honor of the Virgin Mary, attributed to Adam of Saint Victor (d. between 1172 and 1192).¹⁹ What is clear from a comparison of Josquin's setting of the sequence *Ave mundi spes Maria* and *Ave rosa speciosa* is that in the latter there are some verses omitted from the sequence. I think that the composer intentionally omitted two first strophes (and some others) as he may have wanted to draw our attention to the third strophe. By doing this the composer might have intended to signal or to emphasize the meaning of the motet. I shall return to this problem in the further part of the study.

The sequence *Ave mundi spes Maria* (the bolded text is not used in the Chigi motet)²⁰

**1. Ave mundi spes Maria,
Ave mitis, ave pia
Ave plena gratia.**

**Hail Mary, the world's hope,
Hail gentle and loving mother,
Hail, Mary full of grace.**

¹⁹ My independent finding of the origin of the motet text resulted in the reading of the motet *Ave rosa speciosa* proposed in this study. After a draft of this study had been completed I came across an abstract of Edward Houghton's paper *The anonymous motets of the Chigi Codex* read at Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference at Tours, France, 13-16 July 2005 (http://ricercar.cesr.univtours.fr/archives_actualite/medren/Program/Abstracts.pdf, accessed August 29, 2009) in which Houghton points out that the text of the motet comes to a large extent from the sequence *Ave mundi spes maria*; see also Edward F. Houghton, *The Anonymous Motets of the Chigi Codex*, 436. On Adam of Saint Victor and Parisian sequence tradition; see Margo E. Fassler, "Who was Adam of St. Victor? The Evidence of the Sequence Manuscripts," *JAMS* 37 (1984): 233-69 and idem, "The Role of the Parisian Sequence in the Evolution of Notre Dame Polyphony," *Speculum* 62 (1987): 345-74.

²⁰ *New Josquin Edition*, ed. Willem Elders, 23:125-134, esp. 129-30. For a study of Josquin's motet, see Irving Godt, "The Restoration of Josquin's *Ave mundi spes Maria* and Some Observations on Restoration," *TVNM* 26 (1976): 53-83, for the text of the motet see 55-56. La Fage's *Ave mundi spes Maria* is published in *The Motet Books of Andrea Antico*, ed. Martin Picker, *Monuments of Renaissance Music* 7 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 53-55, for edition 340-55. The other setting of the sequence is by Ludford in *Nicholas Ludford: Collected Works*, ed. John D. Bergsagel, 2 vols. (American Institute of Musicology, 1963), 1:116-120. Clemens non Papa's six-voice *Ave mundi spes Maria* published in *Clemens non Papa: Opera omnia*, ed. K.P. Bernet Kempers, *CMM* 1-21 (American Institute of Musicology, 1951-76), 15:24-29, quotes only two first verses of the sequence; the remaining phrases do not correspond to the rest of the text. Palestrina's eight-voice setting of *Ave mundi spes* is in *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina: Le opera complete*, ed. R. Casimiri and others (Rome, 1939-87), 34:29. Probably the most spectacular and puzzling is anonymous eight-voice (!) *Ave mundi spes Maria/Gottes namen fahren wir* in TrentC 89 (probably copied into the manuscript around 1466!; see Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500*, 532 n. 486) and in MunBS 3154 (*Leopold Codex*; c. 1466-1511); this work does not set the entire sequence but only two first verses thus the remaining text might come from another source. For an edition of the work; see *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, vols. 14-15, pp. 266-68.

**2. Ave virgo singularis,
Que per rubum designaris
Non passum incendia.**

3. Ave rosa speciosa,
Ave Jesse virgule:
4. Cujus fructus nostril luctus
Relaxavit vincula.
5. Ave, cujus viscera
Contra carnis federa (Regis: Contra mortis federa)
Ediderunt filium. (Regis: Eduxerunt filium)
6. Ave carens simili,
Mundo diu flebili (Regis: Mundo demum flebili)
Reparasti gaudium.
7. Ave virginum lucerna,
Per quam fulsit lux superna
His quos umbra tenuit.
8. Ave virgo, de qua nasci,

Et de cujus lacte pasci
Rex celorum voluit.

9. Ave gemma, celi luminarium,
10. Ave sancti spiritus sacrarium.
11. O quam mirabilis,
Et quam laudabilis
Hec est virginatas
12. In qua per spiritum
Facta paraclitum (Regis: concipis dominum)

Fulsit fecunditas.

13. O quam sancta, quam serena,
Et benigna, quam amena
Esse virgo creditur.
14. Per quam servitus finitur (Regis: ...fruitur)
Porta celi aperitur
Et libertas redditur.
15. O castitatis lilium,
Tuum precare filium,
Qui salus est humilium:

**16. Ne nos pro nostro vitio
In flebili iudicio
Subjiciat supplicio.**

17. Sed nos tua sancta prece
Mundans a peccati fece,
18. Collocet in lucis domo:
'Amen', dicat omnis homo.
Amen.

**Hail unique virgin,
Prefigured by the burning bush
Not consumed by fire.**

Hail, fair rose,
Hail shoot of Jesse:
Whose fruit untied
The bonds of our sorrow.
Hail Mary, whose womb
Contrary to nature's law
Gave birth to a son.
Hail you without equal,
Who to a world so long in grief
Brought back joy.
Hail you lamp of virgins
Through which a light from heaven
Shines for those caught in shadows
Hail virgin from whom the King of
heaven

Wanted to be born, and by whose milk
He wanted to be nourished
Hail you, gem, heavenly chandelier,
Hail you, treasure chest of the Holy
How admirable,
How laudable
Is this virginity.
With the sweet Spirit's aid
**A fruitful parent made
(conceived the Lord)**

Brilliant exceedingly.
How holy and how serene,
How benign and lovable
Are you, virgin, held to be.
By you our bondage ends,
Is opened the gate to heaven
And freedom returned to us.
Oh, pure lily,
Pray your son who is
The salvation of the humble:
**That he may not
Punish us as our sins deserve
And the judgment end in tears.**

But by your holy intercession
Cleanse us from the dregs of sin,
Place us in his house full of light.
'So it be', may each of us say.
Amen.

Besides the variety of the texts, there is also a wide diversity of melodic material used in the motet. The entire cantus firmus appears twice throughout the motet; in each of the parts it is divided into two sections separated by a period of rests. In the first movement the first part of a cantus firmus appears between mm. 1-24 and mm. 42-58 and in the second one it appears first where the *sesquialtera* section begins, between mm. 117-142 and 192-205. The *L'homme armé* tune, carried by the lowest voice, is probably the most striking component of the whole work. It appears three times throughout the work but only some fragments of the melody are presented, from time to time interrupted by unidentified melodic material. What appears to be more striking because it has yet been pointed out is the presence of a motive found in many works associated with Marian texts for which Dunstaple, other English composers, and also Dufay had a special predilection. Christopher Reynolds makes a long list of compositions in which the Marian motive can be found.²¹ The intervallic shape of the motive is very much preserved in the top voice at the very beginning of the motet (mm. 1-3). The literalism is subsequently missing in other occurrences of the motive but I think that they are just variants of the original one. If we assume that the other versions have their source in the original one there would be five occurrences of the motive in the motet (mm. 1-3 S, 48-49 S, 81-84 C, 117-120 C, 164-167 S, C in imitation). In addition, it might be possible that five first opening notes

²¹ Christopher A. Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's, 1380-1513* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 163-166 and tables nos. 17 and 18. The interesting thing is that the beginning of this motive (around five notes) is very similar to the beginning of the motive about which Lockwood talks in "Aspects of the *L'homme armé* Tradition," 97-122, esp. 116-122, also postscript at 121-122, and which appears in many works together with *L'homme armé* tune. Lockwood says that the antecedent of his motive might have been Kyrie VIII *De angelis* (*LU*, p. 37). I think that there is a possibility that both melodies might have their roots in the chant of *Alma redemptoris mater*. The initial phrase of *Alma redemptoris mater* spanning an octave reminds of the tune in *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni* in the cantus at the beginning of the *Et in terra*; see Lockwood, "Aspects of the *L'homme armé* Tradition," 97-122 at 117.

in mm. 59-63 C refer to the chant *Ave Regina celorum*.²² One needs to be yet cautious here since in most polyphonic settings of the antiphon in the second half of the fifteenth century the composers used another melody for *Ave Regina celorum*.²³ Thus however possible, the similarity to *Ave Regina celorum* chant might be just a pure coincidence.

In order to decipher the reason why the composer used simultaneously such a variety of textual and musical material and to decode the meaning of the composition we need to abandon a discussion about the motet for a while and take a brief look at the historical circumstances which may have influenced its creation.

²² *LU*, 278.

²³ *Ibid.*, 274. See e.g., Dunstaple's *Ave Regina celorum*, edition in *John Dunstable: Complete Works*, ed. M. Bukofzer, second, revised edition by Margaret Bent, Ian Bent and Brian Trowell, *Musica Britannica* 8 (London: The Royal Musical Association and the American Musicological Society, 1970), 99-100; Dufay's settings II and III, edition in *Guillelmi Dufay: opera omnia*, ed. H. Besseler, 5 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1966), 121-130.

Chapter 11

Ave rosa speciosa and the Rosary

The literature and scholarship of the genesis and growth of the rosary¹—one of the best known forms of Catholic piety and devotion—is considerable and probably only specialists in this area of interest know what a mountain of literature the problem involves. Perhaps the biggest problem for scholars is to define the approximate time of the origin of the rosary. The tradition of the use of a string with knots or beads to count the recitation of prayer is very long, and it is not associated only with the Christian tradition but also with other cultures and can be traced back to ancient times. In some studies of the history of the rosary writers often quote a passage from the chronicles by the monk William of Malmesbury in which there is a reference to Lady Godiva who presented to the Benedictine priory “a circlet of gems that she had threaded on a string, in order that by fingering them one by one as she successively recited her prayers she might not fall short of the exact number.”² This fact almost coincided with the origin of the rosary understood as the Latin Ave prayer (Hail Mary) used in popular devotion around the twelfth century. It was created out of two salutations found in St. Luke’s Gospel; the first is the Angel Gabriel’s greeting to Mary (Lk, 1:28) and the second is Elizabeth’s

¹ The starting-point study for etymology and the meaning of the word seems to be Eithne Wilkins, *The Rose-Garden Game: The Symbolic Background to the European Prayer-Beads* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1969), 15-16 and esp. 105-125. For the symbolism of the rose and etymology of the word *rosary*; see also Anne Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (State College: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 81-109. In general the name rosary comes from *Rosenkranz*, meaning *rose garland* or *rose garden*; see Thomas F. X. Noble, “Review,” *American Historical Review* 103 (1998): 1577-78 at 1577. “Originally, the term *rosarium* had been used to designate a garden, an anthology of texts, or a rose wreath. Ultimately, it came to refer to fifty salutations to the Virgin,”; see Anne Winston, “Tracing the Origins of the Rosary: German Vernacular Texts,” *Speculum* 68 (1993): 619-636 at 620.

² Wilkins, *The Rose-Garden Game*, 25. See also Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose*, 14.

greeting (Lk, 1:42).³ The prayer consists of the recitation of 150 Angelic Salutations (Ave Marias) in three groups of fifty. Originally a number of 150 were taken over from the recitation of the 150 Psalms of the Old Testament. Along with the development of the prayer chains of 50, 100, or 150 phrases (the Meditations or Mysteries) on the life of Christ and Virgin were added to the recitation of the Hail Marys.⁴

In 1470 in Douai, around thirty kilometers north of Cambrai, a Dominican, Alanus de Rupe (1428-75) established the first confraternity of the rosary. The popularity of the confraternity did not grow rapidly until the second one was founded on 8 September 1475 (the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary) in Cologne by Jacob Sprenger (1436/1438 – 1494).⁵ One of the earliest members of the brotherhood was Emperor Frederick III, whose name appears in the Cologne register, and it was probably due to his support, prestige, and credibility that pope Sixtus IV made up his mind to grant indulgences in 1478 to the members of the Cologne confraternity for reciting the rosary. Within the first seven years of its founding the confraternity could claim 100,000 members.⁶ The cult grew so quickly that many new confraternities devoted to the rosary

³ Winston, "Tracing the Origins of the Rosary," 620. Winston points out that these two salutations were put together much earlier in the seventh-century antiphon of the offertory of the mass for the fourth Sunday of Advent, *idem.*, 620.

⁴ For a long time it was believed that the creation and popularity of the rosary with the meditations on the life of Jesus or Mary while repeating the Hail Mary was associated with St. Dominic (c. 1170-1221). But this view was changed in 1890s when Thomas Esser argued that a different Dominic, a Carthusian monk, Dominic of Prussia (1384-1460) was its author. He made this practice popular soon after 1409 when he linked fifty phrases referring to Jesus and Mary to fifty Hail Marys. But a discovery of 1977 indicates that a rosary with *vita Christi* might be older and might be dated around 1300; see Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose*, 3 and 17.

⁵ Guy C. Bauman, "A Rosary Picture with a View of the Park of the Ducal Palace in Brussels, Possibly by Goswijn van der Weyden," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 24 (1989): 135-51 at 138.

⁶ Winston, "Tracing the Origins of the Rosary," 619.

spread all over Europe in a very short period of time; they were established in such cities as Lisbon (1478), Venice (1480), and Florence (1481).⁷ The first printed rosary books seem to have been produced as early as 1475 or 1480.⁸ Anne Winston says that

the effect of the rosary on extralitururgical piety was far-reaching. [...] It generated a secondary literature of its own, as rosary books, testimonial anecdotes, exempla, legends, songs, and poems about it were composed. In the visual arts it provided the theme for large numbers of devotional paintings, altars, sculptures, and block prints.⁹

One of so many elements of rosary piety was a legend—extremely popular around 1470s—about the miracle of a knight or gentleman who by reciting the rosary made the words *Ave* be transformed into flowers; this miracle was associated with the origin of the rosary. By the end of the fifteenth century there were many versions of the legend.¹⁰ One of them was included in one of Jakob Sprenger's German rosary statute of 1477.¹¹ Another one is illustrated in the Cloisters's painting dated around 1483 by an unknown Aragonese painter.

This variant of the legend tells of a gentleman in Cologne who killed a comrade in a quarrel. When the dead man's brother sought to avenge the

⁷ Bauman, "A Rosary Picture," 138.

⁸ Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose*, 25. In her article Winston gives 1480 as the date when the first printed books began to appear, see idem., "Tracing the Origins of the Rosary," 630.

⁹ Winston, "Tracing the Origins of the Rosary," 619.

¹⁰ The legend can be traced back to the thirteenth century when its many versions in Latin, Catalan, and German can be found in Germany and in the Iberian peninsula; see Bauman, "A Rosary Picture," 140.

¹¹ Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose*, 100. Winston-Allen gives Dominic of Prussia's version of the tale with the title *Wie der rosenkrantze ist funden* (*How the rosary came to be*) translated into English; see idem., 100-101. The slightly different version of the legend is in Bauman, "A Rosary Picture," 141.

murder the gentleman took refuge in a church, and there began fervently to recite the rosary on his knees before an image of the Virgin. The vengeful brother and his family burst in, intending to kill the gentleman, but they were constrained by their astonishment at the miraculous appearance of the Virgin, whom they saw take roses from the mouth of her devotee and bind them into a wreath which she placed on his head.¹²

This legend, known as *El Cavaller de Colunya*—the Knight of Cologne, was especially popular in Spain where it was identified as a founding legend for Sprenger’s brotherhood of the rosary at Cologne.¹³ That the legend spread to Spain can be proved by the existence of the elaborate illuminations in the so-called Rosary Cantoral, an illustrated book of music for the Mass compiled in Spain around the year 1500.¹⁴ This Spanish trace might give us some clues about the meaning of the motet and help us understand its possible meaning.

As Lorenzo Candelaria demonstrated in his thorough and comprehensive study of the Rosary Cantoral, this plainchant manuscript—as opposed to a *libro de coro* consisting of polyphonic music—contains iconography which is a reflection of its close connection to a confraternity devoted to the rosary in Toledo.¹⁵ What is so striking about the

¹² Bauman, “A Rosary Picture,” 140.

¹³ Ibid., 140. See also Lorenzo Candelaria, “Hercules and Albrecht Dürer’s *Das Meerwunder* in a Chantbook from Renaissance Spain,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 58 (2005): 1-44 at 12 and n. 18 and idem., “El Cavaller de Colunya: A Miracle of the Rosary in the Choirbooks of San Pedro Mártir de Toledo,” *Viator: Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 35 (2004): 221-64.

¹⁴ Lorenzo Candelaria, *The Rosary Cantoral: Ritual and Social Design in a Chantbook from Early Renaissance Toledo* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 39-43. The Rosary Cantoral was purchased in 1989 by the Beinecke Library at Yale University and now it is found there under the call number MS. 710; see idem., “Tropes for the Ordinary in a 16th-century chantbook from Toledo, Spain,” *Early Music* 34 (2006): 587-611 at 587 and 608 n. 1.

¹⁵ Lorenzo Candelaria, *The Rosary Cantoral*, 1. The manuscript is a typical *Kyriale* containing the music for the *Ordinarium Missae*—the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Sanctus*, and *Agnus Dei* and is a part of a series of chantbooks commissioned by the rosary confraternity in Toledo, *ibid.*, 2-4.

manuscript is the repetitive series of lavishly executed images which also appear in other chantbooks belonging to the group; they all share one characteristic feature—the emblem of the Toledan confraternity with the Five Wounds of Christ and inscription *Miserere mei* usually presented on the white cloth.¹⁶ The Kyriale and five loose Gradual leaves also share an image of the Virgin Mary (the Virgin of the Rosary) with a child standing on her lap surrounded by two men. One of them, kneeling in front, with his hands folded in prayer, seems to be a civilian while the standing one wears armor as a knight or soldier. Each of them holds one flower.¹⁷ There is no doubt about the origin of this illumination; it represents the legend of the Knight of Cologne. There is still another element characteristic of the rosary found in the manuscript—the rose motive, appearing on the margins of some of the folios, which in this particular context symbolizes the rosary as the form of devotion as well as the Virgin Mary.

¹⁶ The symbol of the Five Wounds of Christ is used in reference to the Franciscan Order and its founder, St. Francis of Assisi (d. 1226), who wore marks resembling the wounds on the crucified body of Jesus Christ. Together with the inscription *Miserere Mei* these two elements refer specifically to the Toledan confraternity; see Lorenzo Candelaria, “Hercules,” 10.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

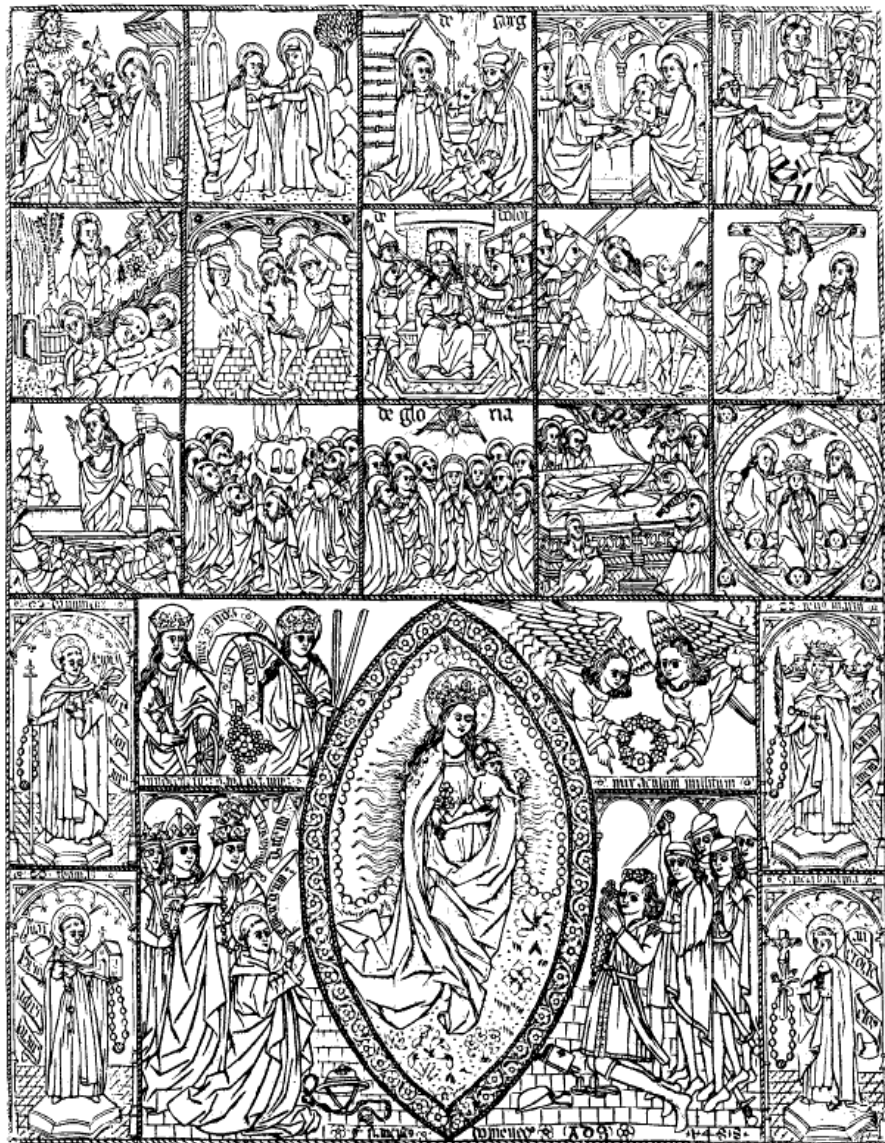


Example 22. Kyrie of San Pedro Mártir (Toledo, c. 1500)
(New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Ms. 710, f. 1v)

For the purpose of this study it might be useful to mention still another Spanish work—Francisco Doménech’s (d. after 1494) engraving *The Fifteen Mysteries and the Virgin of the Rosary* (1488; the date is clearly visible at the bottom of the work).¹⁸ It is worth noting that Doménech’s work was probably one of the first ones in which a significant change appeared; the Last Judgment as a final illustration—the final rosary mystery—was replaced with the Coronation of the Virgin.¹⁹

¹⁸ Francisco Doménech was a Dominican monk who was a student of theology in the Estudio General dominicano de Santa Catalina virgin y mártir in Barcelona in 1487. He was associated with the cloister in Valencia afterwards. Because his name does not appear in documents after 1494 we suppose that he might have died at an early age; see Bauman, “A Rosary Picture,” 138-39.

¹⁹ Larissa Juliet Taylor, “Review,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29 (1998): 891-92 at 892.



**Example 23. Francisco Doménech (c. 1445-after 1494)—
“The Fifteen Mysteries and the Virgin on a Rosary” (1488)**

The work is divided into four sections; three upper ones contain the fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary (five in each of three rows) while the lower section is bigger than the others and seemingly serves as the most important scene. It represents the crowned Virgin of the Rosary with the Child shown in a mandorla filled with roses, within which there is another string of beads surrounding the two figures. One end of the string is held by the Child and the other one seems to be attached to Mary's robe. Both figures hold flowers—the Virgin has three and the Child one rose. The image of the Virgin of the Rosary with the Child is surrounded by eight smaller compartments—four on each side. All figures represented there (except two angels carrying a wreath) seem to look at the Virgin with an evident attitude of adoration. Two of the representations are of great interest to us; the one on the right, closest to the Virgin displays the scene which is already known to us as it depicts the legend *The Knight of Cologne* (the inscription over it reads *miraculum militum*) while at the upper left is the founder of the order of Dominican, St. Dominic with the salutation *Ave rosa speciosa* (note that the motet begins with the verse *Ave rosa speciosa*). There is a similar layout and meaning in a painting possibly by possibly Goswijn van der Weyden (d. after 1538) where the representation of the legend of the Knight of Cologne is also clearly seen in the lowest part of the work to the right from the Virgin Mary (Ex. 23).



Example 24. Netherlandish Painter (possibly Goswijn van der Weyden, active by 1491, died after 1538), about 1515–20.

Let us now return to the motet and see if these characteristics found in the context of the rosary can also be found in *Ave rosa speciosa*. By looking at the illuminations surrounding the motet (265v-269) in the Chigi Codex we can only suppose that it is a Marian motet as the border decoration is full of symbolic flowers. I do not pretend that this is a satisfying argument to claim the circumstances in which the motet was composed. We still need some more evidence to answer the question of the context of the motet.

As was mentioned elsewhere, the composer of *Ave rosa speciosa* made some textual changes and omissions in a sequence *Ave mundi spes Maria*. If Josquin and La Fage stuck to the original version of the text, why did the composer of *Ave rosa speciosa* not? I am very much convinced that he had a reason for that. It is not coincidence that in Doménech's engraving *The Fifteen Mysteries and the Virgin of the Rosary* the image of St. Dominic appears with a salutation *Ave rosa speciosa*. Already at the beginning of the fourteenth century Engelbert of Admont (1297-1331) composed *Psalterium beatae Mariae Virginis*—marking the transition from *psalterium* to *rosarium*—in which each of the 150 stanzas begins with *Ave rosa*;²⁰ Two first stanzas read as follows:²¹

1. Ave, rosa, flos eastive
O Maria, lucis vivae
Suave habitaculum
Lumen vivum ex tu luxit
Lumen vitae quod reduxit
In hoc mortis saeculum

²⁰ George Bingham Fowler, *Intellectual Interests of Engelbert of Admont* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947), 43 and 203-204; John D. Miller, *Beads and Prayers: The Rosary in History and Devotion* (Continuum International Publishing Group, 2002), 171; Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose*, 103.

²¹ *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevii. Psalteria Rhythmica*, ed. Clemens Blume, Guido Dreves, 35 (Leipzig, 1900), 123-134.

2. Ave, rosa aestivalis
 Nulla unquam rosa talis
 In hoc mundo splenduit
 U test notum Gabrieli
 De te sola lumen caeli
 Homo nasci voluit

The use of *Ave, rosa* at the beginning of every stanza may have been a reflection of the legend about the knight/soldier, mentioned elsewhere in which *Aves* take the form of roses and make up a chaplet.²² One might say that the phrase *Ave rosa speciosa* at the beginning of the motet does not yet imply that its meaning has something to do with the rosary.²³ Fortunately the composer seems to have given us another clue; by the end of the last movement he omits another fragment of the sequence *Ave virgo spes Maria*:

16. Ne nos pro nostro vitio
 In flebili iudicio
 Subjiciat supplicio.

That he may not
 Punish us as our sins deserve
 And the judgment end in tears.

This textual amendment may have been made as a reflection of a substitution of Last Judgment image as the final rosary mystery with the Coronation of the Virgin, a change which is clearly seen in Doménech's work. Anne Winston-Allen writes that

²² Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose*, 100.

²³ The word *rosa* is very common in the Marian texts as the floral titles like *noble rose*, *fragrant rose*, *chaste rose* or *rose of heaven* were often used in reference to the Virgin Mary. For instance, the text of one of Machaut's rondeau reads as follows: *Rose, lily, springtime, greenery/Flower, balm, and sweetest fragrance/Lovely Lady, you surpass them all in sweetness*. Ludwig Senfl's motet *Ave rosa sine spinis* (*Hail, rose without thorns*), published in the *Novum et insigne opus musicum* (RISM 1537¹), has the stanzaic structure of a hymn with an acrostic of the *Ave Maria*. It has been pointed that the work is not directly modeled on Josquin's *Stabat mater*, but its cantus firmus in the Tenor I, taken from the anonymous chanson *Comme femme*, has the same rhythm as that imposed in Josquin's work. For the motet and its connection with Josquin's *Stabat mater*, see David Rothenberg, "Angels, Archangels, and a Woman in Distress: The Meaning of Isaac's *Angeli archangeli*," *Journal of Musicology* 21 (2004): 514-578 at 540-541.

the replacing of the Last Judgment image—showing Christ seated on a rainbow with a sword and a lily proceeding from his mouth—amounts to a sort of victory of *the lily* over *the sword* or, in Eileen Power's words, of *love* over *justice*. Most people preferred the happier ending because they hoped for clemency from Mary rather than for justice. This accords with the Virgin's more active role as merciful intercessor on behalf of members of the brotherhood [...]. The strengthening of this emphasis is reflected also in rosary altars, wall paintings, and engravings, which often group the fifteen medallions around a central image of the Virgin. An early example of the shift from Last Judgment to Coronation can be observed in a painting from approximately the same time as the Barcelona engraving.²⁴

Although the omission of the stanza 16 in the motet might be considered as mere coincidence, it cannot be excluded that the amendment to the text of the sequence was made by the effect of this transition. Whatever the cause was, the part of the text with the stanza 16 removed, in which Christ is shown as a judge who punishes for sins, puts more emphasis on Mary's role as an intercessor.

In many rosary pictures/works from around 1480s, including the two we have discussed so far—Doménech's engraving and Rosary Cantoral—the image of the Virgin Mary with the Child takes the central place; it is much bigger and usually surrounded by other smaller rosary meditations. The Virgin is often shown as the enthroned with the Child on her lap. She wears a crown or a crown is just about to be put on her head by the angels. This representation of the Virgin is very well reflected in the two first verses of *Ave regina celorum* (*Hail, O Queen of Heaven/Hail, O Lady of Angels*). One of the other translations of this antiphon appears to be even more relevant to the representations. It reads: *Hail, O Queen of Heaven enthroned/ Hail, by angels mistress owned*.²⁵ There

²⁴ Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose*, 57.

²⁵ This translation is found for example in Edward Caswall, *Hymns and Poems: Original and Translated*, second edition (London: Burns, Oates, and Co. Portman Street, 1873), 23.

might be still another reason why this specific antiphon was chosen by a composer for the lowest voice of the motet. From around the mid-1450s onwards Walter Frye's short, three-voice motet *Ave regina celorum* was copied into thirteen continental manuscripts. It seems, nevertheless, that the motet gained its greatest popularity in 1480s; during these years two altar-pieces were painted in Bruges showing the Virgin surrounded by angels singing Frye's motet.²⁶ Thus, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that because Frye's motet *Ave regina celorum* and two depictions of the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin were probably present in the minds of people, the composer of *Ave rosa speciosa* chose this specific antiphon.²⁷ The problem yet is that Frye's motet is not based on the antiphon *Ave regina celorum* with the second verse *Ave domina angelorum* but on the following text:

Ave regina celorum	Hail, Queen of the Heavens,
Mater regis angelorum:	mother of the King of angels,
O Maria, flos virginum,	O Mary, flower of maidens,
Velut rosa vel lilium.	Like a rose or a lily.
Funde preces ad Filium	Pour forth thy prayers to thy Son
Pro salute fidelium.	for the salvation of the faithful.
O Maria, flos virginum,	O Mary, flower of maidens,
Velut rosa vel lilium	like a rose or a lily. ²⁸

²⁶ Because of the fact that Frye's motet was of special significance in the 1480s in Bruges it is likely that Obrecht's mass *Ave regina celorum*, based on the Englishman's motet, might have been composed during that time. There is also another work by Obrecht, his four-part motet *Ave regina celorum* based on Frye's tenor. For discussion of these two works in reference to Frye's motet, see Rob C. Wegman, *Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 201-204. But at the same time Wegman admits that Obrecht's mass *Ave regina celorum* possesses some features that also permits us to consider it as an earlier work, maybe composed during Obrecht's first Bruges period, *idem.*, 208; this suggestion also appears in Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 147.

²⁷ Yet I am not suggesting here that *Ave rosa speciosa* should be seen as composed in Bruges by a composer who was active there, however, it should not be excluded. The point I am making here is that the antiphon was very popular at that time. It is worth noting that Dufay wrote three polyphonic settings of this antiphon (more about that below).

²⁸ Text and translation by Leofranc Holford-Strevens adapted from *New Obrecht Edition*, ed. Chris Maas, vol. 15 (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging Voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1995), 17.

It seems that the antiphon *Ave regina celorum* may have been chosen by a composer because its text perfectly complements and completes the legend of the Knight of Cologne. As we already know, the lowest voice begins the motet by singing the text of this antiphon on the *L'homme armé* tune. This simultaneous combination of and use of the sacred and secular elements in the course of one work should not be surprising. In light of what we have already said about the legend of the Knight of Cologne and its symbolic meaning in the context of the history of the rosary it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that by combining *L'homme armé* tune with the antiphon *Ave regina celorum* a composer may have referred to the rosary and the legend of the Knight of Cologne.²⁹

Interestingly enough, the way the composer incorporated two first verses of the antiphon—*Ave regina celorum/Ave domina angelorum* is reminiscent of a practice known from some other works composed from around that time.³⁰ After these two verses the composer introduces *Ave virgo sanctissima* which can be interpreted as a kind of text

²⁹ Obviously the symbolic meaning of the Armed Man might be different depending on the context in which the tune appears. Craig Wright writes that [the Armed Man] is Christ, St. Michael, Aeneas, Hercules, Jason, the knights of the Golden Fleece, as well as all crusaders and all Christians who put on the armor of spiritual virtue. [...] His polymorphous nature accounts for the extraordinarily popularity of the Armed Man in the pre-modern world; see idem., *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology, and Music* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004), 202; for discussion of some chosen individual works including the Armed Man tune and their possible symbolic meaning, see idem., 175-205. For the Armed Man as Christ-like figure; see also Anne Walters Robertson, “The Savior, the Woman, and the Head of the Dragon in the *Caput Masses* and Motet,” *JAMS* 59 (2006): 537-630 esp. 594-612.

³⁰ This antiphon, mainly known as the antiphon for the penitential season, was also sung on Mondays in Cambrai, the day assigned to the Office of the Dead. We know that *Ave regina celorum* was used during at least one funeral in Cambrai; see Barbara Hagg, “Nonconformity in the Use of Cambrai Cathedral,” in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 372-97 at 385. For *Ave regina celorum* as the processional antiphon; see Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, 47.

trope.³¹ In my opinion the insertion of this verse into the textual fabric of the motet may be a key to the understanding of the meaning of the motet. First of all it is worth noting that such procedure is similar to the one used by Dufay in one of his polyphonic settings of *Ave regina celorum* (III) which may have been composed around 1463-4.³² This motet contains a personal text as Dufay wished it to be sung at his deathbed. Later Dufay reused a fragment on the words *Miserere supplicanti Dufay* from the motet in the Agnus Dei of his Mass of the same name.³³ The opening of the motet reads as follows:³⁴

Ave regina caelorum
Ave domina angelorum
[trope 1] Miserere tui labentis Dufay
Ne peccatorum ruat in ignem fervorum

Unlike in *Ave rosa speciosa*, where the first two verses of *Ave regina celorum* are quoted only once at the beginning of the work, Dufay continues to quote the next verses of the antiphon after the trope.

³² Jules Houdoy, *Histoire artistique de la cathédrale de Cambrai* (Lille, 1880), 195. This dating was accepted by Rob C. Wegman, “*Miserere supplicanti Dufay*: The Creation and Transmission of Guillaume Dufay’s *Missa Ave regina celorum*,” *Journal of Musicology* 13 (1995): 18-54 at 19.

³³ For discussion about the occasion for which the mass *Ave regina celorum* might have been written, and about a connection between the motet and the mass; see Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 283-287; Wegman, “*Miserere supplicanti Dufay*,” 18-54; Alejandro Planchart, “Notes on Guillaume Du Fay’s Last Works,” *Journal of Musicology* 13 (1995): 55-72; Haggh, “Nonconformity in the Use of Cambrai Cathedral,” 381-386 and n. 57 and 58.

³⁴ *Dufay: Opera omnia*, ed. Heinrich Bessler, vol. 5 (Rome, 1966): 124-130. Alejandro Planchart discusses a problem of textual corruption in Dufay’s setting of *Ave regina celorum* (III) caused by its dissemination. In the manuscript San Pietro B 80 the first trope appears without *ne* “attached” to *peccatorum*. Bessler in his edition of the work added *ne* at the beginning (see above) ruining the rhythm of the passage. According to Planchart it would be better to place the negative after *peccatorum*; see Planchart, “Notes on Guillaume Du Fay,” 58.

The problem is to determine the origin of the verse *Ave virgo sanctissima*. Since the remaining part of the text is not quoted in the motet, any text with the same opening incipit may be taken into consideration. Unfortunately, this incipit has been located as the opening of three different prayers;³⁵ two of them begin with no changes (*Ave virgo sanctissima*), the third one has a different order of the words (*Ave sanctissima virgo*). In the context of our study the following full text may be a candidate for the source of the incipit used in the motet:

Ave, virgo sanctissima
Consulque fidelissima,
Frutex virtute pullulans
Legemque crebo meditans³⁶

The reason for this is that this is the first stanza of a song from *Psalterium Tituli praeconium*. “This psalter consists of three series of 50 strophes each, that were undoubtedly written as meditations centering about events in the life of Christ and of the Virgin, and that, as a form of devotion, can be compared with the cult of the rosary.”³⁷ The association of the prayer from which the verse may come with the rosary devotion fits our interpretation very well. Yet, applicable to our rendering of the motet though the prayer may be, it cannot be denied that the incipit may have been derived from two other prayers.

³⁵ All three texts are in *New Josquin Edition*, v. 23, pp. 154-55.

³⁶ The text is adapted from *New Josquin Edition*, 155.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 154 n. 3.

Chapter 12

Ave rosa speciosa and the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary

In order to understand better the possible relation of the motet with the feast, it might be helpful to recall some requisite facts and review historical circumstances surrounding the origin of the concept of the Immaculate Conception.

Around the time when the rosary movement was spreading throughout Europe and was gaining such enormous popularity, on 28 February 1476, Sixtus IV accepted the feast of the Conception of the Immaculate Virgin and granted an indulgence to all who would assist at the Divine Office of the solemnity. The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary was a subject of a controversy for a long time. The strongest argument against this doctrine is that there are no references to it in the Bible.¹ The idea originated in the East and then was spread to the West. Its origin had roots in the second-century apocryphal Protoevangelium of James.² The book does not treat of the the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary in a direct way, but by describing the history of Mary's parents, Anne and Joachim, it formed the basis for further discussions on and

¹ For the theological discourse on the problem in this paragraph I broadly used the following sources; see Wenceslaus Sebastian, "The Controversy over the Immaculate Conception from Scotus to the End of the Eighteenth Century," in *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception*, ed. Edward Dennis O'Connor (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1958), 213-70; Nancy Mayberry, "The Controversy over the Immaculate Conception in Medieval and Renaissance Art, Literature, and Society," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 21 (1991): 207-225; Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), esp. 236-254; Suzanne L. Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); and Bonnie Blackburn, "The Virgin in the Sun: Music and Image for a Prayer Attributed to Sixtus IV," *JRMA* 124 (1999): 157-95, esp. 175-180. I also used some ideas from Anne Walters Robertson, "The Savior, the Woman, and the Head of the Dragon in the *Caput* Masses and Motet," *JAMS* 59 (2006): 537-630.

² For detailed study of the book of James, see for example Mary Clayton, *The Apocryphal Gospels of Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 6-23.

development of the idea. In short, it reveals that Anne and Joachim are childless and because the offering at the temple cannot be received from a man without descendents, Joachim retires to the desert and fasts for forty days. In the meantime, his wife Anne is lamenting childlessness in her garden. After the angel appears to Anne and tells her that she will conceive an offspring, she promises to dedicate the child to God. Two other angels order Anne and Joachim to meet at the Golden Gate of Jerusalem, where Anne announces that she will conceive.³ For centuries the embrace of Anne and Joachim at the Golden Gate was a favored illustration of the Immaculate Conception.

St. Augustine seems to have been the first who claimed that Mary was without sin throughout her life. But because he did not specify whether she was conceived without sin, or sanctified in her mother's womb after her conception, the answer to this question became a subject of long-standing and bitter debates between two monastic denominations. The Dominicans, following St Thomas Aquinas, who stated that nobody can be free of Original Sin before Redemption, argued that as a human being Mary must have lived for a while with a sin and was freed from it in Anne's womb afterwards. The Franciscans, on the other hand, believed that Mary had been sinless since her conception. The turning point came during the Council of Basle (1431-49) when the Immaculate Conception was affirmed as dogma; but because the church was in schism at that time all resolutions approved there were later annulled. It was not until Pope Sixtus IV's Constitution *Cum praeexcelsa* of 27 February 1477 that the feast called the Conception of the Immaculate Virgin was officially approved and the new Office was written by the

³ In some versions of the manuscript, Anna is already pregnant at the meeting with Joachim, in others the verb is in the future tense.

Franciscan Leonardo Nogarola. Because the name of the feast was not specific enough in terms of whether Mary was pure at the moment of her conception or she became so later the theological discussion of the doctrine continued. The final formal closing of the controversy was sealed by Pope Pius IX's Bull *Ineffabilis Deus* of 8 December 1854, in which the Immaculate Conception was announced as dogma in the Roman Catholic Church.

From the very beginning, Mary's Immaculate Conception was considered in the broad context of the Redemption of the Cross and Mary's role in the Incarnation of God. As a result of the Fall in paradise and Adam's and Eve's rebellion there, mankind lost paradise and death entered the world. Consequently, all men are subjected to Original Sin, which is passed from one generation to another through the act of procreation. But by Christ's coming, his death, and Resurrection, paradise was regained. The Fathers of the Church noticed here a parallel between Adam and Jesus Christ. The former brought death, but life came through the latter. Since the redeemer entered the world through a woman without intercourse, she must have been unspotted, uncorrupt, and pure. The only child of God had to be born from a virgin because it was the only way the child could enter the world without sin. The involvement of Mary in the act of God's incarnation — “the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us” (John 1:14)—helped to develop the idea of Mary as the second Eve, the parallel analogues to Adam and Jesus Christ; the Virgin Mary, untouched by sin, replaces the fallen Eve. This led medieval theologians to the idea that, like Christ, Mary took part in triumphing over sin. The ambiguous line in Genesis (3:15): “The Lord God said to the serpent... I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your offspring and hers; he [she] will strike your head, and you

will strike [her] heel,”⁴ mistakenly translated in the Vulgate (and the Rheims-Douay version from sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), was used as proof of the Immaculate Conception.⁵ Thus the image of the Virgin Mary crushing the serpent under her feet was often present in the iconography of the Immaculate Conception. Its echo is also present in the popular devotion. In the play *The Presentation of Mary in the Temple* performed in Avignon in 1372, the Archangel Michael points to Lucifer and says to Mary: “Behold the rebel against God... You, indeed, have received from God the power of treading underfoot, of overcoming and tormenting him on behalf of God Almighty. He is placed under your sentence, is given over to your will, and is bound under your feet.”⁶ The same motive appears in the Marian antiphon *Hec est preclarum vas*, in which the text is “here is the woman of virtue who crushed the head of the serpent.”⁷ Another passage from the Bible used to illustrate the Immaculate Conception was the Woman of Apocalypse (Revelation 12:1): “A great portent appeared in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars. She was pregnant and was crying out in birth pangs, in the agony of giving birth.”⁸

⁴ *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, Genesis 3:14 and 15.

⁵ An overview of the linguistic interpretation of this verse is Robertson, “The Savior, the Women, and the Head of the Dragon,” 547-548.

⁶ Robert Lima, *Stages of Evil: Occultism in Western Theater and Drama* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005), 20-21.

⁷ Robertson, “The Savior, the Women, and the Head of the Dragon,” 560.

⁸ *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, Revelation, 12:1. It appears that pope Sixtus IV was the first who chose this iconography to illustrate the Immaculate Conception in the context of the prayer *Ave sanctissima Maria* (one of the versions of this prayer is *Ave sanctissima virgo Maria*); see Blackburn, “The Virgin in the Sun,” 185-87.

Interestingly, the image of the Tree of Jesse in medieval art, represented the genealogy of Christ from Jesse through the Virgin to Christ, was also used to represent the Immaculate Conception.⁹ Already in the third century Tertulian had interpreted Isaiah's "branch from the root" (11:1) as Mary, and Jesus as both the flower and the fruit. Later, Saint Bernard noticed the connection between *virgo* and *virga* (virgin/rod) while referring to Isaiah 7:14: "Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; Behold a virgin [virgo] shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel."¹⁰ In the twelfth century, the Mother of God and her child occasionally replaced the Son alone as the uppermost figure in the Tree of Jesse. In consequence, around the fifteenth century such representations emphasizing the lineage of the Virgin enjoyed increasing popularity in Europe.¹¹ Suzanne Straton demonstrated on the basis of the main altarpiece in the chapel of the Conception in the Cathedral of Burgos, commissioned by Luis de Acuña, a bishop of Burgos in the second half of the fifteenth century, that if considered in a certain context the Tree of Jesse can have an immaculist meaning. Straton describes the altar in this way:

The Tree of Jesse emerges from the recumbent figure of the patriarch, framing large figures of Joachim and Anne embracing at the Golden Gate. The ensemble culminates in a monumental figure of the Virgin as enthroned Queen of Heaven, the Child seated in her lap and flanked by personifications of Ecclesia and Synagoga. The narrative scene on the wings—the expulsion of Joachim, the annunciation to Joachim, the Birth of the Virgin, and her

⁹ It must be noticed that it is difficult to prove that the Tree of Jesse itself represents the Immaculate Conception, as there is no evidence indicating such connection, but from around 1480 it appears more and more in the context suggesting such a meaning; on this problem, see Straton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, 14-15 and Maurice Vloberg, "The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception," in *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception*, 463-512, esp. 499-500.

¹⁰ Straton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, 13.

¹¹ Ibid.

Presentation in the Temple—illustrates events preceding and following the conception of the Virgin. While none of these iconographical elements can individually be considered as solely Immaculist, their combination confirms an Immaculist program.¹²

As was already noted, the most intriguing aspect of *Ave rosa speciosa* is the presence of the *L'homme armé* tune in the lowest part. It was demonstrated that the melody may have been used to symbolize the armed man/warrior from the legend of the Knight of Cologne and might be interpreted in the context of the rosary devotion. But its meaning might be still different.¹³ Two studies—“The Savior, the Women, and the Head of the Dragon in the Caput Masses and Motet” by Anne Walters Robertson and *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology, and Music* by Craig Wright—have drawn my attention to some references and allusions found in some other polyphonic compositions containing the *L'homme armé* tune that may be applied to our motet. Similar to the usage of the Armed Man tune in *Ave rosa speciosa* is Regis’s mass *Dum sacrum mysterium- L'homme armé*, in which, as Craig says,

by putting the text of one cantus firmus on the melody of another [Regis] conveys the spiritual message for two chants in the space of one. Thus Regis saturates the air with symbolic references not only by often using two cantus firmus simultaneously—the Armed Man melody and a chant for St. Michael—but also by assigning a double meaning to the Armed Man tune. Sometimes the Armed Man is Christ, and sometimes he is St. Michael.¹⁴

¹² Ibid., 16.

¹³ On its possible different meanings, see n. 364.

¹⁴ Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior*, 178.

The reason why the texts honoring St. Michael appear on the tune of *L'homme armé* possibly has to do with an important place and meaning of the archangel Michael in theological thought of Western world. In many representations St. Michael is shown as the warrior—dressed in armor and with sword in hand—defeating the forces of evil. Probably his most popular description is in the Book of Revelation (12:7-9), where he fights together with heavenly soldiers against the Satan represented here by a dragon.¹⁵ In Josquin's *Missa L'Homme armé super voces musicales*, of which two manuscripts in the Sistine Chapel are illuminated with the image of the Armed Man slaying a dragon, the tune of the cantus firmus is successively presented on the higher pitches of the hexachord in each movement. Here the image and the tune of the Armed Man might represent the Mystical Lamb and Jesus Christ as the Savior.¹⁶ As Roberston persuasively demonstrated while discussing the *caput draconis* theology, the Virgin Mary was also often represented as slaying a dragon. The reason why Richard Hygons (c.1435-c.1509) used the Caput melisma in his troped setting of *Salve regina* was to assign to the work a new meaning. Without the Caput melisma it would not be possible to determine the immaculist context for the work, but by its insertion “Mary is both New Eve and she who crushes the dragon's head.”¹⁷

In view of similar analogies in Regis's mass *Dum sacrum mysterium—L'homme armé* (the Armed Man—the Archangel Michael) and Josquin's *Missa L'Homme armé super voces musicales* (the Armed Man—Jesus Christ/or all Christ-like figures) a

¹⁵ For more discriptions of St. Michael, see *ibid.*, 178-84.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 188-192. See also Robertson, “The Savior, the Women, and the Head of the Dragon,” 594.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 599.

combination of the *L'homme armé* tune with the Marian texts in *Ave rosa speciosa* might be likewise considered as means for delivering a specific symbolic meaning; a representation of the Virgin Mary fighting with and triumphing over the dragon/serpent, namely Satan. In other words, she cleans off original sin. Thus it seems plausible that as in Hygons's *Salve regina*, in which the presence of the Caput melisma turns the *Salve* motet into a work with immaculist allusion, the Armed Man tune in *Ave rosa speciosa* might play an analogous role. This suggestion might make sense if considered in the broader musical and textual context of the motet.

Like the altarpiece in the cathedral in Burgos which culminates in a monumental figure of the Virgin as enthroned Queen of Heaven, the Child seated in her lap so in *Ave rosa speciosa* a similar image of the Virgin is present in the lowest voice with the antiphon *Ave regina caelorum/Ave domina angelorum* (*Hail, O Queen of Heaven/Hail, O Lady of Angels*; the composer used only two verses of the antiphon). The text is:

Ave Regina caelorum,
Ave, Domina Angelorum:
Salve radix, salve porta,
Ex qua mundo lux est orta:

Hail, O Queen of Heav'n enthron'd,
Hail, by angels Mistress own'd
Root of Jesse, Gate of morn
Whence the world's true Light was born.

Gaude Virgo gloriosa,
Super omnes speciosa:
Vale, o valde decora,
Et pro nobis Christum exora.

Glorious Virgin, joy to thee
Beautiful surpassingly.
Fairest thou where all are fair,
Plead with Christ our sins to spare.¹⁸

These two verses are followed by the controversial verse *Ave virgo sanctissima*, which might have its origin in the *Psalterium Tituli praeconium* associated with the rosary devotion. Because there is no evidence of the relation of the verse with the psalter

¹⁸ Translation from Edward Caswall, *Hymns and Poems: Original and Translated*, second edition (London: Burns, Oates, and Co. Portman Street, 1873), 23.

but it was just suggested that such an interpretation is possible in the context of the rosary one might propose another solution. Two devotional prayers with the words *Ave virgo sanctissima* were strongly associated with the Immaculate Conception. The text of the first of them is:

I.

Ave virgo sanctissima
Dei mater piissima
Maris stella clarissima
Salve semper gloriosa
Margarita pretiosa
Sicut liliū formosa
Nitens, olens velut rosa.

Hail, Virgin most blessed,
Most pious mother of God,
Brightest star of the sea:
Hail, ever glorious,
Precious pearl,
Beautiful as the lily,
Shining, giving perfume like the rose.¹⁹

It was an antiphon sung in sixteenth-century Spain on June 24 (Nativity of John the Baptist).²⁰ Bruno Turner points out that “this Antiphon [*Ave virgo sanctissima*] was one of many that became obsolete during the 1570s upon the adoption of the Roman Breviary of 1568. Clearly influenced by the Song of Solomon, and notable for its seven hymn-like octosyllabic lines, this paean to the Virgin inspired Francisco Guerrero to write his greatest hit;”²¹ Guerrero’s five-voice motet *Ave Virgo sanctissima* was first published in *Liber primus missarum Francisco Guerrero hispalensi* of 1566 by Nicholas du Chemin and later reprinted in Venice by Antonio Gardano in *Motteta... quae partim quaternis*,

¹⁹ The translation from *New Josquin Edition*, Critical Commentary, vol. 23, p. 155.

²⁰ Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1976), 204.

²¹ See www.plainsong.org.uk/assets/downloads/AveVirgo_Turner_A4.pdf (accessed August 29, 2009).

partim quinis, alia senis, alia octonis concinuntur vocibus of 1570.²² Brian O’Connor points out that Guerrero’s motet became very famous in Spain for two reasons—work’s attractive musical setting and its use of several popular Immaculist symbols, such as the precious pearl, the beautiful lily and the rose.²³ As a result, six parody masses were based on the motet.²⁴ Among the composers of these masses was Juan Esquivel (c. 1563-after 1612). In addition to the parody mass, he also composed a five-voice motet *Ave Maria Domini mei mater*, which is based on the the seventh, eighth, and fourteenth versicles of the pre-Tridentine Assumption sequence *Area virga primae matris Evae*. The text is:

Ave Maria Domini mei mater, alma
 coelica, plena gratia, tu benedicta
 saecula orbis Regina,
 tu es pulchra Dei sponsa
 Domina in coelo, et in terra.

Hail Mary, Mother of my Lord, soul of
 in heaven, full of grace, you are blessed
 unto the ages, Queen of creation.
 You are the beautiful bride of God,
 Lady, in heaven and on earth.²⁵

What links Esquivel’s motet with Guerrero’s is a short musical phrase on the words *tu es pulchra* borrowed from Guerrero’s motet. The phrase *Tota pulchra es* was very popular among immaculists; it was often used in painting, devotional poetry, and

²² Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, 137; see also *Francisco Guerrero: Opera omnia*, vol. 3, Motetes I-XXII, in *Monumentos de la Música Española* 36, ed. José María Lloréns Cisteró (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1978), 89, for a modern edition, see *ibid.*, 72-76. Michael Brian O’Connor mistakenly gives Gardano’s print as the first for the publication of Guerrero’s motet; see *idem.*, “The Polyphonic Compositions on Marian Texts by Juan de Esquivel Barahona: A Study of Institutional Marian Devotion in Late Renaissance Spain,” (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 2006), 159 n. 66.

²³ O’Connor, “The Polyphonic Compositions,” 160.

²⁴ The masses were written by Juan Esquivel Barahona (c. 1563-after 1612), Géry de Ghersem (c. 1573-1630), Pedro Rimonte (c. 1565-1627), Estêvão Lopes Morago (c. 1575-after 1630), Manoel de Tavares (fl. 1630), and Juan del Vado y Gómez (c. 1625-1691); see *ibid.*, 160 n. 68

²⁵ Translation adapted from O’Connor, “The Polyphonic Compositions,” 158. The whole text of the sequence *Area virga primae matris Evae* is in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, 5 (Leipzig, 1889), 122-23.

music in the Immaculist context and it was eventually adopted as its motto.²⁶ At first glimpse Esquivel's motet seems to be only a devotional work, but, as O'Connor points out, by putting together the textual phrase *tu es pulchra Dei sponsa* with the opening musical motive of Guerrero's *Ave Virgo sanctissima*, one of the most famous immaculist motets, Esquivel makes the allusion to the Immaculate Conception clear.

The second devotional text associated with the Immaculate Conception is:

Ave sanctissima virgo Maria,
 mater dei, templum trinitatis,
 regina celi, porta paradisi, domina mundi.
 Tu es pura et singularis virgo.
 Tu concepisti ihesum filium
 dei vivi sine peccato.
 Tu peperisti creatorem et salvatorem mundi,
 in quo non dubito.
 Libera me ab omni malo
 et ora pro peccato meo. Amen

Hail, Virgin Mary, most holy
 mother of God, temple of the Trinity
 Queen of Heaven, Gate of Paradise, Ruler of the world
 You are a pure and unique virgin.
 You conceived Jesus son of
 the living god without sin
 You bore the creator and savior of the world in
 in whom I do not doubt.
 Deliver me from all evil
 and pray for my sins. Amen.²⁷

This is one of several versions of the prayer *Ave sanctissima Maria*, plausibly written by Pope Sixtus IV (1471-84), set by many composers from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth century, and found in many books of hours dating from the 1470s.²⁸ As Bonnie Blackburn demonstrated, this prayer was strongly related to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. It is sufficient to look at the three works by Pierre de la

²⁶ O'Connor, "The Polyphonic Compositions," 158. The antiphon *Tota pulchra es Maria* is prescribed for the feast of the Immaculate Conception, see *LU*, 1320. According to O'Connor, in other Guerrero's motets—*Quasi cedrus*, *Dulcissima Maria*, and *Tota pulchra es*—the phrase *Tota pulchra es* seems to be highlighted in the way to make its meaning clear to the listeners, see O'Connor, *The Polyphonic Compositions*, 158 (O'Connor refers to Borgerding's dissertation). But I do not see any special means used in these motets to draw listener's attention to the phrase except that it appears as the initial phrase of the point of imitation.

²⁷ The translation is mine.

²⁸ Blackburn, "The Virgin in the Sun," 158 and 184. For the list of works based on the text; see *ibid.*, 190-195.

Rue's to note the connection of the text with the Immaculate Conception. La Rue six-voice Mass *Ave sanctissima Maria* was based on his own six-part motet of the same name. The mass is found next to another La Rue Mass, *Conceptio tua*, in the manuscript JenaU 5 (probably executed between 1512-21). The highly decorative illumination accompanying *Missa Ave sanctissima Maria*—an image of Mary, Queen of Heaven, clothed with the sun, and standing on the crescent moon, holding the child, and surrounded by angels—can be only interpreted in the context of the newly instituted feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary.²⁹ Although the verse from *Ave rosa* has a different order (*Ave virgo sanctissima*) it cannot be excluded that it comes from the popular fifteenth and sixteenth century prayer on the Immaculate Conception, *Ave sanctissima Maria*, or its version *Ave sanctissima virgo Maria*. This suggestion does not seem unreasonable in the light of the fact that the prayer was disseminated in so many versions.

It was shown that in a specific context the Tree of Jesse might refer to the Virgin Mary. By omitting the first two stanzas of the sequence, the motet begins as follows:

²⁹ La Rue's *Missa Ave sanctissima Maria* also appears in JenaU4 with the same illustration; on the manuscript JenaU4 and JenaU5 and their illuminations; see *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, 90-95; see also Dagmar Thoss, "Flemish Miniature Painting in the Alamire Manuscripts," in *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, 53-62, esp. 54-55, and Blackburn, "The Virgin in the Sun," 189. On the symbolism in some of Pierre de la Rue's masses; see Willem Elders, "Number Symbolism in Some Cantus-Firmus-Masses of Pierre de la Rue," in *Music at the Court of Marguerite of Austria*, Jb van het Vlaamse Centrum voor Oude Muziek 3 (Peer, 1987), 59-68 esp. 60 and 65-66. For the edition of La Rue's motet *Ave sanctissima Maria*, its facsimile, and illuminations surrounded it; see Martin Picker, ed., *The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), for a facsimile, see figures after pp. 82, for the edition, pp. 172-79; see also Blackburn, "For whom do the singers sing?" 595 and 596-597. It is worth noting that the six-voice motet *Ave sacntissima Maria* generally attributed to La Rue appears in three sources—it is attributed to Verdelot in Attaignant's print *Liber tertius viginti musicales quinque, sex, vel octo vocum motetos habet* (RISM 1534⁵) and as anonymous in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, MS 228; fragments of superius and bass are found in Brussels, Archives de la Ville, Archives of St. Gudule, 9424; on the reasons why it is considered La Rue's work; see Blackburn, "The Virgin in the Sun," 164 and n. 12, also 193.

3. Ave rosa speciosa, Ave Jesse virgule:	Hail, fair rose, Hail shoot of Jesse:
4. Cujus fructus nostril luctus Relaxavit vincula.	Whose fruit untied The bonds of our sorrow.
5. Ave, cujus viscera Contra carnis federa (Regis: Contra mortis federa) Ediderunt filium. (Regis: Eduxerunt filium)	Hail Mary, whose womb Contrary to nature's law Gave birth to a son.

In the sequence, the word *Ave* (*Hail*)—used as an acclamation, salutation, or greeting—always appears in reference to Mary (*Ave plena gratia; Ave cujus viscera; Ave virginum lucerna; Ave gemma* etc.) thus it is more than likely that *Ave Jesse virgule* also refers to the Virgin Mary (*Hail shoot [Mary] of Jesse/Whose fruit [Jesus Christ]untied/The bonds of our sorrow*).³⁰ Here *shoot* signifies Mary who shall conceive the Son. I think that in the first part—*Whose fruit untied/The bonds of our sorrow*—the accent is put on defeating original sin (*The bonds of sorrow*) through the help of Jesus Christ; in the second part Mary's virginity (*Contrary to nature's law [mortal in Regis's motet]*) and her motherhood to God (...*Gave birth to a son*) are acknowledged.

I think that the main clue to understanding the motet is the inclusion and use of the Armed Man tune and the verse *Ave virgo sanctissima* as well as *Ave regina caelorum*. The skillfully interweaving different texts and melodies in *Ave rosa* was intended to deliver certain programme, message. It is well known that contemporary people were aware of such musical and theological puzzle, and they seem to have been prepared to recognize and solve them. While talking about *Salve* concerts in Bruges Strohm points out that

³⁰ It is worth noting that in the antiphon *Ave regina celorum* the verse: *Salve radix, salve porta* (*Hail root, hail gate*) clearly refers to the Virgin Mary.

they may have included sacred works over secular tunes, together with cantus firmus settings of well-known plainsongs such as the *Ave regina caelorum*, *Alma redemptoris mater*, and so on. This was audience-directed music; people had to be able to recognize the underlying tune or plainsong, and a combination of several known tunes or a genuine quodlibet would have had a highly entertaining effect. The cantus firmus technique was an obvious vehicle for communication.³¹

The truth is that for us the presence of snippets of different texts and melodies do not actually assist in resolving the problem of the meaning of the motet. On the contrary, they rather impeded it. Since there are three texts containing *Ave virgo sanctissima* as the first verse, the origin and function of the verse in the motet is obscure and ambiguous. As long as there is no strong evidence indicating the source of the verse, the two proposed interpretations of *Ave rosa speciosa*—as the rosary motet or as the motet written for the feast of the Immaculate Conception—seem to be reasonable in the light of the presented facts and suggestions.

³¹ Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, 144-45.

Chapter 13

Looking for the composer of *Ave rosa speciosa*

According to Edward Houghton, the placement of *Ave rosa speciosa* in the manuscript “suggests its attribution to Johannes Regis. This evidence is obvious but not definitive.”¹ It needs to be said in support of Houghton’s argumentation that Regis’s first motet in the manuscript, *Lux solempnis adest-Repleti sunt omnes*, also appears anonymously; its attribution to Regis is established after Petrucci’s print *Motetti a cinque* of 1508. In order to strengthen his hypothesis, Houghton provides other arguments. The problem is that while some of the characteristics found in *Ave rosa* may be spotted in Regis’s works, there are others that do not agree with Regis’s musical stylistic profile. In his dissertation, Sean Gallagher points to the differences and inconsistencies in *Ave rosa* which may keep us uncertain of its attribution to Johannes Regis. He says that “various stylistic peculiarities of *Ave rosa* insufficiently discussed by Houghton, should caution us against accepting Regis’s authorship of this motet too readily.”²

Table 8. Edward Houghton’s and Sean Gallagher’s Observations on <i>Ave rosa</i> Concerning Regis’s Musical Style.	
Edward Houghton’s arguments for Regis’s authorship	Sean Gallagher’s counterarguments for Regis’s authorship
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The use of cantus firmi, one sacred and one secular; similarity to Regis’s <i>Missa Dum sacrum mysterium- L’homme armé</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The secular melody is presented in the Mass with no changes as the principal cantus firmus, rather than in occasionally appearing fragments in the lowest voice, as it is in <i>Ave rosa</i>.

¹ Edward F. Houghton, “A ‘New’ Motet by Johannes Regis,” *TVNM* 33 (1983): 49-74 at 51.

² Sean Gallagher, “Models of Varietas: Studies in Style and Attribution in the Motets of Johannes Regis and his Contemporaries,” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1998), 271.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One part of <i>L'homme armé</i> tune is extended/ornamented in a way which reminds of <i>Missa Dum sacrum mysterium- L'homme armé</i>; This ornamentation appears throughout the mass; this might be considered as a distinctive feature of Regis's compositions. • In <i>Ave rosa</i> and Regis's <i>Celsi tonantis</i> the tenor cantus firmus is repeated without change except for the new mensuration. • The paraphrase of the antiphon <i>Beata mater</i> in the highest voice of <i>Ave rosa</i> reminds of the way cantus firmus is treated in <i>Lauda Syon</i>, where it starts with long note values and then adjusts to the other voices. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ornamented part of <i>L'homme armé</i> tune appears only once in the course of the Mass, in Kyrie; in addition, in each of the cases the melody has different contrapuntal functions; in the Mass it appears in the tenor while in the motet in the lowest voice. • This treatment of cantus firmus is typical of many compositions from around 1450 and should not be considered as exclusively characteristic of Regis's style. • In <i>Lauda Syon</i>, as in most of Regis's other motets, the cantus firmus in long note values appears only in the tenor. The placement of the main cantus firmus in the superius in <i>Ave rosa</i> makes the motet different from Regis's tenor motets in which this cannot be found. • The tenor cantus firmus appears already in the first measure of <i>Ave rosa</i>; this never occurs in Regis's masses and tenor motets. • At the beginning of <i>Ave rosa</i> the perfect breves in the tenor and bassus introduce slow harmonic rhythm which does not appear at the beginnings of Regis's motets. • <i>Ave rosa</i> is written for six voices unlike seven motets by Regis for five voices. • The structural foundation of <i>Ave rosa</i> is a strict canon treatment of the tenor cantus firmus while Regis does not use such a procedure in his works.
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The mensural organization of <i>Ave rosa</i> – the mensural sequence – O-cutC – O3 can be often found in Regis’s sacred works. • Like in <i>Ave rosa</i>, cambiata figure, involving a dissonance approached by step from above and at times from below followed by a downward leap, is very common in Regis’s motets. • The dissonant figure in <i>Ave rosa</i> (mm. 2 and 4) reminds of dotted figures in the first three bars of <i>Lux solempnis</i>. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It actually appears in only one Regis’s work – <i>Missa L’homme armé</i>. • It also appears in other works from the period. • While in <i>Ave rosa</i> the dissonant note of the figure is always a minim, in <i>Lux solempnis</i> it is a semibreve. • There are some rhythmic patterns, e.g. dM-Sm-Sb-Sb and dSb-M-dm-Sm, which appear to be rare in Regis’s music. • Five selected rhythmic patterns often appearing in Regis’s motets are almost entirely absent in <i>Ave rosa</i>. “The near total lack in <i>Ave rosa</i> of the types of rhythmic patterns from which Regis’s melodic style at least partly derives constitutes one of the most serious obstacles to accepting his authorship of the motet.
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As can be seen from the table Houghthon’s main argument for Regis’s authorship of *Ave rosa* is centered around the treatment of cantus firmus and its relation to similar structural procedures found in Regis’s motets. But the results of Gallagher’s detailed analysis show that the motet cannot be so easily attributed to Johannes Regis.

Houghton says that “the appearance of *Ave rosa speciosa* without attribution to Regis is not regarded as negative evidence since it is found among his known motets.”³ But let us consider the opposite view and see if the lack of attribution of *Ave rosa* may not be indicative of another composer—from inside or outside the Chigi Codex. Since the arguments for ascribing *Ave rosa* to Johannes Regis are not satisfying enough, one wonders if musical style of other composers such as Isaac, Josquin, La Rue, and Obrecht (he is absent from the manuscript) may not fit into stylistic profile of *Ave rosa*. I do not pretend, though, that I intend to prove that one of these contemporaries of Johannes Regis may be a composer of *Ave rosa*. On the contrary, I will argue that one may look in vain for all the devices employed in *Ave rosa* in another work from around the time when the motet was composed (individual features might be yet found in different works) and that *Ave rosa*—as a superbly constructed work—may have been intended as an artistic experiment.⁴

The most distinct features of the motet are the use of two cantus firmi, the canonic treatment of the cantus firmus, and the scoring for six voices. The last characteristic may give us an important hint about its possible date of origin. Sean Gallagher notes that “six-part writing, though not uncommon in the works of younger composers such as Obrecht,

³ Houghton, “A New Motet,” 52.

⁴ The idea of viewing the motet as an experiment is borrowed from Rob C. Wegman’s article “The Anonymous Mass *D’Ung aultre amer*: A Late Fifteenth-Century Experiment,” *Musical Quarterly* 74 (1990): 566-94, in which the author suggests (p. 589) that the mass could be an experiment because being the unique work that it is, [the mass] “has not direct stylistic context in contemporary cycles, and hence it offers exceedingly few clues to the identity of the composer,” and further (p. 569) that the Mass is “an attempt to create a new musical language out of conventional stylistic ingredients” *ibid.*, 569. I think that *Ave rosa speciosa*, to certain extent, has all similar criteria to be pondered as an experimental work.

Isaac, Josquin, and La Rue, is exceedingly rare before about 1480.”⁵ Since the motet may have been related to the rosary movement and the Immaculate Conception, both of which became very popular in Europe after 1475, and if we accept Kellman’s dating of the Chigi Codex between 1498 and 1503, the assumption that *Ave rosa* may have been composed in the very late 1470s or the 1480s seems quite reasonable. But is this motet really entirely scored for six voices? *Ave rosa speciosa* consists of textural changes and “twists.” At some points there are only two voices, duos that carry on the musical continuum (e.g. mm. 177-80, 187-89); in other places the texture becomes thicker and the motet turns into five-voice edifice. If one looks closely at *Ave rosa speciosa* in search of real full six-voice scoring, however, one may be surprised; only fourteen measures of 210 are actually written for six voices. In some cases the entire measure is not scored for six voices (e.g. mm. 9 and 53). Moreover, seven of these six-voice measures appear right at the end of the composition, as the six-voice scoring was probably employed by the composer to emphasize the monumental culmination at the very end of the work. This observation changes slightly a picture of the motet drawn so far. It implies thus that a composer of *Ave rosa speciosa* must have been familiar with five-voice scoring but did not feel secure about six-voice texture yet. Thus could *Ave rosa speciosa* be considered as somebody’s first attempt at writing a six-voice composition?⁶

⁵ Gallagher, “Models of Varietas,” 277.

⁶ The fact that the motet actually seems to be an attempt at writing in six-voice texture helps to support rather more the idea that the motet may have been by Regis. *Ave rosa speciosa* could then be seen as Regis’s last or one of the last works in which the composer tried his hand at six-voice writing.

By reevaluating and revising some crucial assessments of Josquin's life, the recent scholarship has made us view his music somewhat differently; recent discoveries have thrown new light on the context and possible influences on his music. They have already helped and may help us again to cut some Gordian knots of Josquin scholarship. This to some extent new picture of the composer fuelled some speculations about Josquin being more extensively influenced by his contemporaries.

The problem of musical influences on Josquin's early works, so neglected and overlooked until very recently, has become an important aspect of Josquin scholarship in these days. Music history reveals clearly that none of the greatest composers could develop individual style without being influenced—in the initial phase of the compositional career—by older composers. Mozart, Beethoven, Brahms, Mahler, and Schoenberg, to name but a few, all borrowed from or referred, more or less, to the music of their great predecessors. The case of Josquin shows that such a process was something natural and inevitable, as it is a part of early learning of compositional craftsmanship. Thus it should not be surprising that in the early 1470s Josquin seems to have borrowed from the styles of various other composers of the time. “At this stage”—says David Fallows— “Josquin is a man who can write in many different styles but has not yet evolved something that is entirely his own.”⁷ Ludwig Finscher likewise states that mature as well as youthful Josquin seems to have experimented with different styles to exploit

⁷ David Fallows, *Josquin* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2009), 50.

them, and to adapt himself to local musical idioms, vocabulary, and the requirements of commissions.⁸

Of all composers from the older generation, inevitably Dufay comes to mind as the first who could have influenced Josquin in his early compositional career. Some traces of Dufay can be spotted in Josquin's Mass *L'ami Baudichon*, but apparently more similarities may be seen in Josquin's motet *Alma Redemptoris mater/Ave regina caelorum*, whose texture, chant treatment, and formal layout are reminiscent of Dufay's four-voice *Ave regina caelorum*.⁹ An interesting problem is a seemingly obvious relationship between Josquin's Mass *Fortuna desperata* and Obrecht's mass of the same name. A controversy over which of the two composers borrowed from and referred to which is still a matter of debate, but scholars have recently been inclined to believe that it may have been Josquin who borrowed from Obrecht, not the reverse.¹⁰ Also, it seems highly plausible that Josquin may have been familiar with Johannes Regis's compositions. This conjecture is mainly based on the possibility that his five-voice tenor motet *Illibata Dei virgo nutrix*, found in the Vatican manuscript VatS 15 (c. 1495-1500), may have been modeled on Regis's motets.¹¹

Thus, following this track, one may suggest that Josquin could have also learned something from the Chigi Codex *Ave rosa speciosa*. There are good grounds for this.

⁸ Ludwig Finscher, "Four-Voice Motets," in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 249-79 at 251.

⁹ A detailed discussion of the works is found in David Fallows, "Influences on Josquin," *Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik* 3 (2003): 67-80 at 69-70. See also idem., *Josquin*, 37-39.

¹⁰ For the overview of the problem, see Fallows, "Influences on Josquin," 73-75.

¹¹ Richard Sherr, "Illibata Dei Virgo Nutrix and Josquin's Roman Style," *JAMS* 41 (1988): 434-64 at 435 and n. 3.

Josquin's six-voice motet *O virgo prudentissima*, probably composed after 1491,¹² has been pointed to as having some features in common with *Ave rosa speciosa*.¹³ This relationship is made even more plausible by Josquin's setting of the text *Ave mundi spes Maria*, a medieval sequence, which is also used, with some omissions, by the composer of *Ave rosa speciosa*. All this leads to speculation about Josquin's possible familiarity with the motet *Ave rosa speciosa*. The use of two-part canon based on the chant antiphon *Beata mater et intacta (innupta) virgo* in both works is also intriguing since this antiphon text seems to have been less well known and common in the polyphonic music at that time. Moreover, Willem Elders points out that of thirty chant sources he examined, only the initial phrase is borrowed by Josquin more or less exactly.¹⁴ Interestingly enough, a comparison of Josquin's work and *Ave rosa speciosa* shows that almost all the phrases of the chant antiphon in the two motets are similar (the exception is the last phrase *pro nobis ad dominum*, which is different in each settings). The sequence text *Ave mundi spes Maria*, used with some omissions in *Ave rosa speciosa* and in Josquin's four-part motet, seems to have been quite popular among fifteenth-century composers. This popularity may have been caused by the frequent association of this sequence text by Adam of St.

¹² In this year Poliziano sent a copy of the poem to the general of the Servite order, Antonio Alabranzio; see Brown, "Notes Towards a Definition of Personal Style: Conflicting Attributions and the Six-Part Motets of Josquin and Mouton," in *Proceedings of the International Josquin Symposium, Utrecht 1986*, ed. Willem Elders (Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1991), 185-207 at 190.

¹³ This point was also made in Houghton, "A New Motet," 57. For more on this problem, see chapter 10 n. 14.

¹⁴ Willem Elders, "Plainchant in the Motets, Hymns, and Magnificat of Josquin des Prez," in *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference, New York 1971*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 523-42 at 530. See also Houghton, "A New Motet," 56.

Victor with the Annunciation, Nativity, and Assumption of the Virgin Mary.¹⁵ I think that these flimsy threads linking Josquin's compositions and *Ave rosa speciosa* should be rather considered as pure coincidence than Josquin's intentional reaction and response to the motet. And any consideration about Josquin's possible authorship of *Ave rosa speciosa* is unlikely, as on a stylistic basis *Ave rosa speciosa* differs from what is generally thought to be Josquin's style.¹⁶

It is interesting that some of the greatest composers of the post-Dufay generation¹⁷ are represented in the Chigi Codex but Jacob Obrecht is not. His absence is intriguing since the composer spent most of his life in the North being active in such musical centers as Bergen op Zoom, Cambrai, Bruges, and Antwerp.¹⁸ As an inventive, flexible, and skilful composer, fond of making experiments and using unique procedures, and

¹⁵ For more on this, see chapter 10 n. 20.

¹⁶ What we consider to be or not to be Josquin's style is one of the most crucial problems of Josquin scholarship. For some random studies of the problem: see, Edgar H. Sparks, "Problems of Authenticity in Josquin's Motets," in *Josquin des Prez*, ed. Lowinsky, 345-59; Joshua Rifkin, "Problems of Authorship in Josquin: Some Impolitic Observations with a Postscript on *Absalon, fili mi*," in *Proceedings of the International Josquin Symposium, Utrecht 1986*, 45-52; Rob C. Wegman, "Who Was Josquin?" in *The Josquin Companion*, 21-50; Eric Jas, "What's in a Quote? Josquin's (?) *Jubilate Deo, omnis terra* reconsidered," *Early Music* 37 (2009): 9-19; and Leeman L. Perkins, "Josquin's *Qui habitat* and the Psalm Motets," *Journal of Musicology* 26 (2009): 512-65.

¹⁷ Pierre la Rue—*Missa Almanca, Credo Sine nomine*; Heinrich Isaac—*Angeli, archangeli*; Josquin des Prez—*Missa L'homme armé* (sexti toni) and *Stabat mater*.

¹⁸ Obrecht also stayed twice in Ferrara, first as a guest of Duke Ercole d'Este between 1487 and 1488 and then between September 1504 and February 1505 as *maestro di cappella* at Ercole's court. For an outline of Jacob Obrecht's life and career, see M. Jennifer Bloxam, "Sacred Polyphony and Local Traditions of Liturgy and Plainsong: Reflections on Music by Jacob Obrecht," in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 140-77 at 144. For a study of Obrecht's life in the context of his masses, see Rob C. Wegman, *Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 139-47 and 346-53; also see *New Grove*, s.v. "Obrecht, Jacob," by Rob C. Wegman.

active in the area where the motet may have had its roots,¹⁹ Obrecht's music may offer some clues, but not solutions, to the significance of this extraordinary work and its stylistic context. Also, Obrecht seems to have been stylistically much closer to Regis than other contemporary composers.²⁰

First let us look at very general reasons why Obrecht may be associated with *Ave rosa*. One reason could actually apply to any other composer at that time, but of all composers of this generation such as Compère, Isaac, Josquin, and Weerbeke, Obrecht seems to be in more privileged position because we know relatively much about his life around the time when *Ave rosa* may have been composed. During his career as a composer Obrecht wrote many pieces which may be considered as votive, and which were probably performed in a specific liturgical context. The motet *O beate Basili/O beate pater*, written for St. Basil, the most venerated patron of Bruges, may have been performed in the saint's chapel situated in the *Burg*. Another motet, *O preciosissime sanguis* may have been associated with a service in the Holy Blood chapel in St. Basil's, or may have been used during the Holy Blood procession on 3 May. Obrecht's *Homo quidam/Salve sancta facies* also seems to have been composed for a specific purpose; the popular hymn to St. Veronica, *Salve sancta facies*, permits us to associate this piece with the wool and cloth merchants in Bruges.²¹ At least a few of his masses may have had a

¹⁹ Two places come to my mind: Ghent and Lille, where the first rosary brotherhoods were founded in 1475; see Anne Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 116.

²⁰ See the chapter "Regis and Obrecht" in Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 481-88.

²¹ Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 143 and 145.

votive function, too; Strohm suggests that *Missa Beata viscera* could have been used as a Lady-mass in the chapel of the confraternity of the Dry Tree,²² while two other masses were certainly votive: *Missa de Sancto Martino* was composed in 1486 at the request of Pierre Basin, Obrecht's friend and musician, to be performed annually on the vigil of St. Martin in the chapel of that saint at the church of St. Donatian,²³ and *Missa de Sancto Donatiano* was composed for a Bruges endowment in 1487.²⁴ A number of works about which we know that they were written by Obrecht for special celebrations is astonishingly large. The Composer's willingness to enrich local repertory, his dedication, and a connection with private endowments—often reflected in the complex and symbolic constructions of his works—could be also seen as a clue; if *Ave rosa*, as we have seen, is associated with the Rosary movement and the Immaculate Conception, so popular at that time, Obrecht's wide range of activity in composing votive works could be a precious reference and indication towards linking him with the motet.²⁵

The other reason is connected with Obrecht's attitude to the older masters and composers contemporary to him. We know that there are at least a few signs in Obrecht's works which demonstrate the influence of other composers. Wegman says that

²² Ibid., 148.

²³ Ibid., 40-41 and *New Obrecht Edition*, ed. Burton Hudson, vol. 3, xxvii-xxviii.

²⁴ *New Grove*, s.v. "Obrecht, Jacob," by Rob C. Wegman; see also Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, 146.

²⁵ Regis's *œuvre* is much smaller and we do not have specific information about occasions for which his works could have been written. His *Missa Dum sacrum mysterium-L'homme armé* may be associated with the Order of St. Michael; see Lewis Lockwood, "Aspects of the *L'homme armé* Tradition," *JRMA* 100 (1973): 97-122 at 115-16 and Pamela F. Starr, "Southern Exposure: Roman Light on Johannes Regis," *Revue belge de musicologie* 49 (1995): 27-38 at 36-37. This hypothesis must be considered with caution; see *idem.*, 37 n. 57.

[Obrecht's] debts to Busnoys and Ockeghem are transparently audible in his early works, and the *Missa Adieu mes amours* may well reflect a similar debt to Weerbeke and Josquin. It is precisely because of these well-established influences that we may expect to move towards a better appreciation of Obrecht's own voice—not only in these early compositions, but especially in his mature and late works, which did so much to raise the cultural prominence of “the composer's voice” in 15th-century music.²⁶

Two of the composers—Antoine Busnoys and Johannes Ockeghem—seem particularly to have played an important role in shaping Obrecht's early musical style. Because of the connection of Obrecht's father, Willem Obrecht, to the Burgundian court, it is likely that Obrecht and Busnoys may have met each other, since the latter was in the ducal service from 1467. Thus it should not be surprising that Obrecht, if really influenced by Busnoys, followed the older master by using the same *cantus firmi* for his masses (at least *Je ne demande; Fortuna desperata* might not be by Busnoys), by referring in his mass *Petrus apostolus* to Busnoys's two masses—*L'homme armé* and *O crux lignum triumphale*, and by the treatment of the *cantus firmus* in his *L'homme armé* mass.²⁷ The procedure employed in his *Missa L'homme armé* is a clear reflection of Obrecht's familiarity with Busnoys's mass based on the same tune. In general, Obrecht borrows the tenor of Busnoys's *L'homme armé* mass in almost exact shape (the rhythm of the *cantus firmus* and a number of rests preceding the entry of the tenor are the same).²⁸

²⁶ *New Grove*, s.v. “Obrecht, Jacob,” by Rob C. Wegman.

²⁷ *Ibid.* On possible encounters between the two composers; see Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, 63-69, 80 and 98. For a study of the two masses; see *idem*, 86-100.

²⁸ For detailed comparative analysis of the two works; see Edgar H. Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet, 1420-1520* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1975), 248; Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, 95-98.

Obrecht may have been also acquainted with Ockeghem and his music, since in some of his works Obrecht evidently refers to the older master. *Missa Sicut spina rosam*, considered as an emblem of Ockeghem's influence on Obrecht's music, contains probably one of the most famous features of Ockeghem's music; the opening motive of the bass of his *Missa Mi-mi* appears at the very beginning of Kyrie and Sanctus of Obrecht's mass (bass, mm. 1-3). While in the Kyrie and Sanctus Obrecht quotes only a six-note motive, in the three-voice Agnus Dei the entire bass from Ockeghem's Kyrie is used in the lowest voice. Thus Hudson came up with the idea that Obrecht may have composed the mass in honor of Ockeghem who died in 1497²⁹ and Sparks likewise says that "the whole Mass seems to be conceived as a gesture of respect to the older master."³⁰ Another example, Obrecht's *Missa de Sancto Donatiano* also contains some quotations from Ockeghem. In the Kyrie, in the bass, the composer used the first seven notes of the corresponding notes in Ockeghem's *Missa Ecce ancilla Domini*, and in addition the whole polyphonic four-part block of Obrecht's Osanna (mm. 1-5) is taken almost verbatim from the same fragment in Ockeghem's mass.³¹ It seems likely that these similarities are not sheer coincidence; it was suggested that Obrecht and Ockeghem may

²⁹ Barton Hudson, "Obrecht's Tribute to Ockeghem," *TVNM* 37 (1987): 3-13 at 8.

³⁰ Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet*, 276. Wegman suggested that *Missa Sicut spina rosam* could have been composed in the context of Ockeghem's visit to Bruges and a possible meeting of both composers there in the summer of 1484; see Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, 129-30, but in "Plainsong and Polyphony for the Blessed Virgin: Notes on Two Masses by Jacob Obrecht," *Journal of Musicology* 12 (1994): 56 n. 13 M. Jennifer Bloxam says that Wegman's theory should be considered with caution, as it depends on "a Procrustean model of style change that assigns *a priori* chronological import to certain style traits while giving short shrift to others."

³¹ Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, 95-98; originally, this observation was made by Andrew Wathey in his "Isoperiodic Technique in Cantus Firmus Organization, c.1400 – c.1475," Research Paper, St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, 1979. I refer to Wegman as I did not have access to Wathey's paper.

have met each other in Bruges in 1484. If so, Ockeghem would be the next composer, after Busnoys, whose music Obrecht admired and wished to express admiration towards in his music. Moreover, Strohm says that “Obrecht reacted to the music of his own contemporaries as well, and took as models for his Masses not only Agricola’s *Si dedero*, but also the four-part chanson setting *Adieu mes amours* by Josquin. He must have admired Frye’s *Ave regina celorum*, which he used not only as the basis of a tenor Mass, but also reworked into a motet with the same text.”³²

What this all has to do with *Ave rosa*. If composed by Obrecht, maybe *Ave rosa* was inspired by Regis’s *Missa Dum sacrum mysterium-L’homme armé*, since both works have some features in common and *Ave rosa* simply could have been Obrecht’s tribute to Regis (at least there is one striking similarity between the two works: usage of the *L’homme armé* tune set to the fragments of different texts suggests that the composer of the motet could have been familiar with Regis’s mass, of course if we assume that he was not Regis himself). We do not know yet anything about Obrecht’s probable stay in or connection with Soignies (in the diocese of Cambrai), the place where Johannes Regis spent most of his life, and where Obrecht could easily have come into contact with the mass;³³ but we do know that in September 1484 Obrecht accepted a position as master of

³² Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500*, 485-86. On the use of the melodic material of Josquin’s chanson *Adieu mes amours* in some Obrecht’s works, see also David Fallows, “Afterword: Thoughts for the Future,” in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr, 569-578 at 575-76. Fallows also makes a comment about some similarities between the *Fortuna desperata* masses by Josquin and Obrecht, which, Fallows says, “are indisputably connected in some way: many believe that Obrecht drew on Josquin; I and others believe the reverse,” *ibid.*, 574.

³³ One might speculate that during his countless travels Obrecht could have visited Soignies, e.g. on his way from Bergen op Zoom to Cambrai.; it does not seem yet possible. Wegman points out that “the quickest way to Cambrai was along the River Schelde, one of the major trade routes in the Low Countries. This would have given Jacob [Obrecht] the opportunity to see his father in Ghent, and perhaps to meet fellow singers at Antwerp and Lille”; see Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, 83.

the choirboys at Cambrai, around 90 kilometers south of Soignies, and stayed in the city until late summer of 1485 when he probably left for Bruges.³⁴ Although there is no evidence that the two composers met each other in Cambrai, it is well known that Regis had strong bonds with this city;³⁵ between 1462 and 1465 three of his compositions (now lost) were copied into the Cambrai choirbooks,³⁶ and like Dufay's *Missa Ecce ancilla Domini*, Regis's mass of the same name could have been intended for the cathedral of Cambrai and may be associated with the dedication of the cathedral on 5 July, 1472.³⁷ The mass copied into the Cambrai choirbooks could be Regis's Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium/L'homme armé* preserved in the Cappella Sistina MS 14. This is yet not certain; according to Tinctoris's *Proportionale musices* of 1473, Regis's *L'homme armé* mass was supposed to use the sign "02" which the Vatican mass does not possess. If so, was there another mass by Regis? Some musicologists conjecture that the mass discussed by Tinctoris might have been another one, now lost.³⁸ Pamela Starr concludes that "it is possible that the Mass mentioned by Tinctoris was the one copied at Cambrai in 1462-63, and that the setting associated with St. Michael came later, perhaps in time to be of use to

³⁴ Obrecht arrived in Bruges on 13 October, 1485; see *New Grove*, s.v. "Obrecht, Jacob," by Rob C. Wegman; see also Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, 79-85 and 134-138.

³⁵ If Regis ever visited Cambrai, it must have been much earlier, between around the 1440s and 1452; see David Fallows, "Life of Johannes Regis, ca. 1425 to 1496," *Revue belge de musicologie* 43 (1989): 143-72 at 160. But it cannot be excluded that he also did it later.

³⁶ The Offertory *Regina celi*, *Missa crucis*, and a *Missa 'L'homme armé*; see Fallows, "Life of Johannes Regis, ca. 1425 to 1496," 146-7, 167, 169; see also *New Grove*, s.v. "Regis, Johannes," by Sean Gallagher. Now lost *Regina celi* might be the anonymous three-voice setting in the Vatican manuscript San Pietro B 80; see Fallows, "Life of Johannes Regis, ca. 1425 to 1496," 167.

³⁷ Bloxam, "Plainsong and Polyphony," 68 and n. 36.

³⁸ For discussion of the problem, see Fallows, "Life of Johannes Regis, ca. 1425 to 1496," 168 and n. 121, and Starr, "Southern Exposure," 36-37 and n. 57.

the Order of St. Michael at the French court.”³⁹ Since there is no evidence connecting Regis’s Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium/ L’homme armé* with Cambrai but only conjecture, where else could Obrecht have become influenced by Regis’s work? In this context, Strohm’s suggestion that a certain Johannes Regis serving as a singer in the church of St. Michael’s in Ghent between 1482 and 1483 could be the composer is very attractive,⁴⁰ since the next year, 1484, Obrecht probably visited Ghent on his way to Cambrai. But according to Fallows, who presents quite strong arguments against this hypothesis, “the singer in Ghent can hardly have been the composer.”⁴¹ As we have seen, the surviving source and the provenience of the Regis’s *L’homme armé* do not provide assistance in determining where Obrecht could have encountered Regis’s mass.

There is also one speculative clue—but not so far-reaching that one may think that it is implausible—that Obrecht may have been in some way indirectly involved in, or at least inspired by, the rosary movement and could be seen as a composer of *Ave rosa*. One of Obrecht’s last works, his *Missa Maria zart*, which Rob Wegman calls “the sphinx among Obrecht’s masses,” is widely considered his most puzzling work. A nearly sixty-minute-long piece, based on a devotional monophonic song that probably originated in the Tyrol in the late fifteenth century, *Missa Maria zart* may have been written during composer’s stay at the Imperial court at Innsbruck between 1503 and 1504.⁴² The work is

³⁹ Starr, “Southern Exposure,” 37.

⁴⁰ Reinhard Strohm, Letter to the Editor, *JAMS* 40 (1987): 576-79 at 577.

⁴¹ Fallows, “Life of Johannes Regis, ca. 1425 to 1496,” 164.

⁴² Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, 322-30 and 344-45. For interesting observations on the mass, see Fabrice Fitch, “O Tempora! O Mores!: A New Recording of Obrecht’s *Missa Maria zart*,” *Early Music* 24 (1996): 485-95 and Peter Phillips and Fabrice Fitch, “Obrecht’s *Maria zart*: Scholarly Opinion versus

known only from a source printed in Basel around the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁴³

Because of its unusual length one may ask for what occasion it was written. The question is a fair one, and may never be answered unless some evidence comes to light. But one fact may give us a hint about the context with which the melody *Maria zart*—and maybe the mass itself—may have been associated. Around one hundred years after the song *Maria zart* was composed,⁴⁴ a collection *Rosetum Marianum* was published in 1604⁴⁵ in Dillingen (50 km north of Augsburg). It contains settings of thirty-three verses of the song *Maria zart* composed by thirty-three composers, of whom each contributed a five-voice setting of one of the verses.⁴⁶ The initiator of this musical undertaking was Bernhard Klingenstein (1545 or 1546 – 1614), a German composer, who for around forty

Subjective Interpretation,” *Early Music* 25 (1997): 168-71. There are at least a few other well known settings of the melody *Maria zart*: one is by Pfabenschwanz of Augsburg is preserved in three sources; also an anonymous Mass for three voices in the Leopold Codex (copied around 1504-1506), two settings by Ludwig Senfl – one for four and another one for five voices; for their editions, see *Ludwig Senfl: Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Arnold Geering and Wilhelm Altwegg vols. 1-11 (Wolfenbüttel, 1962), 2:8-11 and 2:39-41; and two tablature arrangements by Arnolt Schlick published in 1512.

⁴³ *Concentus harmonici quattuor missarum, pertissimi m[u]sicorum Jacobi Obrecht*, Basel: G. Mewes (c. 1510).

⁴⁴ It was probably composed around 1500; see Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500*, 521-22.

⁴⁵ *New Grove*, s.v. “Klingenstein, Bernhard,” by William E. Hettrick; the date is 1607 but I think that this is a mistake, as the title page of the print clearly shows the date 1604, see the reproduction of the title page in *Rosetum Marianum (1604)*, collected by Bernhard Klingenstein, ed. William E. Hettrick, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance* 24 (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, Inc., 1977), xxvii.

⁴⁶ Among composers represented in the collection are Rudolph and Ferdinand de Lassus, Carl Luython, Jacob Regnart, Gregor Aichinger, Johann Stadlmayr, Christian Erbach, and Jakob and Hans Leo Hassler.

years, from 1574 until his death, was Kapellmeister of the Augsburg Cathedral.⁴⁷ The collection was dedicated to Heinrich von Knöringen, Bishop of Augsburg from 1598 to 1646. What is interesting about the publication is its likely theme. The opening paragraph on the title page reads as follows: “Marian Rose Garden—Little Rose Garden of Our Dear Lady, containing thirty-three lovely, beautiful roses or songs of praise to Almighty God and His most worthy Mother and Virgin Mary [...]”⁴⁸ William E. Hettrick describes the representation of the opening page:

Underneath the name of the voice part, a woodcut shows the Virgin Mary and the Christ. The traditional association of Mary and the rose in his hand and the entire picture is framed by a wreath of fifteen roses. This wreath represents the rosary, which, in the form practiced during the sixteenth century, consisted of 150 recitations of the *Hail Mary*, divided into fifteen groups of ten, called *decades*. [...] Complementing the theme of the *Rosetum Marianum* are the words *Rosa mystica*, which appear in the margins to the left and right of the woodcut. *Rosa mystica* is one of the appellations of the Blessed Virgin in the Litany of Loreto.⁴⁹

The relation of the collection with the rosary and Augsburg should not be surprising, as Augsburg, beside Ghent and Lille, seems to have been one of the early major centers of the rosary devotion. As early as 1476 Augsburg could claim 8,000 members of the Rosary brotherhood; it was founded there at the church of Saint Moritz by the pastor Johannes Molitoris who was inspired to do this by Jakob Sprenger.⁵⁰ Interestingly

⁴⁷ For some information concerning his life, see Christian Thomas Leitmeir, “Catholic Music in the Diocese of Augsburg c. 1600: A Reconstructed Tricinium Anthology and Its Confessional Implications,” *EMH* 21 (2002): 117-73; this study, though, mainly concerns a collection of sacred music for three voices *Triodia sacra* of 1605, published by Adam Meltzer and edited by Klingenstein.

⁴⁸ *Rosetum Marianum (1604)*, vii.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, vii-viii.

⁵⁰ Christopher Black, “Introduction: The Confraternity Context,” in *Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas: International and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Christopher Black and

enough, in 1526 Georg Breuning published in Augsburg *Dreü gar nützliche und fruchtbare Lieder, im Ton Maria Zart*. Thus the collection *Rosetum Marianum*, although published over one hundred years later, is presumably a reflection of this tradition. As a devotional song, *Maria zart* must have been used in other contexts (it is known that the melody was also used for singing other poems as well).⁵¹ but the fact that at some point—although many years later—it was used in the publication associated with the rosary gives us at least a clue about the way Obrecht’s Mass may have been used. In addition, all the evidence⁵² strengthens Wegman’s suggestion that *Missa Maria zart* was probably composed in or near Innsbruck between September 1503 and September 1504.⁵³

Let us now see what we know about Obrecht’s musical style and how, if at all, it may be related to *Ave rosa*. One problem of *Ave rosa* is determination of the origin of the main text. As was mentioned elsewhere, the composer used a major part of the sequence *Ave mundi spes Maria* by Adam of Saint Victor. For some reasons discussed above, some

Pamela Gravestock (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2006), 1-34 at 11; Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose*, 78. The second edition of Sprenger’s statute of 1477 reports Augsburg enrollments at 21,000; see *ibid.*, 80.

⁵¹ *Rosetum Marianum* (1604), xiii.

⁵² The song was very popular in the area around Innsbruck, and most of the composers who wrote polyphonic settings of *Maria zart* came from the region of Tyrol, or were in some way related to it. Probably the most famous, besides Obrecht’s *Missa Maria Zart*, is Arnolt Schlick’s song with lute accompaniment published in *Tabulaturen etlicher lobgesang und lidlein uff de orgeln und lauten* of 1512. This setting of *Maria zart*, though, is not a new arrangement of the song but an arrangement of a different composers’s earlier setting for four voices (probably by Pfabinschwantz of Augsburg); see Charles Turner, “Arnolt Schlick’s *Maria Zart* for Lute and Voice: Background, Sources, Performance,” *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 19 (1986): 68-80 at 72-73.

⁵³ Although nothing is known (except for the short sojourn in Innsbruck in October 1503) about Obrecht’s life after he left Antwerp in June 1503 and his arrival in Ferrara in September 1504, it seems plausible that the composer may have also visited Augsburg during his trip to Ferrara. It is worth noting that at the turn of the sixteenth century Augsburg became a leading musical centre in Europe. In 1500 Isaac and probably also Senfl accompanied the Emperor Maximilian I to Augsburg for the meeting of the Reichstag.

verses of the sequence were omitted to make the text more suitable to circumstances for which the motet may have been intended. Obrecht used a large variety of texts for his motets as well as masses⁵⁴—antiphons, hymns, responsories, and sequences. The last type—the sequence text—was often used by Obrecht for his works. In some cases his selection of snippets of the text reminds of *Ave rosa*. For example, the text for his *Laudes Christo redemptori* is taken from a sequence for Easter written by Notker, followed by the last two stanzas of *Laudes salvatori* (also by Notker). The extraction of two stanzas of *Laudes salvatori* and adding them as the closing part of the entire motet was done with intention to conclude the work.⁵⁵ Another motet, *Salve sancta facies/Homo quidam*, is based on the cantus firmus carried by the top voice—the melody and text of *Homo quidam* from a responsory for the feast of Corpus Christi. The remaining three voices (altus, tenor, and bassus) carry the text of the sequence *Salve sancta facies*, written for the feast of the Holy Face.⁵⁶ In comparison with the whole text,⁵⁷ Obrecht seems to have omitted stanzas 8 through 11 and made a textual change in the first stanza, where instead of the two verses *Impresa panniculo nivei candoris/dataque Veronicæ signum ob amoris*

⁵⁴ On the use of the sequence texts in his masses, see below.

⁵⁵ For an edition and critical commentary on Obrecht's *Laudes Christo*, see *New Obrecht Edition*, ed. Chris Maas (Utrecht, 1995), 15: xxxix-xl and 84-94.

⁵⁶ Howard M. Brown, "On Veronica and Josquin," in *New Perspectives on Music Essays in Honor of Eileen Southern*, ed. Josephine Wright with Samuel A. Floyd (Warren, Michigan, 1992): 49-61; Bonnie J. Blackburn, "For Whom Do the Singers Sing," *Early Music* 25 (1997): 593-609 and idem., "The Virgin in the Sun: Music and Image for a Prayer Attributed to Sixtus IV," *JRMA* 124 (1999): 157-95 at 182; Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, 143 and 145; Kenneth Kreitner, *The Church Music of Fifteenth Century Spain* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), 96.

⁵⁷ Franz Joseph Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. (Freiburg, 1853-5), 1:156-8.

appears *Designata tabula mirandi decoris/et dimissa Maria per servos amoris*.⁵⁸ It is worth noting here that by introducing this textual interference Obrecht shifts attention from Veronica to Virgin Mary.

The five-voice motet *Salve crux/O crux* uses two sequence texts; the main text carried by the four voices in the *prima pars* and in the second part of the *secunda pars* comes from the sequence *Salve crux, arbor vitae praeclara* for the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, while the middle voice in the *prima pars* carries the text of the twelfth stanza *O crux, lignum triumphale* from the sequence *Laudes crucis attollamus*.⁵⁹

Obrecht also used the sequence texts in his masses. One of the most spectacular examples of Obrecht's settings of ordinarius missae is his *Missa Sub tuum presidium*, in which the composer incorporated seven different cantus firmi together with their texts.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ For an edition and critical commentary on Obrecht's *Salve sancta facies/Homo quidam*, see *New Obrecht Edition*, ed. Chris Maas vol. 16 (Utrecht, 1996), xlv-xlv and 119-34. There are at least two other settings of the text *Salve sancta facies* (or its fragments) known to me; one is three-voice setting of the first stanza (according to the edition in Baker the word *signum* is missing) preserved in SegC s.s., Archivo Capítular de la Catedral; for an edition of this piece, see Norma K. Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript of Polyphony in the Archives of the Cathedral of Segovia: Its Provenance and History," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1978), 2:853-860; for brief analysis of the musical setting, see Kreitner, *The Church Music of Fifteenth Century Spain*, 96. The other one is preserved in two sources; in BolC Q20 it is attributed to "Josquin" and in MilD 3 is with no attribution. Although Howard M. Brown was convinced that it had been composed by Josquin, in the *New Josquin Edition* the work is considered as "certainly not by Josquin" because "there are too many small anomalies to accept it without considerable reservation"; see *New Josquin Edition*, Critical Commentary, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn, vol. 22:29; see also Brown, "On Veronica and Josquin," 49-61. The composer of this piece chose a shortened version of the text (see Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, 1:155) consisted of four stanzas; in the last stanza some textual changes were made. For edition of these pieces, see *Werken van Josquin des Prés*, ed. A. Smijers and others (Amsterdam, 1921-69), 55: 15-22.

⁵⁹ For an edition and critical commentary on Obrecht's *Salve crux/O crux*, see *New Obrecht Edition*, ed. Chris Maas vol. 16 (Utrecht, 1996), xxxvii-xxxviii and 65-84. On the sequence *Salve crux, arbor vitae praeclara* and *Laudes crucis attollamus* and their use in the *Marienkirche* in Aachen, see Michael McGrade, "*O Rex Mundi Triumphator*: Hohenstaufen Politics in a Sequence for Saint Charlemagne," *Early Music History* 17 (1998): 183-219 at 197-99. For a translation of *Laudes crucis attollamus*, see Margot Elsbeth Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 70-72.

⁶⁰ For an edition and critical commentary on Obrecht's *Missa Sub tuum presidium* and the list of chants used in it, see *New Obrecht Edition*, ed. Chris Maas vol. 12 (Utrecht, 1992), xxxviii-xxxix and 51-

Among others, he uses two stanzas from the sequence *Aurea virga prime matris Eve*; stanza 9b—*Mediatrix nostra* and stanza 3b—*Celsus nuntiat Gabriel*; the seventh verse of the sequence *Ave praeclara* and the sixth verse of *Verbum bonum*.⁶¹ Bloxam points out that

Obrecht's selection of snippets from within three Marian sequences in the *Missa Sub tuum praesidium* seems to be rooted in the details of local liturgical practice. Internal verses of Marian sequences were singled out by certain usages for independent performance in processions, and special ritual motions may have accompanied particular phrases during the singing of the sequence during liturgical and votive services. [...] The special combination of plainsong within the *Missa Sub tuum praesidium* suggests this work's intimate connection to a local liturgical practice, as local variation in the selection of Marian sequences as well as in the text and melodies of chants woven into this polyphonic complex confirm.⁶²

The use and treatment of sequences (and also other plainsongs) in Obrecht's output is reminiscent of the treatment of the sequence *Ave mundi spes Maria* in *Ave rosa*. The composer of this motet also made a selection of the verses he needed most and seems to have omitted the ones he thought would not fit the textual compatibility he intended to achieve. A similar approach is clearly seen in Obrecht's *Salva sancta facies/Homo quidam*, in which, in addition to taking out some parts of the text of the sequence, the composer also made some textual changes in the first stanza. Obviously, Obrecht's selection of and treatment of snippets from Marian sequences do not permit us to

87. See also Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, 337-40. For a study of the mass in the context of local chant traditions and suggestion that it might have been composed in Antwerp or Bergen-op-Zoom; see Bloxam, "Plainsong and Polyphony," 51-75 at 64-74.

⁶¹ The sequence *Ave praeclara*, probably composed by Hermannus Contractus, as well as *Aurea virga* and *Verbum bonum*, were often used for the feast of the Assumption; see Bloxam, "Plainsong and Polyphony," 65.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 66-67.

associate *Ave rosa* with Obrecht, as this kind of textual treatment, as was pointed out by Bloxam, was part of local liturgical practices and probably could be applied to some other composers of the second half of the fifteenth century. Yet the fact is that all of the composers present in the Chigi Codex, especially those who could be considered as potential authors of *Ave rosa*, such as Johannes Regis, Pierre de la Rue, Heinrich Isaac, and Josquin des Prez did not use the texts of sequences with such variety of treatment.

Another unusual thing about *Ave rosa* is the use of and combination of different cantus firmi (one sacred and one secular). In Obrecht's *oeuvre* this procedure is not very common, but still it is possible to give at least a few examples.⁶³ In his *Missa Grecorum*, the tenor carries the principal cantus firmus, the melody whose origin has not been determined yet, but it is likely, according to the current opinions, that it is of secular origin rather than of sacred.⁶⁴ In the Osanna of the mass this melody is combined with the sequence *Victimae paschali* cited by the upper voice. Obrecht's *Missa de Sancto Donatiano* is based on a series of chants which are supposed to be sung to their original words instead of the mass text.⁶⁵ One of the preexisting chants is the vernacular devotional song: *Gefft den armen gefangen umb got, dat u got helpe mari ut aller not*. It is presented only in Kyrie II, where it is combined with the chant *O beate pater*

⁶³ Discussing Obrecht's *Missa Sicut spina rosam* Wegman points out that the combination of different pre-existent melodies [...] is a procedure that is in fact quite rare in Obrecht's mass *oeuvre*; see Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, 118 n. 24.

⁶⁴ *New Obrecht Edition*, ed. Chris Maas (Utrecht, 1992), 5:xi, for edition of this mass, 1-33. There is controversy about the title of the mass which might refer either to the tenor or to the feast for which the mass was written; see Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, 271 n. 48.

⁶⁵ For the list of the chants used in the mass; see *New Obrecht Edition*, ed. Barton Hudson (Vereniging Voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1984), 3: xi-xii. The mass is discussed in Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, 169-174 and Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, 146-47.

Donatiane and migrates from the countertenor (mm. 61-85) into the bass (mm. 87-111). Exceptionally rich in quotations of pre-existing melodies is Obrecht's *Missa Plurimorum carminum I*, in which the composer used more than twenty different melodies. For this study especially interesting is the Credo, where at the beginning, besides two songs—*S'elle m'amera/Petite camusette* and *Je ne porroie plus celer*—Obrecht also quotes chant Credo I in the upper voice. In another mass, *Fors seulement*, the composer uses as cantus firmus Ockeghem's rondeau of the same name quoted in the upper voice of the Credo, while the Tenor paraphrases the chant Credo I. Barton Hudson made the following observation.

Where the *Fors seulement* voice is silent, the Credo melody is generally quoted rather strictly; but where Superius sings, the plainsong is manipulated, not merely through elaboration, but by alteration of notes and reversal of their order. Its rhythms seem cramped, and there are awkward melodic progressions, free insertions, and the like. The combination is clearly contrived, and rather uncomfortably at that.⁶⁶

Two other distinctive features of *Ave rosa* concerning the treatment of a cantus firmus are the placement of the main cantus firmus in the superius and the strict canonic treatment of the tenor cantus firmus. Unlike in Regis's output, migration of the cantus firmus to the other voices is a pretty common feature in Obrecht's works. In addition to *Missa de Sancto Donatiano* mentioned elsewhere, the involvement of different voices in the presentation of a cantus firmus can be also observed in at least a few other works. For example, in the mass *Gracioulx et bieulx* the main cantus firmus appears in the first four movements in the tenor, but later, in the Agnus Dei, the melody is transferred to the upper voice, and ultimately ends up being presented in the bass of the last Agnus Dei. In

⁶⁶ Hudson, "Obrecht's Tribute to Ockeghem," 3-13 at 7.

the *Caput* mass a cantus firmus melody appears in a different voice in each of the movements; first it is presented in the tenor of the Kyrie, then the upper voice of the Gloria, the tenor of the Credo, countertenor of the Sanctus, and finally in the bass of the Agnus Dei.

As far as the writing of canon based on cantus firmus is concerned, in general, Obrecht does not seem to have been skilful in employing canon in his early works. However, as Wegman points out, in Obrecht's *Missa Beata viscera*, considered as one of the earliest masses, the first Osanna is based on a strict canon written between the upper voice and tenor at the interval of fifth. Later, Obrecht would use this technical means more frequently. Hudson points out that

Obrecht did not use canon with the frequency or the virtuosity of some of his contemporaries, such as Josquin des Prez, Pierre de la Rue, or Mouton. He did not, for instance, compose a single consistently canonic composition. In what we take to be his earlier works canon, if it occurs at all, usually appears only in brief segments incidental to the larger structure and may be treated quite freely. Apparently Obrecht did not achieve mastery over the device early in life. It does seem, however, that as he grew older, when he employed canon, he used it with increasing ease and strictness, particularly where the canonic voices paraphrase a cantus firmus.⁶⁷

In two motets, *O beate Basil/O Beate pater* and *Salve Regina*, Obrecht employs strict canon; in the former the cantus firmus melody taken from *O beate pater Basils* is presented between two inner voices in strict canon while the outer ones carry the text *O beate Basili*; in the latter a strict canon is led in the *prima pars* by the upper voice and tenor.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 6.

The immediate entry of the cantus firmus, together with three other voices, right at the beginning of *Ave rosa speciosa* is considered atypical for Regis, as it is for Obrecht's *œuvre* as well, but again one exception is Osanna from *Missa Beata viscera*, where a cantus firmus is carried by the top voice and enters right at the beginning together with two other voices; it creates a strict canon with the tenor.

The mensural organization of *Ave rosa*—the mensural sequence—O-ϕ- O3 which is found in only one sacred piece by Regis, his *Missa L'homme armé*, is also very rare in Obrecht's works. It seems that the only work with exactly the same mensural sequence is *Mille quingentis*, in which *tempus perfectum* (O) is present in the first movement while the second movement (mm. 59) opens with *tempus imperfectum diminutum* (ϕ) and then, within the same movement, changes to *sesquialtera* proportion (mm. 117).

One of the most important arguments against Regis's attribution is the scoring of *Ave rosa* for six-voices, as all Regis's motets were originally written for five voices. But is this motet really entirely scored for six-voices? Compared with Josquin, Jacob Obrecht's output does not contain so many examples of six-voiced works; there are only two pieces scored for six voices. One is the famous *Missa Sub tuum presidium* of which Sanctus is written for six and Agnus for seven voices, and his six-voice motet *Salve Regina*.

As shown above, Obrecht was familiar with most of technical devices and means present in *Ave rosa*. Even some of the melodic motives absent from Regis's works, as pointed by Gallagher, can be sporadically found in Obrecht's works. The problem is that a number of uses of these devices are disproportionate to Obrecht's big output. In other

words, despite being found in the composer's works these features cannot be treated as typical of his music. For instance, the fact that Obrecht wrote a few compositions for six voices, or used exactly the same mensural sequence in *Mille quingentis* as in *Ave rosa*, does not permit us to assume that the composer would do it on regular basis and that these devices belonged to his musical vocabulary.

I regret that the identity of the composer of this exquisite, ambitious, wonderfully crafted, but peculiar piece of polyphony is unknown.⁶⁸ As has been shown above, there are features in the motet which make the problem of its attribution unresolved; anybody trying to attribute it to Regis needs to face the questions about the traits of *Ave rosa* that cannot be found in Regis's works. On the other hand, any attempt to consider it as the work by one of the composers belonging to the younger generation, such as Obrecht, for example, needs to be made with caution as the motet still possesses some musical ingredients that can hardly be found in the works of these composers. In terms of Josquin, except for some melodic and technical similarities (the use of the antiphon *Beata mater* as the basis for the canon) in his motet *O virgo prudentissima*, nothing links *Ave rosa speciosa* with Josquin.

I think that *Ave rosa* may be considered as an experiment, as its inventiveness has much to do with having some old stylistic devices combined with some new approaches not found, as far as I know, in any other single work at around the time when it was presumably composed.

⁶⁸ Much to my regret, *Ave rosa speciosa* was not included among the works recorded on the CD *Johannes Regis: Opera Omnia*, The Clerks, conductor – Edward Wickham.

Conclusions

They're singing the motet; it's time to go

In this final chapter I would like to draw conclusions and to sum up what has been already said, and to add some fresh thoughts about individual works investigated in this study. First I would like to return to Festa's *Super flumina Babylonis*. It would seem that much has already been said of the motet. It turns out, nevertheless, that there may be more. After this dissertation was finished and only the conclusions remained to be written, two new articles came out on the Medici Codex, a manuscript in which this motet is preserved.¹ The attractive and inspiring ideas and thoughts found in the articles have enticed me into confronting them with my findings presented in the chapter four. Instead of making some rearrangements and retouches in the main part of my dissertation, I have decided to include my thoughts here.

Tim Shephard's article "Constructing Identities in a Music Manuscript: The Medici Codex as a Gift" clearly and convincingly demonstrates strong bonds of the Medici Codex with the Pope Leo X and his personal musical preference for French composers. Seemingly intended as a part of a larger group of gifts for Lorenzo, and perhaps as well to Lorenzo's wife Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne, the Medici Codex, according to Tim Shephard, "was configured by Leo X as a strategically constructed

¹ Tim Shephard, "Constructing Identities in a Music Manuscript: The Medici Codex as a Gift," *Renaissance Quarterly* 63 (2010): 84-127 and Joshua Rifkin, "The Creation of the Medici Codex," *JAMS* 62 (2009): 517-70. In the latter Joshua Rifkin convincingly demonstrates that the manuscript was not originally intended for the wedding of Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino in 1518 and that it eventually turned into a gift for Lorenzo probably as a result of urgent decision and need.

image of himself.”² This may account for the conspicuous absence of Heinrich Isaac’s works in the manuscript; although Isaac was a composer who enjoyed considerable Medici patronage, he “was thought of in Italy as German, not French, and therefore did not further the manuscript’s (or rather its patron’s) diplomatic aims.”³ While discussing the contents of the manuscript, Shephard says that several motets are tangibly celebratory of the French monarchy and lists such compositions as Mouton’s *Domine, salvum fac regem*, a prayer of a king (certainly the King of France); the motet *Exalta regina Galliae* written in celebration of the French victory at Marignano; and Pierre Moulu’s *Fiere attropos*, which mourns a French queen. In such context Festa’s *Super flumina Babylonis* may seem to be thus considered rather as a composition associated with the French court, too. Shephard mentions Edward Lowinsky’s hypothesis that the motet could be connected with the death of Louis XII, but at the end of the article, in the list of the works in the Medici Codex, he also suggests that it may have been composed for the death of a French queen (my guess was that he refers to Anne of Brittany who died in 1514). I have to admit that Shephard’s broadened context and new arguments enable us to see Festa’s work as a funeral motet for one of the French monarchs. Following Shephard’s understanding of the manuscript, the motet *Super flumina Babylonis* could be simply viewed, for instance, as a companion work to Pierre Moulu’s *Fiere attropos*, mourning the death of Queen Anne. Moreover, one of Josquin’s compositions in the manuscript, *Nymphes des bois*, a lament composed on the death of Johannes Ockeghem is a *déploration* for the composer who—it needs to be stressed here—at some time served as

² Ibid., 85.

³ Ibid., 88 n. 10.

maestro di cappella at the French court in Paris. Ockeghem's relationship with the French court may be then taken as a main reason for including Josquin's motet in such a French oriented manuscript. Thus, if written for the death of Heinrich Isaac, as I suggest, *Super flumina Babylonis* would seem to be out of such context; it would not complement Moulu's work written to mourn the death of Queen Anne, a French monarch, nor Josquin's *déploration* composed to commemorate the French composer. Also, a lack of Isaac's compositions in the manuscript may be considered as a counterargument to Festa's *Super flumina Babylonis* as a *déploration* for Heinrich Isaac.

For me, however, this obvious French context of the Medici Codex is not a convincing enough argument to see Festa's motet as related with the French court. First of all, it is well known that Costanzo Festa is the composer of a four-part motet, *Quis dabit oculis*, written on the occasion of the death of Queen of France, Anne of Brittany, in 1514.⁴ Is it then likely that Festa wrote two compositions for this occasion—*Quis dabit oculis* and *Super flumina Babylonis*? Moreover, linking *Super flumina Babylonis* with the death of the king Louis XII, as Edward Lowinsky suggested, is not convincing either in the light of what was said in the chapter four of this dissertation (the basic arguments against this idea are that we do not know anything about Festa's possible sojourn in France and the motet text does not make any reference to the name of the king). What are the conclusions then? I think that if the Medici Codex can be interpreted "as a strategically constructed image of Leo X," Festa's *Super flumina Babylonis* could be a part of this image as well even if the motet may have been intended for the death of

⁴ This motet is preserved in the manuscript BolQ 19 "Rusconi Codex," ff. 76'-78. For the description of the motet; see Alexander Main, "Maximilian's Second-Hand Funeral Motet," *Musical Quarterly* 48 (1962): 173-89.

Heinrich Isaac. Leo's fondness for music and long-lasting acquaintance with and support of Isaac may be a good reason to view this motet as such. This hypothesis may be strengthened by the fact that Costanzo Festa may have been in Rome when Leo learned about Isaac's death and that both Leo and Lorenzo, a recipient of the manuscript, knew Heinrich Isaac well.

Why do we speculate about the purpose of *Super flumina Babylonis* so intensively? I think that although some of us may sense that one idea is better or more plausible than another one, there will always be a bit of doubt about a right answer and solution. This is because the motet does not contain something like a melodic or textual reference to Isaac or Louis XII or Anne of Brittany that would enable us to pin down the occasion for which it was composed. We face the same problem with two other polytextual motets investigated in this study—*Dominator caelorum* and *O altitudo divitiarum*. Less known but not less interesting than *Super flumina Babylonis*, these two motets seem to deserve more attention from modern scholarship. Although the former is generally deemed to be Festa's work, this attestation does not seem to be strong enough to be sure of the composer's authorship. Its source transmission, as pointed in the chapter five, would rather indicate and support the idea of attributing the motet to Jean Conseil than to Costanzo Festa. I agree that the attribution of the motet to Festa in the Vallicelliana manuscript cannot be trusted altogether since some other attributions in the manuscript seem to have been made incorrectly. Additionally, if we accepted that there are some textual and constructional analogies between the motets *Dominator caelorum* and *Ecce advenit dominator*, and that both of the motets may have been intended for a meeting of Charles V with Clement VII in Bologna in the late 1529 and early 1530, it

would seem safer and more convincing to view these two works as composed by two different composers, namely, by Conseil and Festa respectively, than as written by Festa alone. This conjecture also leads to observation that magnificent and splendid meetings and events, like the one in Bologna, gathering important secular and church dignitaries, could have been occasions for composers to show off and compete among themselves.⁵ The output of the two composers—Conseil and Festa, members of the papal chapel at the same time, who wrote a few settings of the same texts — shows that such competition, conscious or subconscious, may have existed. The case of the motet *O altitudo divitiarum* may strengthen the idea of such rivalry among composers. Like two previous compositions—*Dominator caelorum* and *Ecce advenit dominator*—the motet *O altitudo divitiarum* may have been composed as a companion to Morales's *Jubilate Deo omnis terra* for a peace meeting in Nice in 1538 between Pope Paul III, Emperor Charles V, and the French King Francis I. The reason why today Morales's motet is famous and regarded as one of his greatest achievements is partly due to the fact that its internal features clearly indicate and reveal its original function and purpose (of course I do not deny that the motet itself is a perfect work without its occasional context). I am not naïve to expect that we will change our opinion of the motet *O altitudo divitiarum* just because some suggestions have been made about the circumstances of its composition and performance. But I feel the same way about *O altitudo divitiarum* as Alejandro Planchart did about Josquin's *Missa Sine Domine*, which he regards as the best of Josquin's masses although

⁵ The latest study in which this problem is discussed is Jesse Rodin, "A 'Most Laudable Competition'? Hearing and Composing the *Beata Virgine* Masses of Josquin and Brumel," *TVNM* 59 (2009): 3-24 esp. 7.

he cannot reconcile himself with the impression that the work is so neglected and ignored by modern scholars and performers.⁶

The reason why I have dealt in more detail with three little and hardly known works—*Da pacem*, *Sancta Maria succurre miseris*, and *Quam pulchra es*—is not only to contribute new observations to general knowledge about these works, but also to attract attention to an argument that besides works of high caliber, modern scholarship should also value and focus on works of less significance. The reason for this is that we cannot fully grasp a composer's musical style unless we acquaint ourselves with all his works and their characteristics. But what if some works of a composer's core repertoire are called into question, or at least come under suspicion? Namely, how do we determine and describe composer's personal style if some of works have conflicting attributions, or are misattributed (although depending on what we currently know of composer's style a work could be considered as his), or are attributed to a composer but their general characteristics cast doubt on their authenticity. This last problem applies to the VatS 18 *Da pacem*. The context in which this anonymous work is found in VatS 18 suggests that it may be by Festa. The problem is, though, that if we agree on the easy assumption that a chronology of composer's works can be only based on the evolution of style that evolves in a straight line,⁷ the motet seems very conspicuous to be perceived as written by Festa in 1530s (if assumed that it may have been written some time before the compilation of

⁶ Alejandro Planchart, "Masses on Plainsong Cantus Firmi," in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 89-150 at 132 and n. 82.

⁷ Even though we are aware of this assumption as being problematic we seem to accept it. For more on this, see Richard Sherr, "Review of 'Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht' by Rob C. Wegman," *JRMA* 121 (1996): 105-16 at 108.

the manuscript c. 1538-9). It seems to me that the only way to remove such a serious methodological obstacle may be either to be cautious with accepting its authorship to Festa, or assume that *Da pacem* may have been composed much earlier, that is, even before 1520, around the time when BoIC 19 was compiled, in which the another anonymous *Da pacem* is preserved.

Costanzo Festa's *Sancta Maria succurre miseris* and *Quam pulchra es* represent a larger group of works—settings of the same texts—written by Festa's contemporaneous composers. A problem examined in the both works is musical borrowing in a broad sense of its meaning. The first motet proves to be a part of a tradition of musical setting of a prayer text *Sancta Maria succurre miseris*. Examination of Festa's setting and a few settings by other composers shows that some of these works are also linked with each other by referring and using musical material from the same version of the Litany of Loreto. *Quam pulchra es*, on the other hand, could be considered as an example of the concept of *imitatio* in Renaissance music since Monteverdi extensively borrowed musical material from Festa's composition. Geoffrey Chew, nevertheless, points out that

the implication that [Monteverdi's *Quam pulchra es*] exemplifies *emulatio* rather than 'following', and a turn towards modernity, seems wrong. Only two aspects of Monteverdi's piece might be more modern than Festa's: the three-voice texture, which itself goes no further than Gardane's published version of Festa's piece, and the slight emphasis at the outset on thirds between the upper voices. Otherwise, Monteverdi's procedure seems no different from that current for many decades in Italy.⁸

⁸ Geoffrey Chew, "A model musical education: Monteverdi's early works," in *Cambridge Companion to Claudio Monteverdi*, ed. John Whenham and Richard Wistreich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 33-36 at 36.

Of course it cannot be objected that Monteverdi may have intended to emulate an older master since a principle of imitation was so popular and well known in all kinds of intellectual activity in the Renaissance. Yet for me personally Monteverdi seems to have perceived Festa's *Quam pulchra es* just as a useful composition which fitted in the overall concept of *Sacrae cantiunculae*—its layout and contents. Such practical approach seems to have been a pretty common practice in the Renaissance. The relationship between Festa's and Monteverdi's *Quam pulchra es* reminds me of Heinrich Isaac's funeral motet *Quis dabit capiti meo aquam*, which shares some of music with his *Missa Salva nos*. After careful analysis of these two works, Richard Taruskin came to conclusion that the motet contrafacts Mass, and if so “it is clear”—Taruskin says—“that Isaac used exactly that portion of the Mass which suited his purpose, not a note more and a note less.”⁹ Further Taruskin goes on and makes an interesting observation that it is important to distinguish between contrafactum and parody, which are two different, even unrelated devices. Unlike parody, contrafactum is not a “building” process. It does not expend small works into large ones. *It is merely a process of re-using, of transferring, ultimately of economizing.*¹⁰ For the purpose of his study, by contrafactum Taruskin means including *the removal and addition, as well as the replacement of text.*¹¹ Could not this also apply to Festa and Monteverdi relationship?

⁹ Richard Taruskin, “Settling an Old Score: A Note on Contrafactum in Isaac's Lorenzo Lament,” *Current Musicology* 21 (1976): 83-92 at 87.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 88, italics mine.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 90 n. 5, italics mine.

The anonymous motet *Ave rosa speciosa* from the Chigi Codex is not compatible at all with the remaining part of the study. Included in the manuscript compiled c. 1498-1503, the work may have been written around twenty years or even more prior to *Super flumina Babylonis*, Festa's earliest work discussed here.¹² Thus the inclusion of *Ave rosa speciosa* and its role in this dissertation should not be interpreted as complementing the preceding part dominated by the works by Festa. Rather, it should be understood as a separate study. This is due to the fact that any attempt to classify and provide *Ave rosa speciosa* with certain labels may be futile; standing out as a sort of a musical experiment this motet thus similarly seems to escape any categorization. Its context and place in the manuscript—next to works by Regis, Isaac, and Josquin—do not resolve a problem of its authenticity, as it does not seem to fit any of musical profiles of the composers represented in the Chigi Codex. On the other hand, if for example *Ave rosa speciosa* was found attributed in the Chigi Codex to Regis we would not have a strong premise to doubt it, as the manuscript is generally acknowledged as rather reliable source whose attributions have not been called into question in the case of other works found there. This would just lead us to agree to broaden a scope of characteristics of Regis's musical style and to see the work as one of his last works, and Regis himself would have to be viewed as one of the first composers interested in writing music for six voices. But the anonymity of the work and some of its stylistic anomalies prevent us from doing that and make us be cautious about endorsing an attribution to Regis. This brings us back to what was said about Festa's *Da pacem*. Since this little work does not fit in central Festa works

¹² Probably Festa's earliest datable work is his *Quis dabit oculis*. Included in "Rusconi Codex" of c. 1516-18, this motet, composed for the death of Anne of Brittany in January of 1514, seems to have had to be written around that time.

on a stylistic basis, why do we seem to be so willing to attribute it to the composer? Is the context, in which the work is found, sufficient premise for that?

*They're singing the motet; it's time to go*¹³—the title of this chapter—is the opening sentence of a conversation that occurred among four worshippers of the church Our Lady at the Zavel and that was recorded in a Flemish-French conversation manual of 1543.¹⁴ From the remaining part of this dialogue it comes out that the motet discussed here is *In te Domine speravi* by Lupus Hellinck (c1494-1541). The likeliest place in the liturgy where the motet could have been heard by the interlocutors is after the concluding words—*Ite, missa est* (*Go, you are dismissed*) answered by *Deo gratias* (*Thanks be to God*) at the end of the Mass. Fortunately, this short conversation gives us a clue about possible context in which this specific motet could have been performed. Similarly, discussing the context and place of Josquin's setting of Psalm 90—*Qui habitat in adiutorio*—Jeremy Noble points out that

according to the diaries of the Papal Chapel, this setting was used as an Offertory motet on the first Sunday of Lent as late as 1616: Psalm 90 provides the Introit verse for that day, and the Tract is taken from it. But it must be emphasized that Josquin's motet can in no way be considered a liturgical substitute for either of those items. The days of complete Introit-psalms were long past, and as for the Tract, it should be noted that whereas Josquin sets the complete Vulgate text, repeating the first verse at the end, the Tract omits three verses in the middle of the Psalm and in any case uses not the Vulgate but another, earlier translation, presumably the so-called *Vetus Itala*. Moreover Josquin's motet makes absolutely no reference to the chants of either the Introit or the Tract. It is composed without reference to the chants of either the Introit or the Tract.¹⁵

¹³ From Rob C. Wegman, "From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450-1500," *JAMS* 49 (1996): 409-79 at 409.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Jeremy Noble, "The Function of Josquin's Motets," *TVNM* 35 (1985): 9-22 at 11.

The bits of information from the conversation manual of 1543 and the so-called *Diarii Sistini* crystallize and provide the possible context for the motets. But one may guess that they may not have been the only occasions for these works.

These cases as well as those studied in this dissertation show how intricate and insurmountable problems in the Renaissance motet may be sometimes, and they will become as such unless new facts and evidence come to light. Thus, it is so useful and important to search for and discover such tiny, sometimes

fragmentary evidence. This study, I hope, has left us with some provocative thoughts and questions, and has made some suggestions that may not only help us to understand the meaning and context of the individual works investigated here, but may also draw our attention to some aspects of the Renaissance motet that seem to be neglected by modern scholarship. On the other hand, the study has also reaffirmed some already accepted views, though in some cases I have made an attempt to approach them from a different angle. I am certain and aware that the wealth of problems and complexity of the Renaissance motet still require broadened and considerable research. Thus paraphrasing the title of this chapter: they are singing the motet; it is time to go and listen to it.

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