**Pierre Attaingnant's Encyclopedia of Sacred Music:
The 1534-1539 Motet Series**

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Abstract

Pierre Attaingnant's fourteen-volume Motet Series (1534-1539) was a monumental achievement in music printing, featuring innovative approaches to organisation and far exceeding the four earlier motet series printed by Petrucci, Antico, and Moderne, in terms of size and structure.

Part I of my dissertation provides a historical context for the Series. Chapter 1 reviews the early years of François I's reign, the musical establishments at the court, and the King's own interest in music. Chapter 2 outlines the state of the motet in sixteenth-century France, and the beginnings of music printing. I then compare the four "predecessors" to Attaingnant's Series in Chapter 3 and argue that while there was a loose set of conventions for the printed motet series before 1534, many of the features varied from printer to printer and book to book.

Part II offers a first look at the Series as a constructed product and examines four primary facets: the format and layout (Chapter 4), the composers, concordances and markets of the Series (Chapter 5), the rubrics (Chapter 6), and the sources of the texts of the motets (Chapter 7). Through a study of the physical aspects of the Series and the various organisational approaches used by Attaingnant (Chapter 4), I illustrate that, in contrast to its predecessors, Attaingnant's Series was remarkably standardised, and designed as a single, cohesive product. The discussion of the sixty named composers (Chapter 5) examines the distribution of the motets among two principal groups of composers (the famous and the little-known), and draws additional ties between the Series and the French royal court. Investigation of the concordances of the motets by these composers reveals a large number of *unica*, pointing to the importance of the Series for the preservation of repertoire, including the sole surviving works for a handful of composers whom I call the "Attaingnant Composers." Using the concordances for the motets of a single book combined with details of the six surviving copies of the Series, I examine the market for the Series and suggest potential types of owners for these books, from cathedrals to music collectors.

I then narrow my focus to a unique feature of the Series, the use of rubrics in book titles and for individual motets (Chapter 6). Rubrics are short Latin phrases that the printer included to identify potential performance occasions for the motets and the subjects of the motet texts; they link the Series to the liturgy and to devotional Books of Hours. Prompted by the ties of the rubrics to the liturgy and Books of Hours, I investigate the context in which the Series was sold in Paris, specifically the shop in the Rue de la Harpe, and explore a long standing connection between Books of Hours and the shop that previously belonged to Philippe Pigouchet, Attaingnant's father-in-law, and one of the premier printers of Books of Hours in Paris.

Chapter 7 provides a comprehensive study of the texts of the 281 motets in which I identify the sources for the texts, and show that they were connected both to the liturgy and to Books of Hours. In the final chapter (8), I revisit the issue of the function of the motet in the sixteenth century in light of my findings, and argue that the format, contents, rubrics, and texts of the Series all point to a multi-purpose function for the motet and the Motet Series as a whole.

I conclude that the Series, with its mixture of famous and obscure composers, its broad range of Latin texts and its ties to both the liturgy and Books of Hours, is best understood as an encyclopedia of sacred music, one that reflected what was sung in Paris for all to emulate.

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Résumé

La série de quatorze volumes de motets par Pierre Attaingnant (1534-1539) fut une réalisation monumentale dans l'impression de la musique, démontrant des approches novatrices dans son organisation et dépassant de loin, en taille et en structure, les quatre séries de motets imprimées plus tôt par Petrucci, Antico et Moderne.

La première partie de ma thèse fournit un contexte historique pour la série de motets. Le premier chapitre passe en revue les premières années du règne de François Ier, les institutions de musique à la cour, et l'intérêt du roi pour la musique. Le deuxième chapitre décrit l'état du motet en France au XVIe siècle, et les débuts de l'impression de la musique. Je compare ensuite, au troisième chapitre, les quatre «prédécesseurs» à la série d'Attaingnant et soutiens que bien qu'il y avait un ensemble de conventions vagues pour la série de motets imprimée avant 1534, la plupart des caractéristiques variaient d'un imprimeur à l'autre et d'un livre à l'autre.

La deuxième partie offre un premier aperçu de la série d'Attaingnant comme un produit construit et examine quatre aspects principaux: le format et la présentation (chapitre 4), les compositeurs, les concordances et les marchés propres à la série (chapitre 5) ainsi que les rubriques (chapitre 6), et les sources des textes des motets (chapitre 7). Par l'entremise d'une étude des aspects physiques de la série et des différentes approches organisationnelles utilisées par Attaingnant (chapitre 4), j'illustre que, contrairement à ses prédécesseurs, la série d'Attaingnant était remarquablement standardisée, et conçu comme un produit unique et cohérent. La discussion des soixante compositeurs nommés (chapitre 5) examine la répartition des motets entre deux principaux groupes de compositeurs (le bien connu et le peu connu), et souligne des liens supplémentaires entre la série et la cour royale française. Une étude des concordances des motets de ces compositeurs révèle un grand nombre d'unica, soulignant l'importance de la série pour la préservation du répertoire, y compris les seules œuvres survivantes pour un petit nombre de compositeurs que j'appelle les «Compositeurs Attaingnant». En utilisant les concordances pour les motets d'un seul livre, ainsi que les détails sur les six exemplaires survivants de la série j'examine le marché pour la série et suggère des types probables de propriétaires de ces livres, à partir des cathédrales jusqu'aux collectionneurs de musique.

Je me concentre ensuite sur une caractéristique unique de la série, l'utilisation de

rubriques dans les titres de livres et dans les motets individuelles (chapitre 6). Les rubriques sont de courtes phrases latines que l'imprimeur fournit afin d'identifier les occasions possibles de représentation pour les motets et les sujets des textes de motets, elles lient la série à la liturgie et aux livres d'heures. Poussé par les liens des rubriques à la liturgie et livres d'heures, j'étudie le contexte dans lequel la série a été vendue à Paris, plus précisément la boutique de la rue de la Harpe, et j'explore une connexion de longue date entre les livres d'heures et la boutique qui appartenait auparavant à Philippe Pigouchet, beau-père de Pierre Attaingnant, et l'un des imprimeurs principaux de livres d'heures à Paris.

Le chapitre 7 fournit une étude approfondie des textes des 281motets, dans laquelle j'identifie les sources de ces textes, et je démontre que ces textes étaient liés à la fois à la liturgie et aux livres d'heures. Dans le dernier chapitre (8) je revisite la question de la fonction du motet au XVIe siècle à la lumière de mes conclusions, et affirment que le format, le contenu, les rubriques et les textes de la série indiquent une fonction polyvalente pour le motet et la série dans son ensemble.

Je conclus que la série de Pierre Attaingnant, avec son mélange de compositeurs célèbres et obscurs, sa large gamme de texte en latin et ses liens à la fois à la liturgie et aux livres d'heures, est mieux comprise comme une encyclopédie de la musique sacrée qui reflète ce qui était chanté à Paris, permettant l'imitation par tous.

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This dissertation has been an integral part of my daily life for over four years. In that time, I received support and advice from numerous people and organisations, and gratefully acknowledge their contributions here.

My most heartfelt thanks go first and foremost to my advisor Julie Cumming, who introduced me to the world of motet printing at the very start of my doctoral studies. It was through my work as her research assistant on the Making Publics Project and Petrucci's motet books that I first became interested in motets and Books of Hours, research that eventually led me to Attaingnant's motet series. Julie's insights and advice were invaluable at every stage of this dissertation, and indeed, through all stages of my doctorate. Over the course of my six years at McGill, I held various research assistantships on projects headed by Julie, assistantships that not only provided financial support, but that also allowed me to develop and hone skills that I later used in researching this dissertation. She also helped me to acquire a printed facsimile of the Attaingnant series, which was tremendously useful for this dissertation. Julie's enthusiasm and generosity as both a researcher and instructor are a continual source of inspiration for all of us who have studied with her.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1528, Pierre Attaingnant revolutionised the music printing industry with his new single-impression printing method.[1] Over the course of the next twenty years, he produced over one hundred printed editions of music and dominated Parisian music printing. He was the first man to receive the coveted title of Royal Printer of Music from the French Crown, and was a towering figure in the history of music printing.

One of his most striking achievements as a music printer was a 14-volume series of motet prints, published between 1534 and 1539. The Series stands out from other motet prints of the period (1500-1540) for several reasons: it was the first printed motet series to include more than five books, it included several innovative approaches to organisation, as well as the addition of non-musical information inside the books, and was designed as a cohesive product, the different books intended to complement each other and to be used together by their owners. This monumental collection is also important because it seems to have inspired imitations. Two decades later, Tielman Susato produced a fifteen-book series of motets (the *Ecclesiasticarum cantionum* series published from 1553-1557),[2] and Pierre Phalèse produced a series of eight books entitled

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[1] John Rastell seems to have used a single impression method in 1520 in London, and Jacques Moderne may have experimented with single-impression printing in Lyons in the 1520s as well. On Rastell, see KingRast. On Moderne, see PogueMod, PoguePrint, DobbinsLyons, and HeartzCat.

[2] On Susato see ForneyDiss, ForneyNew, and PolkSus. The last book of Susato's series was a book of compositions by Lassus. This mirrors Attaingnant's Series, which also ends with a book devoted entirely to one composer, Pierre de Manchicourt.

Cantionum sacrarum (1553-1556).[3] Attaingnant's Motet Series thus departed from tradition and inspired later printers to form their own "encyclopedias" of sacred music.

A complete modern edition of all fourteen books is available, edited by Albert Smijers and Arthur Tillman Merritt, and Cornetto-Verlag published a facsimile of Books 1-13 in 2003.[4] In late 2012 and January of 2013, the Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek in Jena, Germany, digitized their copy of the first thirteen books and made them freely available on their site.[5] The fourteenth book is available online through the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek's Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek.[6] Daniel Heartz's catalogue of Attaingnant's prints and biographical study of the printer, Jennifer Thomas's Motet Online Database (an index of motets in manuscript and printed sources from 1465 to 1600), Christelle Cazaux's study of the musical establishment at the French Royal Court, and Jane Bernstein's discussion of print culture and printing in Venice were essential reference tools for my research.[7] I also used the printed facsimile for my study of the format and layout of the Series.

There is considerable background information available on other Attaingnant publications, music printing, and the motet in the sixteenth century that served as the groundwork for my discussion of the printing, function, and genres of the motets in Attaingnant's Series. My work takes a different approach from previous scholarship by dealing with a much larger and well-defined repertoire, and by expanding the discussion of the French motet to include devotional and liturgical usage. I offer the first detailed

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[3] On Phalèse see GrovePhalèse. Both series are inventoried in MotetOD.

[4] MotEd; MotetFac. The Cornetto-Verlag facsimile is a reproduction of the copy held in Jena.

[5] <http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/hisbest/receive/HisBest_cbu_00019144>. The images of the Series in this dissertation were copied from the Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek website.

[6] < http://bsb-mdz12-spiegel.bsb.lrz.de/~db/0003/bsb00039849/images/>.

[7] HeartzCat; MotetOD; CazauxMusique; BernsteinJPrint.

analysis of the format and organisation of the Series, how the individual books are organised and designed, and how the complete series was made to fit and work together. I look at the history of the book, what the market for the Series would have been, and who would and did buy these books. I also provide the first comprehensive study of the text sources for the 281 motets in Attaingnant's Motet Series, and find connections between the texts and the liturgy, but also to other kinds of books, specifically Books of Hours, a connection that has never been examined for this important repertoire. I also use the results of my study of the complete series (format, rubrics, texts, design, and organisation) to discuss the issue of the function of the motet, an issue that has preoccupied modern scholars for some decades. I do not include a discussion of the music of the Series. This was largely accomplished by John Brobeck in his dissertation, and there is considerable literature that is already available on individual pieces by the more prominent composers of the Series.[8]

My dissertation is in two Parts. Part I (Chapters 1-3) provides the context in which the Motet Series was printed and a review of the literature on music at the French royal court. I look at the motet in sixteenth-century France, the development of music printing, and the four printed motet series before 1534. Additional literature reviews appear in Part II at the start of individual chapters. Part II (Chapters 4-8) contain my study of the Series itself, looking specifically at the format and organisation, the sixty composers and concordant sources for the 281 motets, the rubrics, the texts of the motets, and finally a discussion of the function of the motet.

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[8] Specific references are provided in the discussion of the composers in Appendix E.

Chapter 1 reviews the French royal court in the early sixteenth century, François I's interest in music, the role of music at the court, and the institutions that employed singers in Paris: the Royal Chapels, the Sainte-Chapelle du Palais, and Notre Dame de Paris. These institutions employed many of the composers featured in Attaingnant's Series and were the venues in which they composed and originally performed the motets. Both Heartz and Brobeck have shown that Attaingnant published music largely by composers who enjoyed royal patronage and worked directly for the French royal court or the Sainte-Chapelle du Palais. They proposed that Attaingnant's prints paralleled what was sung at court and, by extension, reflected the court's tastes and preferences, specifically those of François I.[9] Since it was the King who granted Attaingnant the privilege under which he printed and employed many of the composers featured in the Motet Series, a review of the King's interest in music and the locale in which the composers worked is important.

Chapter 2 provides background information on the motet as a genre of sixteenth-century polyphony in France and the early development of music printing, including the different methods used by Petrucci and Antico, and Attaingnant's innovative single-impression printing method.

Chapter 3 sets up the context for Attaingnant's Series by exploring the first four printed motet series produced by Petrucci, Antico, and Moderne, and the concordances between Attaingnant's Motet Series and that of his predecessors. It includes a comparative analysis of the format and layout of the four early series and demonstrates

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[9] HeartzCat, xix, 90-104; BrobeckDiss 364, 507; BrobeckPatronage, 187. Brobeck in particular accepts the thesis that Attaingnant's prints reflect the taste of the King. See BrobeckDiss, BroceckMusPat, and BrobeckLit.

that a small set of conventions evolved that were adopted by all three printers, but that many of the visual features of the printed motet series were still in a state of flux when Attaingnant began printing his books. The contents of the first four motet series are also examined, including two features of the texts of the motets that are also prominent in Attaingnant's books: inclusion of Marian texts, and the degree to which these printers included multiple settings of a single text in their books.

Chapter 4 introduces the Motet Series and features an analysis the format and layout of the fourteen books and the organisation of the books into two types of anthologies. My study reveals a remarkably standardised and unified approach to printing, one that placed a great deal of emphasis on visual unity and informative title pages. Book 14, the only single-composer book in the Series, with motets by Pierre de Manchicourt, is discussed in detail. I determine that, despite the fact that it appeared four years after the thirteenth book of the Series, and the tendency in modern scholarship to separate it from the rest of the Series, it was considered inextricably linked to the other books by Attaingnant.

Chapter 5 examines the distribution of the motets among the sixty named composers. I divide the composers into distinct groups, including one comprised of composers represented by many motets, and one with composers whose entire surviving motet outputs were printed in the Series. Through the concordant sources for the motets, I try to determine the path of the motets from composer to printer and in the process identify a large number of *unica* and motets that appeared in Attaingnant's Series for the first time, a fact that speaks to the printer's emphasis on offering his market new music.

Chapter 5 closes with a discussion of the market for Attaingnant's Motet Series, based on surviving copies of the Series and concordant sources for the motets.

Chapter 6 provides a study of one of the most innovative features of Attaingnant's Series, the use of rubrics (short Latin phrases) to describe the subjects of the motets and to suggest appropriate feasts for which they could be sung. These accompany more than three-quarters of the motets in the Series and come in different types: rubrics in the titles of books, or rubrics for individual motets. I explore the function of these rubrics in relation to rubrics found in liturgical and devotional sources and find that while they may appear limiting at first glance, they are more accurately understood as descriptive headings that Attaingnant used to inform and guide the singers.

Chapter 7 looks at the context in which the Motet Series would have been sold in Paris and the texts of the 281 motets. It begins with an investigation into the history of the book shop in the Rue de la Harpe through the life and career of Philippe Pigouchet, Attaingnant's father-in-law and the first owner of the shop. This is followed by a look at the shop under Attaingnant's ownership. I find that, in addition to the music books that Attaingnant was selling, there were also other types of books, and that these included two kinds of books related to motets: liturgical books (such as Antiphonals and Breviaries) and Books of Hours (private devotional books). I provide a brief overview of these two kinds of sources, and then turn to my study of the texts of the motets. I discuss three subgenres of the motet (settings of Magnificat, Psalm, and Great Marian Antiphon texts) that Attaingnant printed in separate books in the Series, and then examine the other genres from which the texts of the motets were drawn (i.e. Antiphons, prayers, etc.). The

study shows that a high proportion of the motets set texts that are found in more than one kind of source.

I then determine to what degree the texts of the motet were found in three principal kinds of sources: liturgical books, Books of Hours, and the Bible. I also discuss the motets whose texts fall outside of these sources, a group that includes motets with secular Latin texts, unidentified texts, and a small number of occasional motets, most referring to members of the French nobility. Finally, I situate the texts of Attaingnant's Motet Series within the context of the early printed motet series. I compare the degree to which Attaingnant included Marian texts and multiple-settings of the same texts to what we learned of the practices of Petrucci, Antico, and Moderne in Chapter 3.

In Chapter 8 reviews four theories about the function of the motet in the sixteenth century, and synthesises what we can learn from the rubrics and text sources of Attaingnant's Series, and from Attaingnant's terminology, about the function of this series and the motet in the sixteenth century. The results of my study of the texts and rubrics point to a flexible and multi-purpose function for the motet, one that allows for both liturgical and devotional uses, and that Attaingnant's approach to the organisation of his Series and his terminology reflect this function.

Part II is followed by extensive Appendices. In Appendix A, I include lists of the Marian motets in motet series printed before 1534 (Appendix A1) and in Attaingnant's Series (Appendix A2). Appendix B lists the *unica* in Attaingnant's Series, and Appendix C lists all foreign *cantus firmi* motets. Appendix D contains two tables: a Composer Table that lists all motets in the Series by composer, along with the known affiliations of the composers and their *unica* (Appendix D1) and a Motet Table that lists the pieces by

motet number (used in the various chapters and included in the other Appendices) and gives the number of voices, *partes*, and concordances for all motets (Appendix D2). Short discussions of select composers featured in Chapter 5 are provided in Appendix E1 and E2, and Appendix F lists the individual rubrics of the Series. Appendix G contains all of the results of my text sources study, ordered alphabetically by motet title. I also include a separate bibliography for polyphonic sources, and one for the sources of the texts of the motets. These tables will be invaluable resources for future research, providing a great deal of new information about the texts of these motets and their connection to the popular Book of Hours. The discussion of the Attaingnant Composers (Appendix E2) also provide some new information about less well-known composers featured in Attaingnant's Series, and the Composer and Motet Tables combine information from various unconnected sources and present it in a clear, comprehensive way. The bibliographies will also be useful for future research.

My focus in this dissertation is on the entire series, on the structure, format and contents of the books, and on the market for the Series and the function of the motet in France in the sixteenth century, as well as the relation of the Series to other printed books of the period, notably other printed motet series, and liturgical and devotional books, in order to situate the Series within the historical and social context of the printed book. While Attaingnant's chanson- and instrumental-music prints have received significant musicological attention in the past, scholarship on the Attaingnant Motet Series has been limited to a few studies, principally by Daniel Heartz and John Brobeck.[10] Heartz looked

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[10] See HeartzCat, HeartzGothic, HeartzGrove, HeartzNewAtt; BrobeckDiss, BrobeckLit, BrobeckClaudin, BrobeckPatronage, 225-227, 234-235.

at it in connection to Attaingnant as a printer and his typography; Brobeck looked at a number of pieces (47 motets) in his discussion of the function of the motet,[11] and at the works of a handful of composers in his study of the style of the motet at the French royal court in the sixteenth century.[12]

My dissertation draws on methodologies from the history of the book. It focuses on issues of organisation and layout, of markets and function. This follows the methodology of studies on music printing as used by Stanley Boorman, Mary S. Lewis, and Jane A. Bernstein in their respective studies of Italian music printers, dealing, however, with a single printed collection rather than the entire printed output of a single printer.[13] The importance of Attaingnant's Motet Series is twofold: it was the largest series of its kind at the time of printing, and thirteen volumes were printed in a single year. It is also one of the few French sources of polyphony that survives from the early sixteenth century.

In the end, what we find is a series designed to work together in a way that differed from previous printed motet series, and that was meant to be recognised as a single product: a series designed to be user-friendly and informative; a series that included old and new composers, from the famous to the unknown; in which were found motets on texts found in many different kinds of books; and that included all kinds of sacred Latin-texted music outside of the Mass. A series best understood as an encyclopedia of sacred music.

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[11] BrobeckLit.
[12] BrobeckDiss.
[13] See BoormanCat, LewisGardano, and BernsteinJScotto.

Part I

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF ATTAINGNANT'S MOTET SERIES

CHAPTER 1
FRANÇOIS I AND MUSIC AT THE FRENCH ROYAL COURT

FRANÇOIS I: RENAISSANCE KING

In the sixteenth century, Paris became the undisputed capital of France, the principal seat of the monarchy, and the new capital of printing in Europe;[1] French was declared the official language of the kingdom (supplanting Latin in the official records),[2] and the Collège de France (also called the Collège des Trois Langues) and the Royal Library were founded. All of these changes occurred during the reign of the so called First Renaissance King, François I (1494-1547).[3] Lauded as the "Père et Restaurateur des lettres et des arts," François I undertook a massive role as patron of letters and arts, forming four *regius* chairs of Greek, Hebrew and Latin at the new College,[4] acquiring many new works of art, drawing artists and men of letters to his court, including Leonardo da Vinci, and overseeing a rebirth in French architecture featured in the construction of many new crown buildings and the renovation of existing ones, such as the Louvre.[5]

François I's reign was also marked by religious conflicts and reforms. The beginning of his reign saw the rise of the Reformation in France, led by "le group de

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[1] HeartzCat, xvii. For a detailed discussion of these issues, see KnechtWarrior (especially Chapter 2, pages 19-41).
[2] KnechtFrancis, 32; 358.
[3] On François I, see the definitive study by R. J. Knecht, *Francis I*, and the revised edition, *Renaissance Warrior and King*. See also KnechtFrenchCourt.
[4] KnechtWarrior, 152-153.
[5] KnechtFrancis, 253.

Meaux," a movement supported at court by François I's sister Marguerite de Navarre.[6]

François I was initially tolerant of these new ideas, as were many in his entourage, and his own valet, the poet Clement Marot, translated the Psalms into French. After *l'affaire des placards* on October 18, 1534, however, his tolerance faded and organised repression of the Reform movement increased over the next years.[7] François I was the Très Chrétien Roy, and as the head of the Catholic Church in France he held considerable sway over the French clergy.[8] The terms of the Concordat that François I signed with Pope Leo X in 1515 stipulated that the King named the high clergy of France.[9]

The feature that truly distinguished François I from his predecessors was the extent to which he increased the visibility of the crown's power and influence, which he achieved through control of the printing press and the expansion of his court. The first years of François I's reign coincided with the flourishing of printing and humanism in France, and saw the assignment by the King of a new position designated *imprimeur du roi* (King's Printer), later followed by King's Printer of Greek, of Hebrew and Latin, and of Music.[10] François I was also concerned with expanding the Royal library, and sent his agents into Italy and Eastern Europe in search of new manuscripts.[11] In 1537, he signed the Ordonnance de Montpellier, which stipulated that a copy of all books to be sold in

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[6] CazauxMusique, 33. For a detailed discussion of François I and the protestant movement, see KnechtWarrior.

[7] KnechtWarrior, 305.

[8] KnechtWarrior, 90.

[9] KnechtWarrior, 94.

[10] HeartzCat, 88. The details of Attaingnant's elevation to the position of King's Printer are discussed by Heartz.

[11] KnechtWarrior, 471-472. The King's library had relatively few prints before the Ordinance de Montpellier, signed in 1537 (KnechtWarrior, 473).

France should be given to his library,[12] a clause also included in the documents naming the King's Printers.[13]

The court, like the Library and College, was also expanded and turned into an extension of Francois I's power.[14] As Christelle Cazaux states

> François Ier voulut faire de sa cour un instrument privilégié de son pouvoir. Par son importance et par son éclat, celle-ci devait être la manifestation visible de sa puissance...Tout au long du règne, la cour ne cessa de s'amplifier, de s'organiser, de se doter d'une étiquette de plus en plus perfectionnée.[15]

One of the ways for the King to perfect the extension of his influence was through the musical establishments of the court, and the many changes that he made to the organisation of his musicians.

MUSIC PATRONAGE AT THE FRENCH ROYAL COURT IN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY

François I and Music

The attention that François I gave to the musical establishments of his court suggests that he understood the importance of the role that music could play in adding to the prestige of his court and political image.[16] François I, in addition to his role as patron of letters and arts, was a poet, however, the extent of the King's personal taste for music

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[12] KnechtWarrior, 473. On François I and his court, see KnechtWarrior, KnechtFrancis, KnechtFrenchCourt, LecoqFrançois, and more recently, Petey-GirardSceptre.

[13] HeartzCat, 88.

[14] KnechtWarrior, 118. Knecht notes that the size of Francois I's court was twice as large as that of his predecessors.

[15] CazauxMusique, 29.

[16] Cazaux discusses the great expansion of the *écurie* and *chambre*, and the fact that François I sometimes sent members of his *Chapelle de musique* to perform at important political functions outside France, even when he was not himself in attendance (CazauxMusique, 57).

is unclear. No evidence survives of a preference for music, as we have for his fondness

for letters and philosophy from ambassadorial letters,[17] though evidence does exists

pertaining to the musical tastes and abilities of François I's contemporaries Pope Leo X,

Pope Clement VII, Emperor Charles V and his sister Eleanore (second wife of François

I), and Henry VIII of England.[18] In fact, the only evidence that survives pertaining to

François I's personal taste for music is a letter from the singer Jean Michel to his patron,

the Duke of Ferrara, in which Michel reported on the French court, and stated that the

King "non gusta la musica come el Re passato."[19] Unlike his Habsburg counterpart

Charles V, François I does not appear to have had any musical training as a child, though

he certainly heard music when he came to Louis XII's court as a young man.[20]

Other Music Patrons at the Court of François I

How far François I may have influenced the developments of music at his court

cannot be determined, but it seems doubtful that he took an active role in the development

of a royal style, or that his influence was more than that of any other patron: providing

financial stability and, through his political connections, an environment conducive to the

exchange of ideas and the creation of new works of art without direct control over the

evolution of that art.[21]

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[17] CazauxMusique, 54.

[18] CazauxMusique, 55.

[19] LockwoodMouton, 204. "Does not enjoy music as much as the past King." Lockwood includes a full transcription of the letter. The dedication to the 1555 print of Mouton's motets (M 4017) states that Mouton's voice and works pleased François I (LesureMouton, 178). Given that the source of this information is a dedication written by the printers, it should not be taken as evidence of the King's taste.

[20] CazauxMusique, 56.

[21] FreedmanDiss, 476. For a contrasting view, as concerns François I's influence on Claudin, see BrobeckDiss (553-554).

Despite the fact that there does not seem to have been any formal education in music for the children of the royal family during François I's reign (as there was at Charles V's court), the influence of the people in François I's family and immediate circle on the musical life at the court should not be underestimated.[22] Queen Anne was particularly fond of music, and her daughter Claude, first wife of François I, must surely have received some musical education.[23] Though most records of her household have been lost, she did employ several musicians, including the organist Pierre Mouton, who had previously served both Anne and François I.[24]

François I's second wife, Eleanore of Habsburg was also well versed in music, having received lessons as a child from the organist at the court of her father, Philippe le Beau.[25] As Queen of France from 1530 to 1547 she maintained her own chapel, with at least four singers, some of whom eventually transferred to the *Chapelle de musique*.[26] Though not wielding any political power in France, she was tied to the court from 1526 when her engagement to François I was formed, and her arrival at the French royal court predates the official formation of the new *Chapelle de plain-chant*, a tradition that also existed at her father's court. One wonders if the Queen, so often remaining at court when the King was absent, had any influence in the formation of a chapel responsible for the daily court services.[27]

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[22] CazauxMusique, 58.
[23] CazauxMusique, 58.
[24] CazauxMusique, 58.
[25] CazauxMusique, 60.
[26] CazauxMusique, 60.
[27] There is no evidence to suggest Eleanore had any influence on the formation of the chapel, outside of the fact that she arrived before it was officially established, and her exposure to a similar chapel at her father's court.

Another lady at the French court who no doubt had great interest in music and influence on the arts was Marguerite d'Angoulême (and Navarre past 1527), François I's sister. She attracted many poets and men of letters to her entourage, both at the French court, and later at her own court.[28] An active patron, she promoted the singing of the Psalms in French.[29]

Of François I's sons, Charles, Duke of Orleans, seems to have been particularly interested in music. He formed his own "musique de la Chambre," which included singers and instrumentalists.[30] Henri II, future King of France, was also apparently fond of music, and was said to enjoy singing the Psalms in French to the accompaniment of various instruments including viols and flutes, as well as his own singers.[31]

Outside the royal family, two figures seem to have had a profound impact on the music and musicians of the court. The first was Cardinal François de Tournon, who was "maitre de la *Chapelle de musique*" after 1525 and archbishop of Bruges after 1530.[32] After the King, Tournon was the most powerful political figure in France.[33] No details survive on the exact duties that Tournon performed with respect to music, but his influence may be assessed from the dedication addressed to him by Attaingnant in his 1532 Mass volume, and the prominent place Tournon holds in the woodcut of the Court at

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[28] CazauxMusique, 60.
[29] CazauxMusique, 60.
[30] CazauxMusique, 61.
[31] CazauxMusique, 62. She quotes a passage from a letter to Catherine de Medici, Henri II's mother, from a servant of Marguerite de Navarre, with whom the prince was staying.
[32] CazauxMusique, 63-64. At this time, the Chapelle leadership was divided between the maitre, Tournon, and the sous-maitre, Sermisy, the latter responsible for the musical direction of the chapel. Prior to this, Longueval had served as sole *maître de la chapelle* (1514-1525).
[33] HeartzCat, 84.

Mass on the title page of the print.[34] The dedication of the Mass volume, addressed to

Tournon, also illustrates the cardinal's influence, as does the privilege granted to

Attaingnant in 1531 and reproduced in the Mass volume, which mentions first the King

and Tournon (the later referred to as Master of the Chapel) at the conclusion of the

privilege.[35] As Daniel Heartz stated, "Tournon's relations with the musical world had an

official basis. As the titular head of the Chapel Royal he was a figure whose good will

was essential for great undertakings in music."[36]

Furthermore, Tournon seems to have played a role in the international network of

musicians. When Jean Conseil came to France in 1528 to recruit singers for Pope

Clement VII, both the pope and the French court's pontifical legate turned to Tournon as

the person to speak to in musical matters.[37] Evidence of Tournon's personal appreciation

for music survives in additional dedications to the archbishop in music prints in the

1550s, and in a letter to the bishop of Dax, in which Tournon expresses his thanks for a

collection of music that the archbishop had requested and received.[38] The dedication in

Attaingnant's 1532 Mass volume also attests to Tournon's appreciations for music,

stating that he was a "most successful student of the art of music."[39]

Of near equal importance at the court, and a powerful patron of the arts, was the

cardinal Jean de Lorraine, brother of the Duke of Lorraine.[40] Involved in political

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[34] HeartzCat, 86.
[35] The dedication and privilege are reproduced in HeartzCat (Plates 9 and 10) and transcribed on pages 174-178.
[36] HeartzCat, 85.
[37] CazauxMusique, 64.
[38] CazauxMusique, 64
[39] HeartzCat, 85.
[40] On the musical establishment at the court of Lorraine, and its ties to the French royal court, see FreedmanDiss.

missions and a member of the Council of State from 1530 onwards, Jean de Lorraine was

by all accounts a highly cultivated man, familiar with men of letters of the day, and

keeping his own musicians.[41] Like Tournon, Jean de Lorraine figured in the publications

of Attaingnant. In the engraving on the cover of the Mass edition of 1532, Attaingnant

placed the cardinal at the King's right hand.[42] Despite the lack of documentary evidence

linking Jean de Lorraine with the official function of the musical establishments at the

French royal court, both Heartz and Cazaux suggest that the cardinal may have known

Attaingnant personally, as the printer's shop was close to the cardinal's lodgings at the

Hotel de Cluny.[43] This connection may have been the means by which Attaingnant

obtained copies of works by Lorraine court composers.

We can conclude then, as does Cazaux, that François I had an interested in music;

certainly his court was a centre of great musical activity, where music was enjoyed by

many of its most prominent figures, and the King would not have failed to recognise the

prestige that could be gained through his musical establishments and musicians.

MUSIC AT THE FRENCH ROYAL COURT AND OTHER PARISIAN INSTITUTIONS

The Musical Establishments of the French Royal Court

There were three musical establishments at the French royal court that solidified

into distinct institutions under François I. These were the *Écurie*, the *Chambre*, and the

Chapelle du roi (King's Chapel). The Royal Stable (*Écurie*) was comprised of

instrumentalists, such as trumpeters, drummers, and fife players, and originally served a

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[41] HeartzCat, 82-83.
[42] HeartzCat, 83.
[43] HeartzCat, 83; CazauxMusique, 65.

military function.[44] It evolved to play a ceremonial role, particularly in the various *entrées* that occurred in Paris and other cities in France in the early sixteenth century.[45] The role of musicians in the *Chambre* was less defined: both Charles VIII and Louis XII had several musicians as *valets de chambres*, including both instrumentalists and singers, though it was only during François I's reign that the *Chambre* was organised into a distinct instrumental and vocal ensemble.[46] The King's Chapel was the largest musical establishment at the court. It was composed of singers who provided music for the daily services, special feasts and occasions, and typically travelled with the King on diplomatic or military excursions.

The Chapels of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne

The King's Chapel saw great activity in the reigns of Charles VIII and Louis XII, and many of the features seen later in François I's chapel were established during the decades leading up to his reign. Although no documents from the King's Chapel itself survive from 1476 until 1518, a partial list of musicians from the period, as well as information on the patronage of François I's predecessors survives in various records.[47]

During the reign of Charles VIII, the King's Chapel was the centre of musical life at the court, providing music for the daily celebration of the divine offices and accompanying the King when he traveled.[48] One of the most significant changes to the

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[44] CazauxMusique, 43.
[45] On the music for these *entrée*, see BonimeEntrée.
[46] CazauxMusique, 44-46. The *chambre* would flourish in the 17th century.
[47] See in particular PerkinsPatronage on the chapel under Charles VII and Louis XI; BrenetMusique, on the chapel of Charles VIII and Louis XII; SherrMembership, BonimeDiss, BrobeckDiss, and CazauxMusique on the chapel under Louis XII and on the early years of François I's reign.
[48] CazauxMusique, 39.

musical life of the court that occurred under the next King, Louis XII, was the creation of

the Queen's Chapel, which came to rival the King's Chapel both in size and expertise.[49]

Anne de Bretagne, wife of Charles VIII and Louis XII, Queen of France and

Duchess of Brittany, formed her own chapel after her second marriage. She was active as

Duchess of Brittany, a title she had not been permitted to retain while married to Charles

VIII, but which she reclaimed after his death, and it was likely as an extension of her

power as Duchess that she established and maintained her own chapel.[50] Both Louis XII

and Anne de Bretagne were fond of music and recruited musicians to their service, but the

Queen in particular seems to have had an interest in music, rewarding her singers

generously, and even rewarding musicians of other courts who performed for her.[51] She

gave valuable benefices from her own hereditary lands to her singers, notably Richafort,

Divitis and Sermisy, whose benefices were worth an excess of 100 ducats each.[52]

Anne's chapel was larger than Louis XII's, totaling at least 16 singers from 1510-

1514. Among them were the most prominent composers of the post-Josquin generation:

Mouton, Richafort, Divitis, and Sermisy.[53] The fact that her singers were so well

rewarded (in contrast to the King's singers) may very well have been a result of her well-

known appreciation for music.[54] Indeed, the fact that she employed the majority of the

most prominent composers of the early sixteenth century may, as Sherr proposed, "place

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[49] SherrMemebership, 79.
[50] SherrMembership, 79.
[51] CazauxMusique, 38.
[52] SherrMembership, 80. This was also a practice of the King, who gave benefices in his hereditary lands of Tours, Blois and Amboise to several of his singers.
[53] SherrMembership, 79.
[54] SherrMembership, 80.

her closer to the development of the new imitative style" cultivated at the court during her reign as Queen, and that continued to flourish under François I.[55]

Despite the generosity shown to singers of the two royal chapels (especially by Anne), many singers at the end of the fifteenth century and into the 1520s moved from court to court with apparent ease, motivated in part by the high demand for French singers outside of France.[56] There were, however, singers who spent their careers at a single court, notably Antoine de Longueval, who served the French Royal Chapel from the time of Charles VIII until 1523,[57] and Claudin de Sermisy, who spent his career at the court and served three French Kings: Louis XII, François I, and Henry II.[58]

Throughout these reigns "princes" traveled with their chapels to other courts, or received musicians from other courts for short periods of time.[59] This resulted in a vast network of musical connections, one that influenced music and musicians in both France and Italy. As Cazaux states, "François Ier hérita de l'époque de Charles VIII et de Louis XII une vie musicale qui, loin d'être cloisonnée, prenait place dans un ensemble géographique plus vaste."[60] As an example, Jean Conseil, who was attached to the Papal Chapel all his life, visited France several times between 1525 and 1528.[61] His music was printed by Attaingnant, and it was no doubt known at the royal court.[62]

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[55] SherrMembership, 80.
[56] CazauxMusique, 40-43. She discusses Josquin as an extreme case, however, her discussion is based on the older version of Josquin's biography (pre 2001), and much of her information is now inaccurate.
[57] CazauxMusique, 42-43.
[58] On Claudin de Sermisy, see GroveSermisy, and BrobeckDiss.
[59] CazauxMusique, 43.
[60] CazauxMusique, 43.
[61] On Conseil's travels and relation to France and the French singers, see LockwoodMouton.
[62] CazauxMusique, 43. Nine motets by Conseil appear in the Motet Series.

The *Chapelle du roi* of François I and the Role of Polyphony

After the death of Anne de Bretagne in 1514, her chapel was absorbed into the King's Chapel, bringing the total number of singers in the King's Chapel to 22 in 1515.[63] For the next ten to fifteen years, the Chapel was the only royal musical establishment of singers, and filled the regular musical requirements of the court, in particular the celebration of the daily offices.[64]

Sometime during the late 1520s and early 1530s, a new chapel was created at the court, one designated the *Chapelle de plain-chant*.[65] It first appeared in the court documents dated 1533 as the "newly created chapelle," though seven of the singers listed as part of the new chapel in 1533 had been in the King's service as early as 1525.[66] This has led modern scholars to theorise that the "new" plainchant chapel may have been a feature of the court for some time, though not officially established until the early 1530s.[67]

This new chapel was much more modest than the King's Chapel, now called the *Chapelle de musique*. It numbered only twelve or thirteen singers whose status was more constrained, and whose compensation was much less than that of the singers of the *Chapelle de musique,* and cost the crown a fifth of the annual expenditures of the bigger chapel.[68] While singers of the *Chapelle de musique* often did not reside at the court (for

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[63] SherrMembership, 79.
[64] BrobeckDiss, 7; CazauxMusique, 69.
[65] On the *Chapelle de plain-chant* see CazauxMusique and BrobeckDiss.
[66] CazauxMusique, 95-96. Among them, Cazaux lists Jaques Le Bel, Sermisy, Hector Boucher, dit L'Enfant. These latter two composers are featured in the Attaingnant Motet Series.
[67] CazauxMusique, 96. Brobeck comes to a similar conclusion in BrobeckDiss (20-53).
[68] CazauxMusique, 81-82. The wages of the plainchant singers were capped at 140L.t. per year in 1535, and 120L.t. in 1575. In contrast, the average wages for the singers of the *Chapelle de musique* in 1533 was 300L.t, some drawing up to 500L.t. per year, not including the benefices that they might obtain.

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example, those who held benefices at the Sainte-Chapelle resided at that institution),

singers of the new *Chapelle de plain-chant* were required to remain at the court, ever

ready to perform the daily offices.[69] The differences between the two chapels also

extended to their duties: the new chapel was responsible for the celebration *in plainchant*

of the daily services at the court, specifically the canonical hours, as well as Low and

High Mass,[70] and later assumed responsibility for the celebration of High Mass and

Vespers on annual feast days.[71] The *Chapelle de musique*, on the other hand, was

responsible for the singing of polyphony at various and unspecified occasions: its role

was less rigidly prescribed than the *Chapelle de plain-chant*, and the two appear to have

been strictly segregated,[72] with no evidence of movement from one chapel to the other as

had been the custom for the singers of the Queen and King's Chapels earlier in the

century, though they may have performed together on certain occasions.[73] This reinforces

the apparent distinction in function and ability that existed between the two chapels under

François I. In essence, "à un ensemble de musiciens 'professionnels' s'opposait un groupe

d'ecclésiastiques dont les compétences se limitaient à l'exécution des chants liturgiques

de l'Église catholique."[74]

    Indeed, the actual place of sacred polyphony at the court remains something of a

mystery. While the celebration of the offices was of great importance at the French royal

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[69] CazauxMusique, 96-97. The documents studied by Cazaux show that the plainchant singers could not come and go as they chose (a freedom enjoyed by the singers of the *Chapelle de musique*).

[70] CazauxMusique, 97. This is stated in the court documents of 1533 and 1535 (BNF ms. F10389, f. 2, DOC .3. and BNF ms. F2964, f. 43, DOC.4.) transcribed by Cazaux on pages 239 and 252 respectively.

[71] CazauxMusique, 98.

[72] CazauxMusique, 100.

[73] BrobeckDiss, 408. Brobeck suggests that the two choirs may have performed together particularly in those pieces where plain chant would alternate with polyphony.

[74] CazauxMusique, 100.

court, the King receiving his power from God, swearing to protect the Church and exemplify piety for his subjects, very little evidence survives that could shed light on the place of polyphony or the royal liturgical tradition under François I.[75] Daniel Heartz found a single account that speaks specifically about the court's liturgical tradition in a contemporary account of the King's court. [76] The *Discours de la court de François premier de ce noms*, written by Claude Chappuys, François I's librarian and *valet de chambre*, appeared in print in 1543. Dedicated to the King, it is a highly stylised narrative poem on the many aspects of the French royal court.[77] The influence of the artistic and commercial components of the *Discours* should be kept in mind when using the document as evidence of the state of affairs at the court (since it was obviously intended as more than an administrative *compte rendu* of the actual practices and habits of the King and court). However it does contain several references relevant to the liturgy and music at the court, and to the discussion of the place of music and motets.[78]

In the passage entitled "Le roy a la messe," Chappuys states that

1	C'est ou le Roy en faisant sacrifice	Le Roy a la messe
	De treschrestien, et y va par raison	
	Luy presenter l'hostie d'oraison:	
	En l'adorant non en obscurité	
5	Mais en esprit et pure verite,	
	Croyant de cueur et confessant de bouche	
	Car c'est trop peu si tou cela n'y touche	
	Ses heures porte ung Cardinal d'honneur	
	De tous aymé qu'on nomme le veneur	
10	Qui a chassé tout vice, et sans mespris	
	De la vertu le bon chemin a pris.	
	Le Roy ne fault ung seul jour d'ouyr messe,	

[75] CazauxMusique, 100.
[76] HeartzCat, 92.
[77] The lines are typically 10 syllables, with a paired rhyme scheme (aa, bb, cc, dd, etc.).
[78] I have kept the original spelling, but have used italics for several passages discussed below.

En confermant la creance et promesse
Faicte au baptesme, et depuys tant juree
15 Et par plusieurs sacrementz assuree   Chantres
Chantres y sont qui ont voix argentines
Psalmodiantz les louenges divines
Et de Davide recitantz les chansons
Avec motetz de diverse facon,
20 Soit de Claudin pere aux musiciens:
Ou de Sandrin esgal auz anciens,
Ainsi le Roy qui porte au Createur
L'honneur que doibt au maistre ung serviteur,
Recongnoist bien que dieu le faict regner,
25 *Craindre, obeir, et sur nous dominer,*
Baissant les yeulx se confessant fragile,   Le Sainct Evangile
Et quant ce vient qu'il baise levangile
Il monstre a tous qu'il faul entretenir
La verite, et sa foy maintenir.
30 Et tost apres qu'ant il va a l'offrande   Loffrande
C'est envers dieu recognoissance grande
Exemple a nous, qu'a luy sont tous les
   biens,
Spirituelz comme les terriens.[79]

    Three points in this passage have particular relevance to our discussion. The first

is that the King appears to have heard Mass every day (line 12: "The King does not go

one day without hearing Mass"). Since this document was printed in 1543, the daily Mass

would have been performed by the *Chapelle de plain-chant*.[80] Next, we learn of the

presence of singers (line 16: "Singers there are there who have silver voices"), who

intoned the divine devotions, and recited the songs of David, duties clearly assigned to the

Chapelle de plain-chant. The next lines (19-21: "With motets in diverse fashion, Either

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[79] ChappuysDiscours, folio 12-13. Italics are mine. The *Discours de la cour* has been digitised and can be found online on the website of the Bibliothèque nationale de France
<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k70314x> [accessed on July 19, 2012]. On Chappuys, see Louis P. Roche, *Claude Chappuys, ?-1575: poète de la cour de François Ier*. Paris: Les Belle-lettres, 1929. Cazaux incorrectly gives folio 16 as that part referring to the singers (CazauxMusique, 100 n199). It is in fact on folio 12v.

[80] Cazaux's search in the documents pertaining to the duties of the two chapels found that the daily Mass was performed only by the *Chapelle de plain-chant*, and that the two chapels would have performed together on special occasions only.

by Claudin father of musicians: Or by Sandrin the equal of the ancients") state that there were also motets, by Claudin or Sandrin, sung during Mass. According to the surviving documents that Cazaux examined, motets would not have been performed by the *Chapelle de plain-chant*. Presumably, these motets would have been sung by the singers of the *Chapelle de musique*. However, Cazaux found that Chappuys's assertions that motets were part of the regular services are contradicted by the documentary evidence that gave sole responsibility for daily offices to the *Chapelle de plain-chant*, and the preponderance of evidence that attests to the fact that the professional singers of the *Chapelle de musique* were not called on daily to perform their duties at court, and that, when all is considered, it is highly unlikely that the singing of the daily offices was "en musique."[81] Polyphony, however, may very well have been part of liturgical observances during the great feasts of the year, or the special occasions at court such as baptisms and political occasions, though not with the regularity suggested by Chappuys.[82]

The last lines of the excerpt of Chappuys's poem refer to the King's role as both servant of God (to whom he owes his power), and King's responsibility to lead by example. This duty may have been partly responsible for the creation of the *Chapelle de plain-chant*: a way of assuring that the daily offices received the appropriate solemnity by engaging trained singers for just that purpose.[83] The creation of a secondary, plainchant chapel was by no means an unprecedented move; Philippe le Beau had created a similar,

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[81] CazauxMusique, 100-101.
[82] Both Cazaux and Brobeck suggest possible liturgical uses for polyphony based on the motets in Attaingnant's Series. The function of the motet is discussed in Chapter 8.
[83] CazauxMusique 97-98. As Cazaux discusses, the daily offices would previously have been performed by the clerics "aumoniers and chapelains," but these clerics may have been more interested in the prestige of their positions. By creating this second chapel, François was assuring the quality of the daily services.

though significantly more modest chapel in 1497.[84] The new chapel would certainly have

regulated daily services at court and would have added to the prestige of the *Très*

Chrétien Roy.

Other Institutions in Paris

The singers in François I's chapels, especially in his *Chapelle de musique*, were

among the leading composers of their day. Musicians of the court were recruited from

other institutions, such as the great cathedrals of Rouen, Amiens, or the Sainte-Chapelle

in Paris, all having proven their worth prior to entering the court chapels.[85] The Sainte-

Chapelle in particular seems to have yielded a great many of its singers to the court, both

during the reign of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne (who spirited away a large number of

singers, and brought them to their own chapels in 1508) and during François I's reign.[86]

The Sainte-Chapelle prided itself on being "un corps musical d'élite":[87] it was the only

other institution in Paris to rival the King's Chapel in terms of the abilities of its singers,

and was often frequented by the King.[88]

The other great institution in Paris was Notre-Dame de Paris; however, it was

significantly less formidable than either the *Chapelle de musique* or the Sainte-Chapelle.

In his study of the musical tradition of the cathedral, Craig Wright noted that the

cathedral's singers appear to have been less well versed in the singing of polyphony than

those of the Sainte-Chapelle, the emphasis of the choir school being placed more heavily

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[84] CazauxMusique, 98.Cazaux points out that Philippe le Beau's second chapel was more limited in function than the French royal court's plainchant chapel.
[85] CazauxMusique, 81.
[86] BrenetMusique, 48-49; CazauxMusique, 80.
[87] CazauxMusique, 80.
[88] CazauxMusique, 80.

on plainchant-singing skills.[89] However, Notre-Dame was the site of many important ceremonies tied to the city and crown, and there are records that mention the singing of Masses "en musique" with organ accompaniment.[90] Additionally, Wright has traced a number of polyphonic works (motets) to composers at the cathedral that appear to have been composed for the singers of the cathedral.[91]

All of these institutions, the *Chapelle de musique*, the Sainte-Chapelle, and Notre-Dame, employed musicians who composed motets that were printed by Attaingnant in his Motet Series of the 1530s. These were the sites where many of the motets in the Series were composed and first performed. Both the French motet and French music printing evolved during the first decades of the sixteenth century. In light of this, the next chapter will review and discuss the evolution of the motet in sixteenth-century France, and the development of music printing.

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[89] WrightNotreDame, 221.
[90] CazauxMusique, 80.
[91] Some of these appear in the Attaingnant series, such as the motet by Pathie in Book 13.

CHAPTER 2

THE MOTET IN EARLY SIXTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE
AND SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MUSIC PRINTING

THE MOTET IN FRANCE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The motet, the preferred genre for sacred vocal polyphony of composers in the

sixteenth century, has long been vaguely defined, appearing under many different terms.[1]

For the renowned late fifteenth-century music theorist Johannes Tinctoris, a motet was "a

sacred composition of moderate length, to which words of any kind are set, but more

often those of a sacred nature," a genre situated between the Mass and the chanson,

neither high nor low.[2] To this we can add that in the sixteenth century, the motet was a

Latin-texted vocal work for three or more voices.

Julie Cumming, in her study of the fifteenth century motet, determined through

research of archival material, sources, and theoretical writings, that Tinctoris's rather

vague definition could be refined, and that the motet was a polyphonic vocal work that set

a Latin text, and was in a style that was more complex than polyphonic settings of Hymns

and Magnificats.[3] The motet was also distinguished by its flexibility of text and function,

as a genre "with no fixed subject matter and no prescribed liturgical position, which lies

in the middle of the genre hierarchy, and thus has a broad range of tone and style

height."[4] The flexible and ambiguous nature of the motet is epitomised in the extant

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[1] For example, the terms "motetus" "cantio sacra" and "modulus" are three terms used frequently in the sixteenth century to describe motets.
[2] Tinctoris, 42-43.
[3] CummJMot, 41-62.
[4] CummJMot, 60.

sources that survive from the fifteenth century: it appeared in sources containing Mass

settings, with liturgical music, and even alongside chansons, but in no source did it stand

alone.[5] The ambiguous nature of the motet has led to debate among scholars on the

function of the motet, and on classification of pieces as motets. In order to address these

issues, I first give a brief overview of the evolution of the motet from the end of the

fifteenth century to the mid-sixteenth century.[6]

The origins of the sixteenth century motet had its roots in the late fifteenth century

motet, and modern scholarship generally agrees that the central figure in the history of the

sixteenth-century motet was Josquin des Prez.[7] Josquin's motets feature all of the

compositional techniques that became standard for the genre, including use of successive

points of imitation, paired duos, contrasting textures and timbres, rhythmic variety, and,

above all, a sensitivity to the texts he set, a trait that marked his compositions.[8] More than

one hundred motets were attributed to Josquin,[9] which is more than his total Mass settings

or chanson output: clearly the genre of the motet played a central role in his oeuvre.[10]

The popularity of the motet in France can be attributed in part to the composer

Jean Mouton, one of the most prolific composers of the motet in the early sixteenth

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[5] CummJMot, 54. Of course, one must acknowledge the possibility that books devoted solely to motets existed and have simply not survived to the present day either in extant sources or in catalogues.
[6] The function of the motet is discussed in Chapter 8.
[7] This view is presented in the Grove Online article on the motet, (see GroveMotet), and is accepted as fact in the works of many other scholars writing on the topic of the motet in the sixteenth century (See NobleMot, MattMot). Jennifer Thomas determined through an extensive study of the motet repertoire that Josquin was in fact the central motet composer of the sixteenth century, and that his motets remained at the core of the motet repertory throughout the sixteenth century, though the music of many other composers was also greatly valued (ThomasDiss, 477-484).
[8] GroveMotet.
[9] See NJE and SherrJosquinComp for the current list of authentic compositions by Josquin des Prez.
[10] GroveJosquin. The Works section of the Grove Online article on Josquin lists 105 motets (along with an additional 120 motets that appear under his name but whose authenticity as Josquin motets have been challenged by modern scholars. This is in contrast to the smaller output of Masses (22 plus 9 Mass sections) and secular works (81 works).

century.[11] Mouton was tied to the French royal court for a significant portion of his career, first in the chapel of Queen Anne de Bretagne (possibly as early as 1502) and later as a member of the chapels of French Kings Louis XII and François I (from 1514-1522).[12] Though never appointed to the position of *maître de la Chapelle*, he appears to have served as the official court composer during François I's reign, producing several motets on political topics of the times and related to events at the French royal court.[13] Although he may not actually have been a student of Josquin's,[14] the two composers may have come into contact at the French royal court,[15] and Mouton may owe something to Josquin's influence, both in terms of style, and in the preference displayed by both composers for the motet as a "vehicle for musical expression," which in Mouton's case accounts for more than three-quarters of his surviving oeuvre.[16]

The text-driven style that other composers such as Févin, Richafort and Lhéritier also cultivated, what John Brobeck sees as the start of the French royal motet tradition, would dominate French motet composition for the first decades of the sixteenth century, especially the works of court singer and composer Claudin de Sermisy.[17]

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[11] ShineDiss, 3. Shine lists 112 motets, though the current Grove Online article on Mouton has the total at 100 motets. On the problem of attribution for Mouton's motets, and his motets in general, see ShineDiss, GroveMouton, BraasMouton, BrownMouton, and LowinskyMedCodex.

[12] GroveMouton.

[13] GroveMouton. The title of *maître de la chapelle* was held during this period by Antoine de Longueval (1515-1522).

[14] GroveMouton. Grove Online states that Pierre Ronsard names him as such in the year 1555, and Shine accepts this view in ShineDiss (19; 111), but that Lowinsky has challenged Ronsard's claim and has pointed out that the music of many other composers resembles Josquin's motets to a higher degree than Mouton's motets.

[15] The details of Josquin's biography are still somewhat unclear, especially with respect to his ties to the French royal court. See SherrJosquinComp and FallowsJosquin for the most recent biographies of the composer.

[16] ShineDiss, 111-112.

[17] On the style of the motet at the French royal court, and Sermisy in particular, see BrobeckDiss, BrobeckClaudin, and more recently, RifkinBlackHole.

Despite the apparent preference for this style of motet during Mouton's lifetime, a change in the motet repertoire at the French royal court after the death of Mouton in 1522 has long been acknowledged in modern scholarship, and until recently was attributed to the growing influence of the chanson, a genre that was highly cultivated during the reign of François I. François Lesure first advanced this theory of the "Parisian motet" in his publications on French music in the 1950s and 1960s.[18] However, based on an extensive analysis of works composed for the French royal court, or at least by composers working at the court during the reign of Louis XII and François I, Brobeck demonstrated that the change of repertoire, one that he characterised as a dramatic increase in homogeneity of style and not as a change of style per se, occurred principally as a result of the cultivation of the "courtly motet style" that began in the years of Mouton's service, and was propagated by the following generation of composers, most notably by Claudin de Sermisy. Brobeck argues persuasively that it was this trend, and Sermisy's dominance at the French Royal Chapel in the 1520s and 30s, which brought about the change in repertoire observed by Lesure.[19]

Claudin de Sermisy was arguably the most important composer of motets in Paris in the generation that followed Mouton.[20] Over seventy-five motets survive with attributions to him,[21] a number that far exceeds the motet output of his contemporaries in Paris, notably Pierre Certon, whose surviving motets number under forty, Richafort

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[18] In particular, see LesureMusique, LesureClaudin, and LesureFrance (listed in BrobeckDiss, 181). Brobeck discusses Lesure's theory throughout BrobeckDiss (see in particular pages 181-184).
[19] BrobeckDiss, 504-508. These pages summarise Brobeck's argument.
[20] BrobeckDiss, 54.
[21] GroveSermisy. The Works portion of the article lists 79 motets, some with conflicting attributions. On the likely hood of some of these attributions, see the discussion of Sermisy's motets in BrobeckDiss, 154-174.

whose total surviving motets number less than thirty-five,[22] and Lhéritier's extant output that currently stands at just over forty-five motets.[23] Though Sermisy's output was equaled by his French contemporary Pierre de Manchicourt,[24] at the French royal court, where Manchicourt did not work, Sermisy was clearly the dominant composer of motets during the 1530s and 1540s.

While Sermisy displayed a preference for setting Responsory texts and other texts with refrains,[25] a trend that became quite popular in the second half of the sixteenth century,[26] the texts chosen by other composers of the motet in the early sixteenth century were more diverse: Josquin and his contemporaries set a number of different genres of texts, including Psalms, Antiphons, prayers, and Gospel texts.[27] Many also set centonate texts (combinations of existing texts) or set new texts that commemorated important political events or personages (Mouton in particular wrote several "occasional motets").[28] All were Latin texts, but many can be found in a variety of sources, either liturgical or not.[29] These factors contributed to competing theories in modern scholarship on the

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[22] GroveRichafort lists 34 motets for Richafort.
[23] GroveLhérititer. 43 motets are listed in the works portion of the article.
[24] GroveManchicourt. Manchicourt worked in two cities in France (Tours and Arras), as well as Tournai in the Netherlands. He later held the position of master of the Flemish chapel at the court of Philippe II in Madrid (post 1559). The Works section lists some 72 motets.
[25] GroveSermisy; BrobeckDiss, 79. Brobeck notes that all but one of the forty-one free motets for four voices incorporates a refrain-like element, repeating music at the end of the piece from earlier in the motet.
[26] GroveResponsory. See also StrunkMotetTypes for a discussion of this type of setting.
[27] Sermisy also set these genres of texts. On Sermisy's motets, see BrobeckClaudin, and BrobeckDiss (54-180).
[28] For a discussion of Mouton's motets, see ShineDiss.
[29] See Chapter 7 of this dissertation for a discussion of the sources of the texts printed in Attaingnant's Motet Series.

function of the motet, meaning the context in which they were performed and the role they may have played in relation to the liturgy.[30]

The late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries saw a marked increase in production of motets, what Howard Mayer Brown referred to as a remarkable "explosion of activity" that occurred with the "Josquin generation" of composers after 1475.[31] This increase was the result of several factors. Brown linked it to a renewed emphasis on cathedrals and princely chapels at the turn of the century, which saw the founding of new establishments and the reorganising of existing ones.[32] Jennifer Thomas stated in her extensive study of the sixteenth century motet that the motet comprised "the largest repertory of extant music from the Renaissance, [and that] it reached a wide audience in performances for sacred, civic, state, and private occasions."[33] Her Motet Online Database lists over 50,000 records, totalling over 18,000 different motets found in print and manuscript anthologies.[34] Central to the repertoire are fifty-four motets that form the "core repertory," motets that appeared in twenty or more extant sources starting in the 1480s.[35] She concluded that the motet was universally appealing because it "transcends the barriers of vernacular language and speaks through texts often recognizable from a shared religious experience."[36]

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[30] Four of the theories are reviewed in Chapter 8 of this dissertation, and discussed with respect to the function of the motets printed in Attaingnant's Series.

[31] BrownMirror, 744. This idea is also stated by Atlas (AtlasRen, 269). Brown notes that many more motets survive from the last years of the fifteenth century than before 1475.

[32] BrownMirror, 744.

[33] ThomasDiss, 1-2.

[34] ThomasDiss, 478. Thomas's database however is limited to motet anthologies, and does not include single-composer motet prints. <http://www.arts.ufl.edu/motet/search.asp>

[35] ThomasDiss, 417. Thomas states that the core repertory motets account for 2,454 records out of 50,040. This core repertory will be discussed in greater detail in connection with the Attaingnant Motet Series (Chapter 5).

[36] ThomasDiss, 1.

One factor that surely had a profound impact on the dissemination and preservation of these motets, in addition to its transcendental quality and the developments proposed by Brown, was the advent of music printing, which dramatically increased the number of motet sources. In the fifteenth century motets circulated only in sources with other genres. However, at the turn of the sixteenth century, as more composers began to take an interest in the motet, the first production of a book devoted exclusively to motets appeared, and appeared in print, from the Venetian printing press of Ottaviano Petrucci.[37]

A BRIEF HISTORY OF MUSIC PRINTING IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Printing a Music Book

Prior to the late fifteenth century, the reproduction of a text, musical or otherwise, involved a long process of hand-copying performed by individual scribes. By the late fifteenth century printing had been adopted as a means of dissemination for many types of texts such as literature, scientific texts, and school primers (which were printed by the thousands).[38] The printer of music, however, still faced several challenges. Apart from the regular difficulties of aligning type and pressing each page of text, the printing of music required a different set of symbols in addition to those used in printing text, a problem complicated by the fact that music in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century could be notated in several different types of notation: white and black mensural notation, up to

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[37] RISM 1502[1].
[38] GrovePrinting.

three plainchant notations, as well as lute and keyboard tablatures.[39] One problem, however, loomed larger than all: as Jane Bernstein noted in her informative discussion of Venetian music printing, "the major obstacle facing the early music printer was how to align the music symbols on the lines and spaces of a fixed staff."[40] As a result, music printing developed at a much slower pace, and most music circulated primarily in handwritten form into the sixteenth century.[41]

The first printed books that contained music were liturgical volumes such as missals. For many of these fifteenth-century prints, only the staves and text were printed, with the musical notes added later to the manuscript by hand.[42] This type of book, along with treatises on music theory, contained a limited amount of music, which made the copying by hand of the music component more feasible than in books of polyphony. But the printers of these types of music incunabula soon solved the problem of printing music, and using one of two methods, a multiple impression process using movable type, or the use of woodblocks (the primary method for printing music in treatises in the late fifteenth century), they soon produced larger volumes of liturgical books featuring printed monophony.[43]

The process of printing by woodblocks naturally produced varied and limited results, as the process was both difficult and time-consuming. However by 1500, twelve works featuring music printed from woodblocks had been produced in Italy.[44] It was the multiple impression method, however, that was by far the most common, and in the last

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[39] BernsteinJPrint, 20.
[40] BernsteinJPrint, 20.
[41] GrovePrinting.
[42] BoormanPub, 226.
[43] BernsteinJPrint, 20.
[44] GrovePrinting. One of these, a Missal, contained 46 pages of music.

quarter of the fifteenth century, some sixty-six printers produced books for the liturgy in which both notes and staves were printed by multiple impressions.[45] The first liturgical book with music printed in this manner was the Gradual for Constance, ca. 1473, in which the staves and text were printed first, followed by the notes and clefs in the second impression.[46] These two processes continued to be used by printers into the sixteenth century, and were adopted by the first printers of polyphony, Ottaviano Petrucci, and Andrea Antico.[47]

Petrucci as Innovator: Movable Type and Printed Polyphony

The process of printing polyphonic music from movable type first used at the turn of the sixteenth century was essentially the same as that developed by Johann Gutenberg some fifty years earlier.[48] The process involved two stages: the type (individual pieces containing a single symbol—a letter or a note) was arranged in the proper order by a typesetter or compositor and placed into a set or "forme." The second stage involved applying ink to the arranged type and passing it through the press, which aligned the type with the paper.[49] For printing music, however, the process was longer and involved several more stages, since both music and text had to be printed on the same page. There were also notable differences in the amount of material that could be printed. Most printed music books produced in the first half of the sixteenth century contained five to six staves, so that even large volumes of music (such as Petrucci's first motet books) held

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[45] GrovePrinting. Boorman states that these printers were located in twenty-five cities and used a double-impression method.
[46] KingRast, 198.
[47] The motet anthologies of Petrucci and Antico are discussed in the following chapter.
[48] GrovePrinting.
[49] GrovePrinting.

only a fraction of the material that was printed in non-music books, such as classical texts.[50]

Petrucci was the first to use the multiple impression system used for printing polyphonic music.[51] His first book, *Harmonice musices Odhecaton A*,[52] appeared in 1501, and was remarkable for the precision with which Petrucci presented the notes on the staves, the elegance of the book (which conventionally was designed to resemble a manuscript), and for the size of the volume and the amount of music it contained, which easily surpassed earlier music prints.[53] Petrucci's method of printing at first required three impressions: first the staves, then the notes and finally the text. He later refined this method to two impressions, but the process continued to be time-consuming, labour-intensive, and costly.[54] This meant that the number of editions that could be produced by the press was limited, averaging one edition every two months,[55] and with print runs of about 300 copies.[56] This level of production was in sharp contrast to later printers such as the Venetian Gardano, whom Lewis has shown could produce two titles a month.[57]

Despite these limitations, Petrucci's achievement is undeniable: he successfully adapted printing by movable type to produce stunning books of polyphony, and ushered

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[50] BoormanPub, 225.
[51] On Petrucci, see the definitive study and catalogue by Stanley Boorman (BoormanCat). Petrucci and his two motet series are discussed in the next chapter.
[52] RISM 1501.
[53] BernsteinJPrint, 20.
[54] BernsteinJPrint, 21.
[55] BoormanPub, 226.
[56] BoormanCat, 366.
[57] LewisDiss, 160.

in a new era, one in which the amount of music produced was greater than had previously been possible.[58]

Antico: Printing From Woodblocks

Only a few years after Petrucci's press started to issue books of polyphony in Venice, a competitor appeared on the scene in Rome. Andrea Antico is generally acknowledged as Petrucci's only true competitor in the early years of music printing.[59] Unlike the Venetian printer, Antico adapted the technique of woodblocks (or xylographic method) for his music prints. The process involved cutting away the unnecessary parts of the wood, so that only the symbol (the staff and notes) would remain raised.[60] The woodblocks were then placed in the forme along with the movable type (used to produce the text) so that all the printed matter could be produced in a single-impression.[61] It was this method, more economical in terms of presswork than multiple impression printing, that permitted Antico to produce larger pressruns than Petrucci,[62] and more elaborate prints, such as the truly magnificent collection of Masses *Liber quindecim missarum,*[63] a book on a much larger scale than those printed by Petrucci and featuring stunning woodcut illuminations.[64] Despite the fact that this process required only one impression, and that the woodblocks could be reused after the initial impression for later editions (a

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[58] GrovePrinting.
[59] On Antico see the definitive study by Catherine Chapman (ChapmanDiss). Antico and his motet series are discussed in the next chapter.
[60] GrovePrinting.
[61] BernsteinJPrint, 21.
[62] BernsteinJPrint, 21; 75. Bernstein notes that the contract for the printing of the *Liber quindecim missarum* called for a pressrun of 1008 copies.
[63] RISM 1516[1].
[64] GrovePrinting.

feature not available in multiple impression printing), the time it took to carve the blocks

actually appears to have made this technique more expensive than the multiple impression

method used by Petrucci.[65] This may account in part for the fact that, with the exception

of Antico's remarkable editions, few books of music (besides treatises) were produced

from woodblocks after 1500.[66]

Despite the success of these two printers, music printing, that is, the printing of

polyphony, was a "minor part of the total printed 'output' of the early sixteenth

century,"[67] and was dominated by Petrucci and Antico well into the 1520s when,

Boorman states, a new method of printing music by single-impression, "opened the field

to many more printers—partly by cutting radically the time involved in setting and

printing music, and partly by allowing the use of typesetters less highly skilled in

music."[68]

Single Impression Printing: Rastell and Attaingnant

Single-impression printing, the process in which the staves and notes were cast

together on a single piece of type, and in which the music and text were printed

simultaneously, was first used to print polyphony as early as 1519 in London, by the

English printer John Rastell.[69] Little is known about Rastell's success at printing by single

impression, or where he might have obtained the type, although A. Hyatt King argues

that, as Rastell was not a type-caster himself, and it is doubtful that his workmen had the

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[65] BernsteinJPrint, 21.
[66] GrovePrinting.
[67] BoormanPub, 224.
[68] BoormanPub, 224.
[69] KingRast, 213. The evidence for this date is discussed at length by King.

necessary skill, Rastell must have obtained the type from somewhere in Europe during his travels.[70] Rastell may thus be seen as the first printer to use the single impression method; however it was a Frenchman who refined the process and used it to "propel music printing into a moneymaking enterprise."[71]

Pierre Attaingnant was arguably the first and most important printer of polyphonic music in France, and the first printer to hold the coveted title of Royal Printer of Music.[72] He produced some 165 prints containing Masses, chansons, instrumental music, and motets.[73] Little is known about Attaingnant before he inherited a printing business and shop from his father-in law, French printer Philippe Pigouchet, around 1514,[74] although Daniel Heartz suggested that Attaingnant was an apprentice in Pigouchet's Parisian shop for several years before he married Pigouchet's daughter Claude.[75] While no music prints survive from the shop between 1514 and 1525, Heartz has speculated that Attaingnant may have spent those years refining his printing and engraving methods on liturgical books (such as the surviving printed Breviary of 1525).[76]

French motet printing may have been already underway in France in the 1520s before Attaingnant's printing press began to produce books of polyphony in 1528. Samuel Pogue suggested that the earliest printing of motets in France occurred in Lyons, and that Attaingnant had several predecessors in that city, notably the prominent printer

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[70] KingRast, 213.
[71] BernsteinJPrint, 21.
[72] On Attaingnant, see the definitive study by Daniel Heartz in HeartzCat.
[73] HeartzCat, 210-377. Heartz lists 165 individual music titles in his catalogue.
[74] HeartzCat, 36.
[75] HeartzCat, 36-37. This is discussed in Chapter 7.
[76] HeartzCat, 57-58. Heartz describes the Breviary (for use of Noyon) in HeartzCat (211) as a single volume, measuring 9x14.5 cm, in sextodecimo format. This is considerably smaller than the quarto format of the Motet Series books that measured 20.5x16cm, but close to the motet anthologies of Antico printed before 1534, which were 16x11 cm.

Jacques Moderne.[77] Indeed, the first books of Moderne's printed motet series, the *Motteti del fiore*, appeared in 1532, two years before Attaingnant released the first book in his monumental Motet Series (Attaingnant had, however, produced individual motet books before this time).[78] Pogue goes on to suggest that printers in Lyons were producing books of polyphony (and, more important to our discussion, motet books) as early as 1525. This would position Moderne as the first printer of polyphony in France.

The recent discovery by Frank Dobbins of a complete copy of Attaingnant's earliest polyphonic motet print, *Chansons et motetz en Canon a quatre parties sur deux* may affect Pogue's theory.[79] The absence of a date on Attaingnant's book means that the question of whether this was Attaingnant's first book of polyphony remains open. The presence of a Maltese cross on the print that matches those used in the Attaingnant Breviary of 1525 led Dobbins to conclude that the *Chanson et motetz en Canon* might indeed be Attaingnant's first book of polyphony using the single impression method, and that it may have been printed as early as 1525.[80] Since no definitive date can be determined without further evidence, we cannot positively assert which of the two printers, Moderne or Attaingnant, first printed polyphony in France, but we do know that

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[77] PoguePrint, 54. On Moderne, the definitive study by Samuel Pogue in PogueMod, as well as DuchampDiss. Moderne and his motet series are discussed in the next chapter.

[78] HeartzCat, 212, 222-224. Heartz lists four motet prints that appeared from Attaingnant's press prior to the 1534-39 series: a fragment of a book of motets and chansons; *Motetz nouvellement composez* (RISM 1528[2]); *XII Motetz a quatre et cinq voix* (RISM 1529[1]); and a lost book of Jannequin motets, dated 1533. There was also one book of motets in tablature, *Treze Motetz musicaulx* (RISM 1531[5]).

[79] This new discovery and the information about the print has been published online by the Équipe Musiques Anciennes based at the Université de Montréal, headed by Frank Dobbins, Marie-Alexis Colin and Patrice Nicolas. DobbMot: <http://www.oicrm.umontreal.ca/LMHS/chansons-et-motetz/en/index.php>.

[80] DobbMot. Dobbins dates the print to ca. 1525. Heartz, working with only a few leaves of the book in 1969 dated the print to the early 1520s (HeartzNewAtt, 21) and later refined the date to ca. 1528 (HeartzCat, 212), based on the older style of music (canonic motets that were in vogue prior to 1520 versus the more modern homophonic chanson style of the 1520s and 1530s) and its relation to a print by Antico (see Chapter 3).

Attaingnant was the first of the two to employ the single impression method, which he claims to have invented, a claim supported by the fact that Attaingnant may very well have designed and engraved the type for his press himself.[81]

The impact of the single impression method on the music printing industry cannot be overstated. For more than thirty years, music printing, that is, successful music printing, had been dominated by a few printers: Petrucci and Antico in Italy, the partnership of Grimm and Wyrsung in Germany, and Attaingnant and Moderne in France. However, the geography of the industry changed during the late 1530s and early 1540s, when more and more printers adopted the single impression method.[82] While the process produced a book that was aesthetically inferior to the books produced by Petrucci and Antico,[83] it permitted printers to produce music books "more cheaply, more quickly, and in greater quantity than hitherto imagined."[84]

According to Bernstein, the new method ushered in a new era for printing, what she has termed the "commercial period."[85] This era saw the rise of Venice as the premier music printing city, and the establishment of the Scotto and Gardano firms as the two most productive music printers. These two firms would dominate music printing for the

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[81] HeartzCat, 56-60. Attaingnant's claim is as inventor of this type of printing in France. The claim is printed in the privilege that Attaingnant received from the King in 1531. See also HeartzNewAtt and KingRast for a discussion of this claim and the privilege. Moderne first used the single-impression method in 1532.
[82] BernsteinJPrint, 22.
[83] BernsteinJPrint, 22. The process of lining up the pieces of note-and-staff type can leave gaps in the staff line, a flaw not found in the Petrucci or Antico books where the staff line was printed in its entirety.
[84] BernsteinJPrint, 22.
[85] BernsteinJPrint, 22.

next thirty years, and produce some 850 editions of music, a total that exceeded the

combined efforts of all previous music printing presses in Europe.[86]

Stanley Boorman showed that the same period that witnessed the change from the

"golden age of music printing"[87] to the commercial age, also saw a change in the types of

material that were being printed, in the rise of the importance of the composer, and his

increasing role in the printing process, especially in the Republic of Venice.[88] In terms of

the music, there was a shift in the types of printed music books from the anthologies that

dominated the pre-1540s period, to the emphasis on single-composer prints that began in

1539, and would eventually dominate music prints for the rest of the century.[89] This

change is exemplified in the Attaingnant Motet Series: the thirteen books printed from

1534-1535 were all anthologies, while the fourteenth book printed in 1539 was

Attaingnant's first single-composer motet print.[90]

These changes occurred at a time when the printed music market changed, in both

size and make-up, "from professional to mixed professional and secular."[91] Boorman also

noted changes in the activities of the printer, from those "typical of a musical scribe" who

presented their own version of a work, such as Petrucci and Antico, to "those typical of a

humanist printer,"[92] such as Gardano and Scotto, who were increasingly trying to

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[86] BernsteinJPrint, 22.
[87] BernsteinJSalamander, 484-485.
[88] BoormanPub, 234-235.
[89] BoormanPub, 236.
[90] The 1539 print of Manchicourt motets (Book 14 of the Motet Series) is the earliest extant single-composer print from Attaingnant's press. As mentioned above, Attaingnant appears to have produced a book of Jannequin motets in 1533 (see HeartzCat, 253).
[91] BoormanPub, 236.
[92] BoormanPub, 236. The "humanist printer" according to Boorman would have been one interested in preserving the original text, rather than one who would present the public with his own reading (as a scribe notating *ficta* and other performance components was essentially presenting).

preserve an authentic text, and possibly working in tandem with the composer.[93] This latter approach by the printer would have been possible only through direct contact with the composer, a fact that was unlikely in the early years of the sixteenth century, even for printers of music, but which, as several scholars have shown, became more likely around this period of change and into the later sixteenth century.[94]

Attaingnant seems to have had one foot firmly in each period, belonging both to the golden age and to the more commercial era, acting as scribe in his anthologies, and working with the circle of composers in Paris in his single-composer prints.[95]

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[93] BoormanPub, 236. On the role of the composer in the printing process, see BoormanPub, 234-237; BernsteinJPrint, 99-114; HeartzCat, 90-104.

[94] Bernstein and Boorman discuss this relationship in relation to Venice (see BernsteinJPrint, BernsteinJSalamander, and BoormanPub), Heartz and Brobeck discuss the relationship of Attaingnant and his composers, particularly Sermisy (see HeartzCat, BrobeckDiss, and BrobeckClaudin), and Pogue discusses the relationship of Moderne and the composer Layolle (see PogueMod).

[95] I discuss what may be called "scribal activities" in Chapters 4 and 6, most notably in connection to making the Series universally practical. In 1542 Attaingnant produced three single-composer motet prints with works by composers Sermisy (S 2818), Certon (C 1707), Lupi (L 3089). Both Sermisy and Certon were working in Paris at the time, though Lupi died in Cambrai in 1539 and had no apparent contact with Paris or Attaingnant.

CHAPTER 3

PREDECESSORS OF THE ATTAINGNANT MOTET SERIES:
THE MOTET SERIES OF PETRUCCI, ANTICO, AND MODERNE

Before Attaingnant, only three printers produced a series of motet prints. Each was a prolific printer of music who must have responded to a demand for such a collection. Between them, Petrucci, Antico and Moderne printed four motet series and more than 400 motets in sixteen books before 1534.[1] How were these series related, and what influence could they have had on Attaingnant's market and own publications? This chapter offers a comparison of the four motet series that may be seen as predecessors to the Attaingnant Series, and I will argue that there existed a shared motet repertoire, a set of conventions for the motet series prior to 1534, and a standard format that had undergone substantial refinement before Attaingnant appeared on the scene.

Attaingnant and Other Printers of Motets

The most recent scholarship on Attaingnant's motet printing has revolved around the re-discovery of Attaingnant's first book of polyphony, *Chansons et motetz en Canon a quatre parties sur deux*.[2] When Daniel Heartz compiled his study of Attaingnant in 1969, all that remained of this first book of polyphony were a few leaves numbered 41-44 (since folios 1-40 had been lost), but he theorised that the contents and format were almost

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[1] This total includes reprints of the same motets throughout the four series.
[2] DobbMot. Information about the print and this new discovery has been published online by the Équipe Musiques Anciennes based at the Université de Montréal, headed by Frank Dobbins, Marie-Alexis Colin and Patrice Nicolas.

certainly copied from an Antico print of 1520.[3] Frank Dobbins's discovery of a complete

copy of the book confirmed that the pieces in Attaingnant's print were in fact taken

mostly from Antico's print *Motetti novi et chanzoni francoise a quatro sopra doi* printed

in Venice in 1520.[4] Attaingnant thus copied the content and format for his print from

Antico, but re-organized the order of the motets and chansons and added several pieces.[5]

The copying and re-ordering of the original Antico print by Attaingnant raises a

number of questions concerning what may be called the "editorial" aspect of

Attaingnant's prints, specifically, the ordering of pieces within a book, the format and

layout of the books, the text genres and text sources of the motets, and the choice of older

versus newer motets. This is an aspect that has received very little scholarly attention

where Attaingnant's motet prints are concerned, but which, as shown in the *Chansons et*

Motetz en Canon print, and in the literature on Attaingnant's chanson prints and

anthologies,[6] was clearly a concern for the Royal Printer of Music, and will be a central

part of my study of the 1530s Motet Series.

As Jane Bernstein noted in her study of Venetian music printing in the sixteenth

century, there existed a practice among music printers of reprinting previously-published

works.[7] These reprints were a safe financial venture for the music printer: by choosing

works that had sold in the past, he was counting on the saleability of the work.[8] This can

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[3] HeartzCat, 212.
[4] RISM 1520[3].
[5] For a complete list of pieces and transcriptions of the motets in *Chansons et motetz*, see DobbMot.
[6] On Attaingnant's chanson anthologies see AdamsChan, BernsteinLChanson, BernsteinLGeneric, BernsteinLMelodic, BernsteinLOrigin, BrownGenesis and BrownMode.
[7] BernsteinJPrint, 151.
[8] BernsteinJPrint, 150.

also apply to reprints of the same text, independent of the musical setting or composer.[9]

We find a great many parallel settings of certain genres of texts (notably prayers and

Antiphons) in the shared motet repertoire of early sixteenth-century printers, often within

the individual repertoires as well. For example, the first printed motet series produced by

Petrucci in the first decade of the sixteenth century (Motetti A to V) includes eight

settings of texts from the "Ave Maria gratia plena" family of prayers, and five settings of

"Inviolata integra."[10] The fact that the texts which appear with the most frequency are

Marian is not surprising, given the emphasis on all things Marian that swept through

Western Europe in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[11]

In light of this shared repertoire, and of Attaingnant's apparent reliance on a

previously existing printed source for his first book of polyphony, it is important to

examine the various approaches to motet printing used by early sixteenth-century printers,

specifically in terms of content, organisation and format. This will then allow us to situate

Attaingnant's Motet Series within the existing motet series tradition and examine the

1534-1539 Series within that context. Table 3.1 outlines the four series printed by

Petrucci, Antico, and Moderne, and the motet books printed by Attaingnant before

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[9] DrakeMotB, 10.

[10] The inclusion of the different "Ave Maria" text is discussed later in this chapter, as is the use of the "Ave Maria" texts as a marketing tool. See Appendix A1 for a list of the "Ave Maria" and "Inviolata integra" settings that appear in the motet series of Petrucci, Antico and Moderne, as well as other texts that appear more than once in these prints. On the origins of the Ave Maria texts, see FreemanAveMaria, and HatterThesis.

[11] See HatterThesis for more on this topic and the use of Marian texts in Petrucci's early Venetian prints.

1534.[12] It lists the individual books, the number of pieces per book, and the number of

concordances with Attaingnant's Series.[13]

Table 3.1: Motet Series Printed by Petrucci, Antico, Moderne, and Attaingnant from 1502-1532

Printer	Series	Individual Book Titles (RISM)	Date on Print/RISM	Number of Motets	Number of Concordances with Attaingnant's 1534-39 Series
Petrucci	Venetian Series	*Motetti A*	1502[1]	33	0
		Motetti B	1503[1]	34	0
		Motetti C	1504[1]	42	0
		Motetti libro quarto	1505[2]	55	0
		Motetti a cinque libro primo	1508[1]	19	0
		Five Books	**1502-1508**	**183**	**0**
	Motetti de la corona	*Libro primo*	1514[1]	26	3
		libro secondo	1519[1]	25	5
		Libro tertio	1519[2]	16	1
		Libro quarto	1519[3]	16	1
		Four Books	**1514-1519**	**83**	**10**
Antico	Motetti	*libro primo*	1521[3]	15	1
		novi libro secondo	1520[1]	16	0
		novi libro tertio	1520[2]	16	5
		libro quarto	1521[5]	15	2
		Four Books	**1520-1521**	**52**	**8**

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[12] While these earlier prints do not function as a series, they were early trials in motet printing, and their inclusion in this discussion will help to illustrate how Attaingnant's approach to motet printing in the Series evolved, and will be beneficial to the discussion of the Series that follows in the subsequent chapters.
[13] The concordance of Attaingnant's 1528 motet and chanson print with Antico's 1520 print has been mentioned above.

Table 3.1(cont.): Motet Series Printed by Petrucci, Antico, Moderne, and Attaingnant from 1502-1532

Printer	Series	Individual Book Titles (RISM)	Date on Print/RISM	Number of Motets	Number of Concordances with Attaingnant's 1534-39 Series
Moderne	*Motteti del fiore*	*Primus liber cum quatuor vocibus*	1532[10]	33	10
		Secundus liber cum quinque vocibus	1532[09]	24	11
		Secundus liber cum quatuor vocibus	1532[11]	25	9
		Three Books	**1532**	**82**	**23**
Attaingnant	none	*Chansons et motetz en canon a quatre parties sur deux*[14]	1525-1528	10	0
		Motetz nouvellement composez	1529/1528[2]	12	0
		xii Motetz a quatre et cinq voix	1529[1]	12	3
		Treze Motetz musicaux et ung Prelude	1531	13	3 (all in Book 11)
		Four Books	**1525-1531**	**47**	**6**

We can see from the table that Petrucci's *Corona* series and Moderne's series have the most concordances with Attaingnant's books.[15] We can also see that there is very little overlap in the repertoire of Attaingnant's own motet prints prior to 1534 and his Series, suggesting that he was looking to offer his markets new material in his motet

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[14] Heartz gives this print a date of 1529 in his catalogue (HeartzCat, 222), but RISM assigns it a date of 1528.

[15] These two series are dominated by French composers, as is Attaingnant's Series.

prints. Table 3.1 also clearly illustrates the difference in the number of motets per volume of the four motet series printed by Petrucci, Antico and Moderne: while Petrucci's first series contained almost 200 motets, his second series has roughly half that number, while the repertoire in Antico's motet series totals just over a quarter of the number of motets featured in Petrucci's first five books. As we shall see, this correlates to a change in the format of Antico's series, which departed from the standards that Petrucci had set for almost twenty years.

PETRUCCI'S MOTET PRINTS: 1502-1519

       Scholarship on the history of music printing has long acknowledged Ottaviano Petrucci as the premier innovator in music printing, and the first significant printer of vocal polyphony.[16] He produced two series of motets, in addition to other sacred music, including books of Masses, Lamentation settings, Hymns settings, and Magnificat settings.[17]

The Venetian Series

       Petrucci printed his first motet series between 1502 and 1505, producing one book of motets per year. Although motets had previously appeared in books by themselves in manuscript form during the fifteenth century, book one of Petrucci's first motet series,

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[16] See for examples the studies by Drake, Gehrenbeck, and Boorman. On Petrucci, see BoormanCat, BoormanCor, BoormanDiss, BoormanFoss, BoormanOdhecaton, DrakeDiss, DrakeMotB, GehrenbeckDiss, MouserDiss, MouserPet, CummingPublics, PickerPet, and ReeseOdhecaton. On Mouton, see ShineDiss, LockwoodMouton, BrobeckDiss, SherrMembership, StewartMouton and BonimeDiss.
[17] DrakeMotB, 1.

labelled "Motetti A," was the first print devoted exclusively to the motet.[18] It was

followed by "Motetti B," "Motetti C," and *Motetti libro quarto*. In 1508 Petrucci

produced an "old-fashioned *cantus firmus*" book called *Motetti a cinque libro primo*.[19]

Although the title of this last motet book indicates that it may have been the first in

another motet series, I include it with the other four books for several reasons: all were

printed in Venice and within the several years of each other, and are therefore linked both

by place and time.[20]

      Petrucci's Venetian series, in addition to presenting a printed book devoted

exclusively to motets for the first time, was the first planned motet series and has been the

focus of several extensive studies.[21] The following discussion of the series will focus on

issues of format, organisation and content. Detailed discussion of the individual motets

can be found in various studies of the series and will not be included here.[22]

      The series can be divided into three groups based on differences in format and

layout: the first two books, Motetti A and B form Group 1, Motetti C and *Libro quarto*

(Motetti D) form Group 2, and *Motetti a cinque primo* (Motetti V) is Group 3.[23]

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[18] CummingMot, 54.

[19] BoormanCat, 39; 696-702.

[20] This approach is adopted in current scholarship, see CummingPublics for example.

[21] On the "Venetian" series, see DrakeDiss, BoormanCat, BrownMirror, and HatterThesis.

[22] For detailed discussions of the style and history of the motets and series, the reader is directed to the existing scholarship on Petrucci's Venetian series, including DrakeDiss, BoormanCat, HatterThesis, MouserDiss, and DrakeMotB.

[23] The letter D is used to represent the fourth book of the series for two reasons: it follows the sequence used by Petrucci in books 1-3, it is in keeping with the alphanumeric system used to number the fourth unit in a group, such as the fourth gathering of the Superius partbook in Petrucci's series, and it demonstrates the link of the book to the previous books of the series. It is also used in some of the literature on Petrucci's prints (see for example, BrownMirror). I have chosen the letter V (rather than E) to represent the fifth book, because of its significance as a roman numeral, and because the fifth voice of a piece was sometimes referred to as the Vagans voice-part (for example in the prints produced by Scotto in 1539). Given the differences between this fifth book and the earlier volumes, this seemed more appropriate than the letter E.

Group 1

       Motetti A and B are in choirbook format, meaning that the complete piece was contained in a single volume, with the Superius and Tenor parts on the verso side of the opening, and the Altus and Bassus parts on the recto side of the opening. This was in keeping with manuscript tradition, although the oblong quarto format (landscape orientation) suggests a different usage than that of the large upright manuscripts, probably for private use or as a catalogue of works that could later be copied into a choirbook "performing" edition.[24] As we can see in Table 3.2, Motetti A and B have many features in common, though there are several points of contrast as well.

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[24] DrakeDiss, 21. On the use of prints for performance, see CummingPublics and CummingChoirbook.

Table 3.2: Petrucci's Venetian Motet Series, Group 1

Features	Motetti A (MotA)	Motetti B (MotB)
Book title	*Motetti | A*	*Motetti De passione De cruce De sacramento De beata virgine et huiusmodi. | B*
Date of print	1502	1503
Format, size, total folios and foliation, and orientation	Choirbook (verso: S Tenor; recto: Altus Bassus), 16.5x23.5cm, 56 folios numbered 2-55 on recto side only, oblong (landscape) quarto.	Choirbook (verso: S Tenor; recto: Altus Bassus), 16.5x23.3cm, 72 folios numbered 2-71 on recto side only, oblong (landscape) quarto.
Running heads	None.	Composer name (occasionally) and reduced texture (*duo*) [ex: folio17v-18r, 25v-26r].
Num. of motets / Non 4-part motets	33 (plus 1 canon and 1 chanson) / 1 five-voice motet, 5 three-voice motets.	33 (plus 1 canon) / 1 five-voice motet, 3 three-voice motets, 2 with duo partes.
Style / Text comments	Mostly *cantus firmus*-free style, some chant paraphrase or use of c.f. 25 Marian texts, 14 private devotional texts.	Emphasis on "lauda" style (15 of 33) with c.f., paraphrase and c.f.-free styles as well. Mix of Sacrament (9), Penitential (7), Passion (3) and Marian (10) texts. 11 devotional, 10 liturgical texts.
Book organisation	No distinct order, but "collection of Marian motets."[1]	Ordered according to subject, following order of title.
Tabula (Index)	Folio 1v, info in a single column: title of motets (alphabetical after "Ave Maria"), composer name (blank in 6 places), folio number.	Folio 1v, info in a single column: title of motets (alphabetical after several "Ave" texts), composer name, folio number.
Total named composers / Total anonymous motets	9 / 6 anonymous works. Emphasis on Compère, Josquin, Weerbeke, Ghiselin, Brumel.	15 / 11 anonymous works. Emphasis on Josquin and Weerbeke.
Colophon / Printer's device	Colophon: Folio 56r, printer, date and place of publication, Venetian privilege, register. / Printer's device: Folio 56r, below colophon.	Colophon: Folio 72r, printer, date and place of publication, Venetian privilege, register. / Printer's device: Folio 72r, below colophon.

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[25] DrakeDiss, 83.

In addition to the format of the books, Petrucci used the same approach to the *tabula*, the placement of the colophon and printer's device, and overall design of the title page for both Motetti A and B. Both books also contain the same number of motets with emphasis on the works of Josquin and Weerbeke, but the number of named composers increased in Motetti B, as did the number of motets printed without attributions.

The two most striking differences between the books occur in the presentation of information within the books, and the overall organisation of the musical contents. In Motetti A, material other than the music appears on the first or last folios. In Motetti B, Petrucci introduced a feature known as a running head on many of the pages. Petrucci used the running heads to indicate the name of the composer of the motet, or to indicate a change in texture, though he was by no means consistent in his use of either.[26]

In terms of organisation, Motetti B stands out from all other Venetian prints, a fact that is announced on the title page of the print. Here, Petrucci stated that the motets of Motetti B were *De passione, De cruce, De sacramento, De beata virgine et huiusmodi*. This was a departure from Motetti A, whose title page was quite simple by comparison (see Table 3.2). Petrucci carried this new approach even further by grouping his motets according to the subject of the text, in the order presented on the title page. Thus we have a highly structured book with the contents neatly segmented according to subject. This was the only time that Petrucci used this degree of organisation and, as we shall see in the course of this chapter and the next part of this dissertation, it would be some time before it was attempted by another printer.

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[26] Running heads were also included in Petrucci's La Rue Mass print of 1503, discussed by Boorman (BoormanCat, 517-524).

Group 2

Motetti C and D are by far the least studied of Petrucci's Venetian motet prints,
but are historically significant: they mark a change in format in Petrucci's motet printing
that resulted in a different layout and distribution of information within the books. While
the format of Motetti A and B was comparable to that of polyphonic manuscripts,
Petrucci turned partbooks into the new standard format for motet prints with Motetti C, a
standard that he maintained for all subsequent motet anthologies, and that was almost
universally adopted by later music printers for the printing of motets.[27]

The change in format between Groups 1 and 2 necessarily resulted in several
other changes, mostly in the presentation of the non-musical material (see Table 3.3
below). Petrucci now had four books instead of one per volume, and one immediate
difference we see is in the colophon, which explains the new format and instructs the
singer on how to use the partbooks. But in many cases, Petrucci treated these four
partbooks as a single entity: the full title appeared only on the title page of the Superius
partbook, and the colophon and printer's device appeared on the last folio of the Bassus
partbook, suggesting the start and end of a single volume. The problem of foliation was
not so immediately resolved: for Motetti C, Petrucci numbered the folios of each
partbook individually, restarting at 1 for the Tenor, the Altus and the Bassus partbooks,
but in Motetti D he numbered the folios of all the partbooks consecutively, thus
reinforcing the impression that the partbooks were inextricably linked together as a single
volume.

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[27] Antico's *Motetti novi e chanzoni franciose* of 1520 (RISM 1520³) is the only exception before 1539
listed in RISM. Petrucci had in fact introduced this format for his Mass prints prior to printing Motetti C
(CummingPublics, 105).

Table 3.3: Petrucci's Venetian Motet Series, Group 2

Features	Motetti C (MotC)	Motetti D (MotD)
Book title	*Motetti C.	C* *T; A; B*	*Motetti libro quarto* *T; A; B*
Date of print	1505	1506
Format, size, total folios and foliation, and orientation	Partbook (4), 16.5x23.4cm, 32 folios (S, T, and B) numbered individually 2-31, 34 folios (A) numbered 2-34 on recto side only, oblong (landscape) quarto.	Partbook (4), 16.5x23.5cm, 32 folios (all partbooks) numbered sequentially 1-128 (S-T-A-B) on recto side only, oblong (landscape) quarto.
Running heads	Outside corner: Part name (abr.). Centre: occasionally composer name, title (15r only).[28] Centre right: folio number (recto side only).	Outside corner: Part name (all partbooks). Centre: title and compose name (consistent only in Superius, 8 featured in the 3 other partbooks). Centre right: folio number (recto side only).
Num. of motets / Non 4-part motets	42 / 3 three-voice motets, 1 with duo partes, 1 canon-motet.	55 / 1 three-voice motet.[29]
Style / Text comments	19 Marian motets, several penitential / supplication motets.	49 different texts, many Marian texts (28 of 55 motets).[30]
Title page contents and layout	Superius Partbook: Title, large initial C. All others: Initial representing part name (T, A, or B).	Superius Partbook: Title. All others: Initials representing part name (T, A, or B).
Book organisation	No distinct organisation.	No distinct organisation.
Tabula (Index)	1st verso of each partbook, info in 2 columns: title (alphabetical after "Ave" texts), composer name (only 2 named in *tabula*), folio number (reset for each partbook).	1st verso of each partbook, total number of motets, info in 2 columns: title (alphabetical after "Ave" texts), composer name, folio number (reset for each partbook).

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[28] There is also one occasion where the title appears in the side margin (folio 23v).

[29] Petrucci claims that there are 55 pieces in this book, which as Boorman notes (BoormanCat, 590-591) suggests that the movements of the two cycles (*Vultum tuum* by Josquin and *Spiritus domini* by Weerbeke) were considered as individual motets. In fact, the *tabula* lists 56 motets.

[30] Sixteen motets name Mary in the title (featured in the *tabula*).

Table 3.3 (cont.): Petrucci's Venetian Motet Series, Group 2

Features	Motetti C (MotC)	Motetti D (MotD)
Total named composers / Total anonymous motets	3 / 37 anonymous motets.[31] Emphasis on motets by Josquin.	18 / 25 anonymous motets. Emphasis on Brumel, Ghiselin, Josquin and Weerbeke.
Colophon / Printer's device	Colophon: Folio 32r of Bassus partbook only, printer, date and place of publication, Venetian privilege, register, and format / use directions. Printer's device: folio 32r (B), below colophon.	Colophon: Folio 128r (Bassus partbook), printer, date and place of publication, Venetian privilege, register. Printer's device: folio 128r (B), below colophon.

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[31] Many of these have been identified in modern scholarship and are listed in Motet Online Database (MotetOD).

Two other aspects that changed considerably between Groups 1 and 2 were the presentation of the *tabula* and the running heads. With four partbooks came four *tabulae*, one placed on the first folio verso of each partbook (parallel to the placement in Motetti A and B), but with the information presented in two columns. These gave the same information as the *tabulae* in the previous group, but because of a significant increase in the number of motets in the Group 2 volumes, Petrucci had to modify the format of the *tabula* in order to fit it on a single page. Since the *tabula* gave the folio number for each motet, Petrucci had to reset the *tabulae* for each partbook since not all motets appeared on the same folio in each partbook, a problem not encountered in the choirbook format.[32] The running heads also reflect the change in format, and include the part name of each partbook, in addition to the name of the composer and folio number.

Like Motetti A, Motetti C is dominated by a few named composers, while Motetti D mirrors the greater variety of Motetti B with a total of eighteen named composers. Group 2, however, demonstrates a marked change in attitude as far as attributions are concerned: where Petrucci left only 17 of 66 motets unattributed in Group 1, a total of 62 out of 97 motets lack any attribution in Group 2.

Group 3

The last of Petrucci's Venetian motet prints is entitled *Motetti a cinque libro primo* (Motetti V). It appeared in 1508, three years after the fourth volume.[33] It is unique among the Venetian prints in containing motets for five voices (instead of four), in the

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[32] For example, in Motetti C, the piece *Alma redemptoris* is listed on folio 16 in the Superius *tabula*, 14 in the Tenor *tabula*, 17 in the Altus *tabula*, and 15 in the Bassus *tabula*.
[33] On the dating of this print see BoormanCat, 671. The colophon, with publication details would presumably have been on the last folio of the Contratenor 2 book, now lost.

style of compositions included, and in the selection of texts set by the composers. While Petrucci maintained many of the format and organisation procedures he had established in his first four books, this fifth book is also unique in terms of the editorial choices made by Petrucci. As we can see in Table 3.4, the style of the title page and the running heads are comparable to the books in Groups 1 and 2: only the Superius features the whole title on the title page (while the other partbooks have only the part name), the running heads feature part names and folio numbers in two of the partbooks, but the part names for the Tenor-Bassus book are given vertically in the margins. The partbooks are also numbered successively, as we saw in Motetti D.

Two features, however, were unique to this book at the time of printing. The first change in format concerns the *tabula* that appeared only on the first folio verso of the Superius book. This meant that if you needed to find the location of a piece in any partbook, you had to have the Superius book on hand. This was probably the reason that Petrucci changed the format of his *tabula* for Motetti V.

Table 3.4: Petrucci's Venetian Motet Series, Group 3

Features	Motetti V (MotV)
Book title	*Motetti a cinque libro primo* *TB; Contratenor primus* (Contratenor secundus not extant)
Date of print	1508
Format, size, total folios and foliation, and orientation	Partbooks (4), 16.5x22.5cm, 16 folios (S), 20 folios (TB), 14 folios (C1) numbered consecutively from 2-53, oblong (landscape) quarto.
Running heads	All books: folio number (recto side only). Superius: part name (abr.) in outside corner. Contratenor primus: part name in left hand corner. TB part names given vertically in margins. Margins also contain work number and partes number for multi-part motets.
Num. of motets / Non 4-part motets	18 / All five-voice motets.
Style / Text comments	Old-fashioned style: 14 of 18 feature *cantus firmi* (8 strict c.f. motets with multiple-texts, 6 c.f. motets with single text). / 12 Marian texts.
Title page contents and layout	Superius Partbook: Title, number of book. All others: part name indicator (TB, Contratenor primus).
Book organisation	No distinct organisation.
Tabula (Index)	1st verso of Superius only, total number of motets, info in a single column: title (alphabetical after "Ave Maria" settings), composer name (all motets), work number (roman numeral).
Total named composers / Total anonymous motets	8 / 0 anonymous motets.
Colophon / Printer's device	Presumably on last page of Contratenor secundus.

Instead of giving the folio number for each motet (an approach that caused problems in Motetti C and D, where the *tabula* had to be reset for each partbook), Petrucci assigned a Roman numeral to each motet (printed in the margin next to the initial), and replaced the folio number in the *tabula* with the corresponding numeral.

The second change in format between Groups 1 and 2 and Group 3 is the number of attributed motets. As we saw, Petrucci printed many of the motets in the first four books without attributions. In Motetti V, Petrucci identified the composers of all eighteen motets. There is likewise a more balanced distribution of works among the composers featured in the book, with emphasis for the first time on Obrecht, Isaac and Regis, in addition to the emphasis on Josquin that was also seen in the earlier volumes. Stanley Boorman argued that the style and format (particularly the fact that Petrucci combined the Tenor and Bassus parts into one partbook) suggests a primarily institutional use for Motetti V, quite marked from the "private and devotional nature of the earlier motet volumes."[34] This difference is, however, not as evident in the choice of texts, with Petrucci placing great emphasis on Marian texts in this final Venetian print, as he had in Motetti D.[35] Despite the similarities of textual subject between the groups, we can readily agree with Boorman in stating that the repertoire of Motetti V was very different from that of the previous motet books.[36]

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[34] BoormanCat, 701. Boorman argues that the TB partbook would have needed to be copied into a manuscript prior to performance in order to sing the pieces, a practice associated with institutions like churches and cathedrals.

[35] MotV contains 12 motets on Marian texts (HatterThesis, 65).

[36] BoormanCat, 700. Boorman notes the old-fashioned style of the pieces, some actually composed up to 50 years before printing, others written in an antiquated style.

The Fossombrone Series: Motetti de la Corona 1-4

The *Motetti de la Corona* was a four-volume series printed in Fossombrone by Petrucci between 1514 and 1519.[37] The first volume appeared on August 17 of 1514, with no indication that more volumes would follow.[38] Four years later, Petrucci released the three other volumes within four months. Clearly the printer had spent some time compiling the last three books.

We can see in Tables 3.5 and 3.6 that Petrucci employed many of the elements he had developed in his first series in the *Corona* books: partbook format, colophon at the end of the Bassus partbook, the *tabula* appearing only in the Superius partbook, and the running heads presenting the part name, name of the composer and folio or motet number. Despite these similarities, several features of the motet book underwent changes between the two series, and in the course of printing the *Corona* series.

One of the most visually striking differences between the two series is the layout of the title pages. Where the title pages of the Venetian books were simple and contained little more than an initial on all but the Superius partbooks, for the *Motetti de la Corona* series Petrucci reprinted the full title on all partbooks, and included a woodcut of a crown on the Superius partbook of all volumes. He also omitted his printer's mark.

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[37] On the *Corona* series, see GehrenbeckDiss.
[38] GehrenbeckDiss, 131.

Table 3.5: Petrucci's *Corona* Motet Series, Books 1 and 2

Features	Book 1 (MC1)	Book 2 (MC2)
Book title	Ed 1-2: *Motetti de la corona*. ǀ [crown woodcut] (S) T; A; B Ed. 3: *Motetti de la corona* ǀ Libro primo ǀ [crown] *Motetti de la corona* ǀ Libro primo ǀ A; B	*Motetti de la corona* ǀ Libro secondo. ǀ [crown] (S) *Motetti de la corona* Libro secondo. ǀ A; B (T not extant)
Date of print	1514 (three editions).	1519 (two editions, no significant differences).
Format, size, total folios and foliation, and orientation	Partbook (4), 16.5x23.3cm, 16 folios (all partbooks) numbered consecutively 1-64, oblong (landscape) quarto.	Partbook (4), 16.5x23.5cm, 16 folios (S and presumably T), 18 folios (A and B), no foliation, oblong (landscape) quarto.
Running heads	Ed. 1-2: Part name, centre right; Ed.3: Centre: composer name. Centre right: folio number (recto side only). Part name (S abr.) between composer and outside corner (inside folio number on rectos).	Centre: Composer name and roman numeral. Part name: between composer name/number and outside corner. Left corner: a few additional partes headings (also occasionally in margins).
Num. of motets / Non 4-voice motets	28 / n/a.	25 / 4 five-voice motets.
Style / Text comments	New style –early 16thC French composers dominate. 4 Marian texts, 5 different Psalm settings, 7 political motets (5 refer to French royal family).	3 Marian texts, 5 political motets written for specific occasions at French royal court, or for French royal family.
Title page contents and layout	Superius Partbook: Title, volume number of series and crown woodcut below title S. All others: Large initial of part name on T, A, and B. (Ed. 3 features full title on all partbooks, plus initial).	All Partbooks: Title, volume number of series (crown on S), large initial for lower parts.
Book organisation	No distinct organisation.	No distinct organisation.
Tabula (Index)	Ed. 1: 1st verso of S only, info in a single column: title (alphabetical), folio of S, T, A, and B. Ed. 2 - 3: 1st verso of S only, info in a single column: title (alphabetical), roman numeral foliation of S, T, A, and B.	1st verso of S only, in a single column: composer name, title (alphabetical), roman numeral.
Total named composers / Total anonymous motets	11 / 3 anonymous, emphasis on motets of Mouton (9), Févin (8).	10 / 0 anonymous, emphasis on Mouton (11).
Colophon / Printer's device	Colophon: Folio 64r of Bassus partbook only, Papal privilege, printer, date and place of publication. / Printer's device: None.	Colophon: Last folio recto of Bassus partbook only, Papal privilege, printer, date and place of publication, register. / Printer's device: None.

Table 3.6: Petrucci's *Corona* Motet Series, Books 3 and 4

Features	Book 3 (MC3)	Book 4 (MC4)
Book title	Motetti de la corona ǀ Libro tertio. ǀ [crown] (S) Motetti de la corona Libro tertio ǀ T; A; B	Motetti de la corona ǀ Libro quarto. ǀ [crown] (S) Motetti de la corona Libro quarto. ǀ T; A; B
Date of print	1519	1519
Format, size, total folios and foliation, and orientation	Partbook (4), 16.5x23.2cm, 16 folios (S), 14 folios (T), 16 folios (A), 18 folios (B), no foliation, oblong (landscape) quarto.	Partbook (4), 16.5x23.2cm, 16 folios (S and B), 14 folios (T and A), no foliation, oblong (landscape) quarto.
Running heads	Centre: Composer name and roman numeral. First and second voice parts indicated where applicable instead of composer name. Part name: between composer name / number and outside corner. Left corner: additional partes headings.	Centre: Composer name and roman numeral. First and second voice parts indicated where applicable instead of composer name. Part name: between composer name/number and outside corner. Left corner: additional partes headings.
Num. of motets / Non 4-voice motets	16 / 4 five-voice motets, 3 six-voice motets. Additional voices are placed on recto facing 1st voice, (in S, A, and B) or below with voice part named in margins.	16 / 4 five-voice motets, 3 six-voice motets. Additional voices are placed on recto facing 1st voice, (in S, T, and B) or below with voice part named in margins.
Style / Text comments	6 Marian texts, 1 political motet (Queen Anne's death).	Mix of large scale works (5-6 voices, 2-3 partes) and simpler motets (4 voices, 1 pars) in new and old styles. 5 Marian texts, 1 political motet.
Title page contents and layout	All Partbooks: Title, volume number of series (crown on S), large initial for lower parts.	All Partbooks: Title, volume number of series (crown on S), large initial for lower parts.
Book organisation	Organised by number of voices: 6-5-4.	Organised by number of voices and scope (long pieces first): first half: 6-5 voices, second half: 4 voices.
Tabula (Index)	1st verso of S only, in a single column: composer name, title (alphabetical after "Ave" texts), roman numeral, number of voice parts.	1st verso of S only, in a single column: composer name, title (alphabetical), roman numeral, number of voice parts.
Total named composers / Total anonymous motets	6 / 2 anonymous. Emphasis on Josquin (8).	10 / 6 anonymous. Emphasis on Josquin (4).
Colophon / Printer's device	Colophon: Last folio recto of Bassus partbook only, Papal privilege, printer, date and place of publication, register. / Printer's device: None.	Colophon: Second last folio verso of Bassus partbook only, Papal privilege, printer, date and place of publication, register. / Printer's device: None.

Other changes occurred in the presentation of information inside the books: the running heads became much more standardised in the later series, consistently presenting the name of the composer (where attributed), the part name, and folio or Roman numeral. Additionally, when a piece called for a fifth or sixth voice, Petrucci identified the *prima vox* or *secunda vox* in the running head in place of the composer's name. The placement of additional voices however was not always consistent, though for the most part Petrucci printed them on the folio facing the *prima* voice part, so that both parts appeared on a single opening.[39]

Like those of the Venetian motet books, the *tabulae* and foliation system of the *Corona* books underwent several stages of development. In MC1, Petrucci abandoned the Roman numeral system he had used in Motetti V in favour of Roman numeral foliation. Petrucci found a new way to solve the problems that this system had presented for the *tabula* in his Motetti C and D (where the *tabula* had to be reset for each partbook either because the pieces did not all start on the same folio in each partbook, or because of the successive foliation of the partbooks). In his *tabula* for MC1 Petrucci presented the title of the motet (alphabetically after the "Ave" texts, as was his custom), and then gave the location of the motet in all partbooks. Thus, the first motet of MC1, *Gaude Barbara beata* was listed in the *tabula* as appearing on folio ii, xviii, xxxiiii, and l.[40] Petrucci was thus able to avoid having to reprint the *tabula* for every partbook, and instead printed it simply on the first verso of the Superius book. This new approach had its advantages for

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[39] Petrucci's method of including additional voices is not systematic here. For example, the additional part for Tertia pars of Josquin's *Verbum bonum* (MC4.04) appeared in the Superius partbook below the *prima vox*, with the term *secunda vox* written vertically in the margin.

[40] This Roman numeral foliation appeared in editions 2 and 3. In edition 1, Petrucci used Arabic numbers.

the performer as well: by providing the folio numbers for all partbooks, Petrucci ensured that singers could quickly locate the piece within all partbooks.[41]

Despite having apparently solved the issues of foliation, Petrucci changed systems for the remaining books of his second series, returning to the system used in Motetti V, but this time, without any foliation inside the partbooks. For MC2-4 then, the motets were identified only by a Roman numeral, both in the *tabulae*, and inside the individual partbooks as well.

Petrucci's Two Series

The four volumes of the *Motetti de la Corona* contain a total of eighty-three motets by twenty-three composers of mostly French and Flemish background, only six of whom had previously appeared in print.[42] This was a significantly smaller series than the Venetian prints, even if one limits the earlier series to the first four books.[43]

Between them, Petrucci's two series contain 266 motets, printed in nine books over the course of seventeen years.[44] As he printed his two series, Petrucci adjusted the format and layout of his prints, moving away from the manuscript tradition of the choirbook format (Motetti A and B) and continually refining his new partbook format: moving through several foliation systems until he arrived at a clear numbering system in the last three *Motetti de la Corona* books.

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[41] Of course this was true of Motetti C and D as well, where the individual partbooks had their own *tabula*, but this new system was much more user-friendly than the Roman numeral system that gave no foliation.
[42] GehrenbeckDiss, 81.
[43] Motetti A-D contain a total of 137 motets. With Motetti V the total reaches 155 motets.
[44] This counts the motet "cycles" of Josquin and Weerbeke in Motetti D as individual motets, otherwise the total is 238.

The contents also changed from series to series and book to book. The strong Marian devotional elements that Brown noted,[45] and the prominence of Josquin-generation composers in the Venetian prints gave way to a greater variety of texts genres in the *Motetti de la Corona* series, with seventy of eighty texts being liturgically derived, and thirty-five falling under specific liturgical genres.[46] The focus of Marian texts in the Venetian prints (which account for 92 of the 183 motets) was shifted to non-Marian texts drawn from the Bible in the *Corona* series.[47]

Attributions were another aspect of the prints that changed from the time Motetti A was printed to the printing of the last *Corona* books. In the Venetian prints, particularly Motetti C and D, Petrucci left many of the pieces unattributed. In Motetti V, however, Petrucci started to provide attributions for more motets, a practice he continued in his second series, where only 11 of 83 motets were printed without attributions.[48]

An additional change that occurred from one series to another is the presence of multiple versions of the same text within a single book and throughout each series. There are twenty four texts that Petrucci printed more than once in the course of his two series. Eight of these occur in both series, thirteen occur in more than one book of a single series, and eleven were printed two times or more in any one book.[49] With only one exception, each text that appears more than once in Petrucci's two series is a different setting, usually by a different composer.[50] For one reason or another, Petrucci abandoned

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[45] BrownMirror. See Appendix A1for a list of Marian motets in Petrucci's books. See also HatterThesis for a discussion of the Marian motets in Petrucci's Venetian series.
[46] GehrenbeckDiss, 236.
[47] GehrenbeckDiss, 234. Gehrenbeck found that 55 of the 80 texts are scriptural.
[48] MC 1: no. 17, 21, 24; MC3: no. 13 and 15; MC4: no. 4, 9, 11-14.
[49] This total does not include the repeats of the same title within a single book, series, or printer's output.
[50] The exception is Josquin's *Tulerunt dominum* (NJE 20.14), which appeared in both MotB (no. 11) and MC3 (no.9).

this "multiple settings" trend when he selected his pieces for the *Motetti de la Corona* series: where multiple settings within one book occurred ten times in the Venetian prints, it happened only once in the later series.[51]

Petrucci's title pages are among the few elements that changed very little, maintaining a simple and uncluttered layout, one which provided little beyond the title of the series and the initial of the partbook. The only significant change was the reprinting of the full title on all partbooks, starting with the second book of the *Motetti de la Corona* series in 1519. As we shall see in the discussion of the Antico and Moderne series that follows, title pages would change significantly in the thirteen years leading up to Attaingnant's Motet Series.

With the exception of Motetti B, none of the books are ordered according to text genre or subject. There is some consistency in the *Motetti de la Corona*, however, where each book concludes with a Psalm-motet, and the last two books are grouped by number of voice-parts in descending order from six to four voices.[52] How Petrucci's innovations may have influenced other printers of motets will become clear in the discussion of the series printed by Antico and Moderne that follows, and in the discussion of Attaingnant's Series presented in Part II.

ANTICO'S MOTET PRINTS: 1520-1521

Petrucci continued to be the dominant printer of polyphony for several years after the appearance of his Venetian motet books, but in 1518 a new printer of music arrived on the scene, one who would be Petrucci's first true competitor. His name was Andrea

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[51] The text *Verbum bonum* is set twice in MC4, once by Josquin and once by Willaert.
[52] GehrenbeckDiss, 239.

Antico.[53] Antico's methods of printing differed from those of Petrucci, using woodcuts of the music and text that he printed in a single impression, rather than Petrucci's method of movable type that required several separate impressions. Antico first began his printing activities in Rome in 1518, but soon moved to Venice, where he produced his four-book motet series with the publisher Jacomo di Biagio Giunta.[54] He also produced books of Masses, chansons, frottole, and madrigals up until 1536, and continued to work in Venice until 1539, mostly as a woodblock cutter for the Scotto printing firm.

Motetti Libro Primo to Quarto

Antico's motet series of 1520-1521 is composed of four books and contains sixty-two motets, less than half the number of motets in Petrucci's first series and roughly three quarters of the *Motetti de la Corona* series.[55] Like Petrucci's series, these motets are mostly for four voices, with only 9 calling for a fifth voice.[56]

The composers featured in Antico's series were mostly active in the years leading up to publication: Josquin and Mouton, so prominent in all of Petrucci's books, had reached the end of their careers, but others, such as Willaert and Festa were relative new-comers at the time. The majority of works, however, were from the current generation of composers, with emphasis on those from France and the Netherlands.[57] In this respect,

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[53] GroveAntico. On Antico, see PickerAntico, PickerPet, ChapmanDiss, and ChapmanPrintCol.
[54] GroveAntico.
[55] There are three additional volumes with motets that may have been printed by Antico (RISM 1521^4, 1521^5 and 1521^7) in addition to his 1520 print of motets and chansons (discussed above). The four discussed here however are certainly by Antico and are recognised in modern scholarship as a series (See PickerAntico).
[56] PickerAntico, 9.
[57] Still, Josquin and Mouton figure prominently in two of the books: 8 of 15 motets in Book 1 are by Josquin, while 7 of 15 motets in Book 4 are by Mouton.

the series resembles Petrucci's *Motetti de la Corona* series, but with much less emphasis on works by Josquin.[58]

Most of the motets featured in Antico's motet series had not previously appeared in print. Eleven of the motets (17%) had been printed by Petrucci, but of the other fifty-one motets, twenty-two had not previously appeared in either manuscripts or printed books.[59] More than half of the motets (34 of 62) have two partes and are in imitative style punctuated by duos and homophony. Syllabic text setting dominates.[60]

Overall we can see a greater uniformity to the series than was discernible in Petrucci's prints: the number of folios per partbook is standardized, the number of pieces per book is also more uniform, with 15, 16, 16 and 15 motets in the four books, and there is no repetition of pieces or texts. The features of Antico's motet series are outlined in Tables 3.7 and 3.8.

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[58] The same composers are seen in Antico's prints as were featured in Petrucci's *Corona* series, and similar text genres are featured in both, however, the actual number of overlap is quite low. On the two series, see also PickerPet).

[59] PickerAntico, 9, ff.1. Picker lists these motets, and includes transcriptions and commentary for many of them.

[60] PickerAntico, 13.

Table 3.7: Antico's Motet Series, Books 1 and 2

Features	Book 1 (ML1)	Book 2 (ML2)
Book title	*Motetti libro primo* ∣ S;T; A; B	*Motetti novi libro secondo* (in red, and only in S partbook) ∣ S; T; A; B
Date of print	1521	1520
Format, size, total folios and foliation, and orientation	Partbook (4), 11x16cm, 16 folios (all partbooks) numbered 1-16 (recto side only), oblong (landscape) quarto.	Partbook (4), 11x16cm, 16 folios (all partbooks) numbered consecutively 1-63 (recto side only), oblong (landscape) quarto.
Running heads	Part name and book number: outside corner, inside folio number (not consistent). Composer name: left corner, or vertically in margins (when piece starts on staff line other than the top-most line).	Folio number: outside corner, recto side only Part name: centre, only occasionally (on recto side).
Num. of motets / Non 4-voice motets	15 / 1 five-voice motet.	16 / All four-voice motets.
Style / Text comments	3 Marian texts, no emphasis on one kind of text.	Diverse text genres and subjects, 3 Marian texts.
Title page contents and layout	Title and volume number, large gothic initial of part (S, T, A and B), printer's device (Superius partbook only).	Title and volume number (Superius only), large gothic initial of part (S, T, A and B), new printer's device (Superius partbook only).
Book organisation	No distinct organisation.	No distinct organisation.
Tabula (Index)	1st verso of all partbooks, in a single column: title, folio number (reset for each partbook), presented according to ascending folio number.	1st folio verso of all partbooks, in a single column: composer name (Bassus partbook only), title (rough alphabetical order), folio number (reset for each partbook).
Total named composers / Total anonymous motets	5 / 0 anonymous. Emphasis on Josquin (8) and Mouton (4).	13 / 1 anonymous motet. Emphasis on De Silva (3) and Mouton (2).
Colophon / Printer's device	Colophon: Last folio recto of S, second last verso of Bassus, place, date of publication, printer. Printer's Monogram: last folio verso of Bassus (AA). Papal privilege: Superius folio 15v-16r. Printer's device: Title page of Superius partbook.	Colophon: First folio verso of Bassus partbook only, place, date of publication, printer. Printer's Monogram: none. Papal privilege: none. Printer's device: Title page of Superius partbook (in red).

Table 3.8: Antico's Motet Series, Books 3 and 4

Features	Book 3 (ML3)	Book 4 (ML4)
Book title	*Motetti novi libro tertio* (in red in S partbook, black in A) | S; T; A; B	*Motetti libro quarto* | S; T; A; B
Date of print	1520	1521
Format, size, total folios and foliation, and orientation	Partbook (4) 11x16cm, 16 folios (all partbooks) numbered consecutively 1-63, oblong (landscape) quarto.	Partbook (4), 11x16cm, 16 folios (S 1-16), 14 folios (T 17-30), 16 folios (A 31-46), 16 folios (B 47-60 + 2) numbered consecutively 1-60, oblong (landscape) quarto.
Running heads	Composer name (all in Superius partbook only, except no. 6 listed in Altus), folio number (recto side only), part name occasionally included between composer name and folio number (recto side only).	Part name and book number: outside corner, inside folio number (not consistent). Composer name: left corner, or vertically in margins (when piece starts on staff line other than the top-most line).
Num. of motets / Non 4-voice motets	16 / All four-voice motets.	15 / All four-voice motets.
Style / Text comments	5 Marian texts, 1 political (possibly for coronation of François I).	3 Marian texts, 1 political (Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne), also settings of Gospel readings, Song of Songs, prayers.
Title page contents and layout	Title and volume number (Superius and Altus only), large gothic initial for all parts (S, T, A, and B), printer's device (on S only).	Title and volume number, large gothic initial for all parts (S, T, A, and B), printer's device (on S only).
Book organisation	No distinct organisation.	No distinct organisation.
Tabula (Index)	First folio verso (all partbooks) in a single column: title (rough alphabetical), folio number.	First folio verso (all partbooks) in a single column: title, folio number (reset for each partbook), presented according to ascending folio number.

Table 3.8 (cont.): Antico's Motet Series, Book 3 and 4

Features	Book 3 (ML3)	Book 4 (ML4)
Total named composers / Total anonymous motets	8 / 0 anonymous. Emphasis on Richafort (4), Mouton (3), Lhéritier (2) and La Fage (2).	7 / 0 anonymous. Emphasis on Mouton (7) and C Festa (2) and La Fage (2).
Colophon / Printer's device	Colophon: First folio verso of Bassus partbook, place, date of publication. Printer's Monogram: none. Papal privilege: none. Printer's device: First folio recto of Superius (in red, same as Book 2).	Colophon: Second last folio verso of Bassus partbook, place, date of publication. Printer's Monogram: Last folio verso of Bassus (AA). Papal privilege: Second last folio of Bassus (61-61v). Printer's device: First folio recto of Superius (same as Book 1).

The texts of the motets resemble those featured by Petrucci in the *Motetti de la Corona series*: Psalms, religious poetry, liturgical genres such as Antiphons, Responsories, and Hymns are set in what Picker describes as a "non-liturgical" elaborate style, intended for the professional choirs of princely establishments.[61] Like its predecessors, there is no discernible plan to the contents of the four volumes, no effort to choose pieces based on "liturgical suitability," or order them according to subject.[62]

Even though this series appeared more than ten years after Petrucci's first series, and one year after the last volume of the *Motetti de la Corona*, the conventions for the motet series were far from fixed and, like Petrucci, Antico refined his series as he printed it, following two basic approaches: one for the first and last books, and the other for the second and third books. The *Libro primo* and *quarto* volumes are very similar to one another in several respects: they were apparently printed at the same time (August 15, 1521, one year after books 2 and 3),[63] both feature the papal privilege and Antico's monogram (and the same printer's device), and both follow the same layout for the *tabulae* and running heads. One significant difference is the change to the consecutive foliation system Petrucci used in his Venetian prints (Motetti C and D) for Book 4, and also found in Books 2 and 3. The use of this type of foliation system in the last three books suggests a preference for this type of system, either on Antico's part, or his buyers. Books 2 and 3 likewise have similar features: the same printer's devices, printed in the same year, both lack the papal privilege, and both follow the same layout for the *tabulae*. Like Petrucci then, Antico adjusted his format and layout in the course of printing his

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[61] PickerAntico, 13. As opposed to the simpler, homophonic style of serviceable liturgical music.
[62] PickerAntico, 13.
[63] PickerAntico, 3-4. *Libro primo* was a reprint of an earlier edition, now lost, printed in 1518.

series, but with significantly fewer and less dramatic changes than his predecessor, and building on the refinements that Petrucci had previously made to his motet series.

The repertoire in Antico's four books is extremely diverse, without any instances of repetition of text throughout the entire series, a marked change from Petrucci's Venetian motets and closer to the *Motetti de la Corona* approach, though with even less repetition.[64] Indeed, the similarities to Petrucci's second series extend to the text subjects, where the small number of Marian text set in Antico's series parallels the dramatic decrease in Marian motets seen from one Petrucci series to the other.[65] This diversity was no doubt influenced by the relatively small size of Antico's series, where repetition of works or texts would have been evident and which, for Antico, was perhaps something to be avoided.

MODERNE'S MOTET PRINTS: 1532

More than ten years passed after the printing of Antico's *Libro quarto* before another printer produced a motet series, and it came from the printing press of Jacques Moderne, Attaingnant's only major competitor at the time.[66] Moderne was an Italian-born French printer active in the commercial centre of Lyons from 1523 to 1560.[67] He produced some fifty volumes of music, totalling more than 800 pieces including Masses, chansons, Italian canzoni, as well as instrumental music and of course, motets.[68] Although his first music publication likely appeared in 1532, at least four years after

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[64] Only one title appears twice, "Salve regina," but one text names St. Barbara, the other refers to Mary.
[65] See Appendix A1, which lists all Marian motets by printer.
[66] On Moderne, see PogueMod, DobbinsLyons, DuchampDiss, PoguePrint and GroveModerne.
[67] PogueMod, 16.
[68] GroveModerne.

Attaingnant began printing polyphony and only two years before Attaingnant's great

motet series, he was the first of the two to print a motet series in France.[69] This was of

course his *Motteti del fiore* series printed between 1532 and 1542.[70] This series is ranked

as Moderne's most famous publication, an attribute owing to its large number of volumes

(eight in all), though only those containing motets for four voices were actually listed

under that title by Moderne.[71] However, since only three of these books appeared in print

before Attaingnant's 1534-1539 series and may therefore be seen as predecessor of

Attaingnant's prints, the present study will be limited to a discussion of these three books.

The first three books of the *Motteti del fiore* series all appeared in 1532, although

in contrast to the series printed by Petrucci and Antico, none of the books provide a more

specific date of publication. Six years elapsed before the fourth book of the series

appeared.[72]

The emphasis in the *Motteti del fiore* series is on French and Franco-Flemish

composers, particularly the works of Gombert, Layolle, Jacquet, Lhéritier, Arcadelt,

Lupus, and Willaert, all of whom are represented in Moderne's prints by eight or more

works.[73] Gombert leads the list with 18 motets, while Richafort (12), Lhéritier (10),

Layolle (9) and Piéton (9) are also well represented. We can see a shift in the repertoire

from Petrucci's time to that of Moderne in the individuals listed here. Absent are the

great composers of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries such as Mouton and

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[69] PogueMod, 16. Pogue has raised the possibility that Moderne was printing polyphony as early as the mid 1520s, although the first firm date of publication for Moderne remains 1532. On early printing by Moderne, see PoguePrint.
[70] The title does actually read "Motteti" and not "Motetti," which one commonly finds in publications of the time like those of Petrucci, Antico, and Attaingnant.
[71] PogueMod, 17.
[72] Many of these were subsequently reprinted by Gardano in a series he called "Fior del Motteti."
[73] PogueMod, 60.

Josquin, who were also quite prominent in Antico's series.[74] The greatest amount of overlap in repertoire occurs between the later *Motetti de la Corona* and the Moderne books, not surprising given the emphasis on French composers in the earlier series and its possible connection to the French crown.[75] Clearly Moderne was departing from the established printed repertoire and promoting contemporary French composers in his prints, a trend that Attaingnant also followed, though perhaps a bit less radically.[76]

Samuel Pogue showed that *Primus liber cum quatuor vocibus* and *Secundus liber cum quinque vocibus* each appeared in two editions in the same year as the originals.[77] Given that there was little time between the two editions and that neither is advertised as a "corrected edition," the reprints may have been prompted by market demands.[78] If this was indeed the case, then the market for the motet would seem to have been thriving in the 1530s, a supposition that is supported by the large number of motet prints, and more specifically printed motet series, that appeared in the 1520s and 30s in Italy and France.[79]

The first three books of Moderne's *Motteti del fiore* series are unified by a consistent foliation (here pagination) system, and uniform *tabulae* layout presenting the information in a consistent way, listing composer, piece, and page number, and always ordered according to page number, in the order in which they appear in the book. These features, and others, are outlined in Table 3.9.

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[74] The only composer whose name appears in both the early Petrucci prints and the Moderne books is Richafort, with one possible contribution to Petrucci's Motetti A.

[75] On the connection of the series to François I, see GehrenbeckDiss. Composers featured in both the MC and MF series are Lhéritier, Moulu, La Fage, Richafort, De Silva, Caen, Lupus, and Willaert.

[76] Attaingnant continued to include older composers, like Josquin, Mouton, Longueval, Févin, etc., discussed in Part II.

[77] PogueMod, 69. Both editions have the same title and date, but have internal differences.

[78] PogueMod, 73. Pogue notes the small number of musical changes between the two editions.

[79] There were three series in these two decades, versus two in the first twenty years of the sixteenth century. The popularity of chanson series also points to the demand and popularity of the "series" in general: buyers wanted collections –they were new and special.

Table 3.9: Moderne's Motet Series, Books 1, 2 and 3

Features	Book 1 (MF 1)	Book 2 (MF2)	Book 3 (MF3)
Book title	Superius; Tenor; Altus; Bassus | Primus liber cum quatuor vocibus | woodcut of flower | *Motteti del fiore* (S only)	Superius; Tenor; Altus; Bassus | Secundus liber cum quinque vocibus	Superius, Tenor, Altus, Bassus | Secundus liber cum quatuor vocibus woodcut of flower | *Motteti del fiore* (S only)
Date of print	1532	1532	1532
Format, size, total folios and foliation, and orientation	Partbook (4), 17.5x24cm, 32 folios (all partbooks) individually paginated 3-64, oblong (landscape) quarto.	Partbook (4), 17.5x24cm, 27 folios (S and A) individually paginated 2-53 (2-54 for A), 28 folios (B) paginated 2-54, 40 folios (T) paginated 3-80, oblong (landscape) quarto.	Partbook (4), 17.5x24cm, 20 folios (all partbooks) individually paginated (2-40), oblong (landscape) quarto.
Running heads	Left to right: Part name, composer name, folio number (both sides numbered individually).	Left to right: Part name, composer name, folio number (both sides numbered individually).	Left to right: Part name, composer name, folio number (both sides numbered individually).
Num. of motets / Non 4-voice motets	33 / All four voices (as stated on title page of each partbook).	24 / All five voices (as stated on the title page of each partbook) T and B have Primus and Secundus voices.	25 / All four voices (as stated on the title page of each partbook).
Style / Text comments	24 of 33 in bi-partite form, 8 complete Psalm settings, 9 Marian texts, 7 political texts (Ladies' Peace and Treaty of Madrid), 1 text set twice (Psalm 127).	19 of 24 in bi-partite form, 3 political motets (related to wedding of François I and Eleanor of Austria), 6 Marian motets, 1 text set three times (four texts also in Book 1).	15 in bi-partite form, 10 with only one pars, 6 Psalm settings, 8 Responsory settings. 1 text set twice, 3 texts also in Book 1 or 2. First appearance in print of Manchicourt, Arcadelt, Gosse, Dambert and Paignier.
Title page contents and layout	All parts: Part name, volume number and number of voice parts, woodcut, title (S only).	All parts: Part name, volume number and number of voice parts, index.	All parts: Part name, volume number and number of voices, woodcut, title (S only).

Table 3.9 (cont.): Moderne's Motet Series, Book 1, 2 and 3

Features	Book 1	Book 2	Book 3
Book organisation	No distinct organisation, except by number of voices overall, and political tone of text (French turmoil and peace).	No distinct organisation, except by number of voices overall.	No distinct organisation, except by number of voices overall.
Tabula (Index)	First folio verso (all partbooks) in a single column: title, composer, page number (in ascending order). "Finis" at bottom.	Title page (all partbooks) in a single column: title, composer, page number (in ascending order). "Finis" at bottom. Same index for S and A.	First folio verso (all partbooks) in a single column: title, composer, page number (in ascending order). "Finis" at bottom.[80] S has errors.[81]
Total named composers / Total anonymous motets	14 / 3 anonymous. Emphasis on De Silva (4), Gombert (3), Layolle (3) and Hellinck (3).	13 / 1 anonymous. Emphasis on Richafort (4), Gombert (3), Lhéritier (3), Willaert (3).	13 / 0 anonymous. Emphasis on Gombert (6), Arcadelt (3) and Layolle (3).
Colophon / Printer's device	Colophon: last folio verso (S), place, printer and date of publication. Printer's device: none. Explicit liber: last folio verso (S), last folio recto (T, A, B).	Colophon: last folio verso (S), place, printer and date of publication. Printer's device: none. Explicit liber: last folio recto (S, B), last folio verso (T, A).	Colophon: None, "Finis" at end of each partbook. Printer's device: none. Explicit liber: none.

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[80] PogueMod, 8; DuchampDiss, 113.
[81] DuchampDiss, 112-114.

The identification of the number of voice parts in the title of the three books was a feature that had not been consistently used before by either Petrucci or Antico, but which had been introduced in Petrucci's Motetti V. Here, however, identification of the number of voices functioned as an organisational tool for the series, providing the format and layout of the *Motteti del fiore* books with an additional element of uniformity.

One important and strikingly different feature that occurred between the three books of the *Motteti del fiore* series, however, is the placement of the *tabula* on the title page for MF2. This was completely unprecedented in motet series printing to date, but had appeared in motet printing prior to this print (in Attaingnant's early motet books), and would reappear in Attaingnant's Motet Series two years later.[82]

With the exception of the change in title page placement, Moderne was remarkably consistent in the way he formatted his series, and presented the information to his buyers. The running heads and indexes present the same information in the same layout in all three books. The grouping of motets by number of voices also points to a desire for clarity of layout, as does the similarities between the title pages of the two books for four voices, contrasting with the book for five voices.

All of these features, with the exception of the placement of the *tabula* on the title page of Book 2, were used to a degree by Petrucci or Antico. The other significant change seen in the *Motteti del fiore* books was the pagination system used by Moderne. Antico had used a foliation system, while Petrucci alternated between foliation in Arabic or Roman numerals, to no foliation or pagination system at all. Moderne adopted a pagination system where both sides of the folio were numbered. This allowed for more

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[82] This format will be discussed in the next chapter in relation to the format of Attaingnant's Motet Series.

accuracy in indexing the pieces than Petrucci's early system, and also provided more ease

of identification than the numbering of motets that Petrucci used in his later books.

Also significant, though by no means unprecedented, was the omission of a

printer's mark in all three books printed by Moderne. As we saw, Petrucci included one

in his Venetian series, and Antico employed two different printer's marks at different

times in his series. Printer's marks served several functions: they were a means of easy

identification for book carriers, but also functioned as trademarks, an indication of the

quality of the product, and eventually became inextricably linked to the identity of a

printing press.[83] Though the printer's mark would become significantly important in both

Italy and France,[84] neither Moderne nor Petrucci (two of the most prominent printers in

the early sixteenth century) seemed to consider them necessary for their motet series.

Perhaps it may have something to do with the inclusion of a decorative woodcut on the

cover of both series. Whatever the reason, this was clearly an aspect of printing that had

not yet reached the status of convention and which, as we shall see, was still optional for

Attaingnant several years later.[85]

CONCLUSIONS

Many aspects of the motet series printed by Petrucci, Antico, and Moderne

changed over the course of thirty years. Some became standard, such as the four-partbook

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[83] BernsteinJPrint, 41. Bernstein discusses the printer's marks of several Italian printers, including Scotto and Gardano, and the extent to which a printer's mark could change over the years. Drake argues that the printer's mark was a carry-over of the medieval merchant's mark, and was shunned by early humanist printers as a mark of illiteracy (DrakeDiss, 31).
[84] See Bernstein's discussion of the subject in BernsteinJPrint.
[85] This is unrelated to geography since there are records that show that François I was involved in regulating the use of printers' marks in Paris (BernsteinJPrint, 41).

format that Petrucci introduced in Motetti C, while others remained experimental, changing from one printer to another and from one print to another.

From my examination of the four motet series that appeared in print before 1534, we can distill a set of conventions adopted by all three printers. Leaving aside the first two books printed by Petrucci (whose format precluded the need for many of the features later adopted by the printer), we see that there were five elements of the layout of the motet series that remained more or less constant: title page, colophon, *tabula*, running heads, and first word initials. All were introduced by Petrucci, who made refinements to the layout and contents of these features as his two series progressed. By the time Antico and Moderne appeared on the scene, it was conventional to print the full title of the series on each partbook, to include the colophon at the end of a partbook (Bassus for Petrucci and Antico, Superius for Moderne), to include the *tabula* on the first folio verso of all partbooks (this convention differed from Petrucci's second series), to include running heads in each partbook that at the very least gave the part name, the name of the composer and the folio/page number, and to decorate the start of each motet with an elaborate initial, following manuscript tradition. The important exception to this standard is the placement of the *tabula* on the title page of Moderne's second book, at that time an anomaly certainly, but a feature that would prove important for the development of the motet series in the following years.

Several features continued to remain in a state of flux, from printer to printer and book to book. These included foliation system, the organisation of the contents of the books (for the most part the books were not structured according to a specific criteria, but there were some attempts to organise the contents according to subject or number of

voices), and most dramatically, the size of the books and the number of motets and folios per book.

As we can see in the fourth row of each table outlining the features of the four series, the number of pages, and the size of the pages varied greatly over the course of the thirty years covered in this chapter. Though Petrucci and Moderne printed books of roughly the same size (ca. 16.5 x 23 cm for Petrucci and 17.5 x 24 cm for Moderne), Antico's four books were significantly smaller, measuring only 11x 16 cm. This would naturally affect the use of the books, and the small size of the Antico volumes practically negates the possibility of more than one person singing from a single partbook. In terms of number of folios per book, the Antico volumes resemble Petrucci's *Corona* series, with an average of 16 folios per partbook, resulting in far fewer motets per volume than the Venetian prints, or Moderne's three books, which average 32 folios per volume. This resulted in a higher number of motets per book for Petrucci's first series and Moderne's series than what we find in Antico's series and Petrucci's *Corona* books.[86]

The inclusion of multiple settings of a single text within one book and throughout a series, and the number of Marian motets are two other factors that changed dramatically from the time of Petrucci's first series to Moderne's third book of the *Motteti del fiore* series. It comes as no surprise that the texts that were reprinted with the most frequency are Marian texts (such as the different versions of the "Ave Maria" texts, with the title appearing a total of ten times across sixteen books over the course of the thirty years that passed between the printing of Petrucci's *Motetti A* and the printing of Moderne's *Secundus liber cum quatuor vocibus* of the *Motteti del fiore* series). Appendix A1 lists all

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[86] The total number of motet per series is given in Table 3.1 above.

Marian texts printed in the four series, ranked by printer and number of appearances. The highest amount of text repetition and greatest number of Marian texts occur in Petrucci's Venetian series, with twenty four texts that appear in more than one book across the two series, while the series by Antico and Moderne have the fewest number of texts that appear in more than one of their books (none for Antico and eight for Moderne).[87]

The repetition of texts within a single book and the presence of Marian motets diminished dramatically from Petrucci's Venetian prints to the books of the *Motetti de la Corona* series, and in Antico's four volumes. While the proportion of Marian texts remained stable in the later three series, the repetition of texts was again prominent (though to a lesser degree that previously) in the first three books of Moderne's *Motteti del fiore*. Perhaps this resurgence of multiple text settings indicates a shift back to a priority on texts in the selection process, one which, as we shall see, Attaingnant appears to have considered in choosing motets for his own Series. If we accept that Petrucci selected pieces at least in part because of the popularity of the texts that they set, such as the textual equivalent of "international hits,"[88] then might we not consider that a similar motive could have influenced Moderne's selection? If so, does this indicate a renewed interest in the printing of popular texts in more than one setting? How did this influence Attaingnant? That Attaingnant had access to the works printed by these men, and indeed, sold some of the prints in his shop before he began printing music seems probable.[89] That his choice of motets was influenced by what had sold and would potentially sell is likely.

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[87] *Verbum bonum* appears twice in Antico's fourth book, while *Alma redemptoris* appears three times in Moderne's second book for four voices (MF3).

[88] MouserDiss. Mouser uses the term, which refers to pieces that circulated widely, in describing the repertoire of Motetti A, a term she borrowed from Allan Atlas (AtlasChansonnier, I: 41).

[89] HeartzCat, 39-40.

Of the 255 motets (excluding Magnificats) printed in Attaingnant's Series, 41 of the

motets had previously been published by Petrucci, Antico, or Moderne.[90] We can

conclude that Attaingnant, like many printers who followed, drew motets from this

shared repertoire to ensure a certain degree of "saleability" for his Series. This approach

would also include choosing motets with similar texts or titles, such as the "Ave Maria"

texts (which are all printed as "Ave Maria, gratia plena" but which have substantial

differences after the opening lines), so that when looking at the *tabula* (or index), the

buyer would see familiar titles. This text-driven approach to motet selection would also

explain the placement of these and other "Ave" texts at the head of the *tabulae* in

Petrucci and Antico prints, preceding other "A" titles: the eye would immediately be met

by a familiar and popular text and thus would appeal to a large number of buyers,

professional or amateur.[91]

All three printers seem to have recognised the marketing power of a "series."

Petrucci in particular grouped his prints into different series starting with his very first

publication, *Harmonice musices Odhecaton A*. The numbering of books in succession

would likely have encouraged further sales: as a member of the new music print market,

if you had Motetti A and B on your library shelf, you would want to buy Motetti C when

it was released in order to complete the set. That this was a successful approach to

marketing seems evident in the increasing number of series that Petrucci printed.[92] It may

also be inferred from the existence of the three successive motet series by Petrucci,

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[90] The total number of texts that appear in both Attaingnant's Series and these four earlier series is reviewed and discussed in Chapter 7.

[91] See VanOrdenSing for a discussion of the popularity of "Ave Maria" and "Pater noster" texts.

[92] These include series of frotolle, Masses of a single composer, lute intabulations, Lamentations, laude, chansons, and of course the Venetian motet series.

Antico and Moderne, and the extra editions of these books. The increasing homogeneity that is evident from Petrucci's first series to Moderne's books in 1532 reflects a move towards making the "series" more unified, at least in terms of format and layout. It also seems to indicate an awareness of the potential of a unified series as a marketing ploy.

CONCLUSION TO PART I

The review in the three preceding chapters reveals that the situation in Paris was ideal for the release of new polyphony, and specifically a new motet series. François I was encouraging innovation in the arts and letters through new royal appointments at the university and the assignment of the first royal printers.[1] His changes at the court also contributed to the flourishing of letters and music. We saw that the King's Chapel underwent significant restructuring and expansion in the early years of François I's reign.[2] The traditional King's Chapel was divided into two chapels, one for the singing of the daily liturgy (the *Chapelle en plain-chant*) and one for the singing of polyphony (the *Chapelle de musique*). Between them, the two chapels employed more than thirty singers, and the *Chapelle de musique* in particular employed some of the most prominent motet composers of the period, including Jean Mouton and Claudin de Sermisy. This bustling music centre was supported by the King and other musical members of the court, and the choirs of the Sainte-Chapelle and Notre Dame also contributed to making Paris rich in sacred polyphony.[3] The motet itself changed in the early decades of the sixteenth century. Mouton had contributed to the popularity of the motet in France in the late years of Louis XII's reign, and Sermisy had continued that trend with his large motet output.

This was the situation in Paris when Attaingnant arrived on the scene. His first print of polyphony, *Chansons et motetz en Canon a quatre parties sur deux* ([1528]^{10}), appeared between 1525 and 1528, though he had already been working in Paris for some

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[1] This is reviewed in Chapter 1, "François I: Renaissance King."
[2] This is reviewed in Chapter 1, "The *Chapelle du roi* of Francois I and the Role of Polyphony."
[3] These institutions are discussed briefly in Chapter 1, "Other Institutions in Paris."

years, perfecting his new single-impression method of music printing.[4] These years also

gave him the opportunity to see how other printers worked and what kind of music and

prints appealed to the motet market. That he was aware of the accomplishments of other

printers is evident in the contents of his first book of polyphony, based on an Antico

print. It is likely that he also knew of Antico's motet series and Petrucci's two series.

Their successful press runs (prompting extra editions) may have inspired him to create his

own Series of motet prints. As the first music printer in Paris, and the first prolific printer

of music in France, Attaingnant certainly had access to new, unpublished motets. His

own motet prints in the late 1520s and early 1530s allowed him to take the pulse of the

market, to see how viable motet printing was in Paris.[5] What he found must have been

encouraging, because, in 1531, he applied for a royal privilege to protect past, present and

future music prints. In the privilege (signed by François I and Cardinal Tournon, the head

of the King's *Chapelle de musique*), the King granted Attaingnant protection for three

future publications: books of Masses, books of motets, and books of chansons. These

correspond to the three series that Attaingnant produced over the next several years, in

exactly that order of production. The idea of a series was no doubt appealing to a business

man like Attaingnant; by its very nature, a series would encourage future sales and widen

the appeal of the prints to other types of consumers, such as book collectors. Indeed, with

the single-impression method that Attaingnant used, music books soon became much

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[4] The book of motets and chansons is discussed in Chapter 2, "*Single Impression Printing: Rastell and Attaingnant*," as is the development of the single-impression printing method, and in Chapter 3.
[5] Three of these prints are listed in Table 3.1 in Chapter 3. The fourth is the lost print of Jannequin motets from 1533 (Heartz catalogue number 43).

more affordable than manuscripts or multiple impression prints, making them accessible to many more people than before.[6]

Attaingnant may have spent the time between the granting of the privilege and the appearance of the first book of his Motet Series gathering all the music necessary and reviewing the format and layout of books printed by Petrucci and Antico. These years also saw the printing of Moderne's series, a fact that Attaingnant could not have failed to take into account. He would have noted the format and contents traits that Moderne adapted from Antico and Petrucci, and the fact that Moderne reprinted two of the three books. Attaingnant built on his knowledge of the French musical scene and of earlier publishing ventures as he created his own ambitious sacred music collection.

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[6] Bernstein gives the price of four partbooks of five gatherings as 1 lira and 4 soldi in Italy in1543 (BernsteinJPrint, 79). Boorman equates this to 26 soldi, and notes that it was significantly less than the price of a Petrucci print in 1530 (BoormanCat, 336). In 1544, an Attaingnant print of Sermisy motets (S 2818) was valued at the lower price of 12s, the French sous being more or less equal to the Italian soldi (HeartzCat, 126). The Attaingnant print had only four gatherings, not five, the price is therefore not dramatically lower than the Italian partbooks.

Part II

ATTAINGNANT'S MOTET SERIES

CHAPTER 4

PLANNING, PRESENTATION,
AND ORGANISATION OF THE SERIES

In April of 1534, two years after Moderne published the first three books of his

motet series, *Motteti del fiore*, Pierre Attaingnant released the first book of what would

eventually be a fourteen-volume series. The second book appeared one month later, and

the thirteenth book in May of 1535. Four years elapsed before the fourteenth and final

book in 1539. As we shall see, this ultimate book differs from its predecessors in the

Series in several respects, but was certainly considered part of the Series by Attaingnant,

as can be seen in the formatting and numbering of the book.[1]

The production of a series of such magnitude likely involved a lengthy period of

planning. Indeed, in the royal privilege that François I granted to Attaingnant in 1531, we

find a reference to a forthcoming series of motet books, which surely refers to this series.[2]

Looking at the organisation and layout of the individual volumes of the Series, we learn

that the planning involved included far more than simply gathering the repertoire

necessary to fill these fourteen books: every effort was made to give the Series a sense of

cohesion, and to make the volumes as user-friendly as possible. The inclusion of non-

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[1] Modern sources and scholars tend to discount the fourteenth book as part of the Series: for example, a
printed facsimile available from Cornetto-Verlag excludes the fourteenth book of the Series, and the Grove
articles that mention the Series call it the "1534-35 motet series," clearly excluding the fourteenth book
printed in 1539 (see for example, GroveSermisy, and GroveGascongne). There is no mention of the
fourteenth book in the article on Manchicourt (GroveManchicourt), though the fact that a 14th volume
appeared in 1539 is mentioned in Heartz's article on Attaingnant (GroveAttaingnant). Richard Freedman
mentions the motet series "of 1534 and 1535" and then mentions a book of Manchicourt motets several
lines later, without indicating that the Manchicourt volume is part of the Series (HaarEuropeanMusic, 164).
John Brobeck also tends to discount the fourteenth book as part of the Series (See BrobeckPatronage, 226-
226; f.89; BrobeckDiss, 368-369).

[2] The privilege is discussed and transcribed by Heartz (HearztNewAtt and HeartzCat, 77-78, 174).

musical information, the layout and content of the title pages, presentation of the motets, and the organisation of individual books according to text-types and subjects, all suggest that Attaingnant carefully planned his Series so that his books would be easily and visually identifiable as part of one series, and above all, be a practical series from which professionals and amateurs alike could sing with ease.

The likelihood that Attaingnant was familiar with the motet series of his predecessors seems evident in some of the format and layout procedures that he employed in his own Series. However, Attaingnant also made several changes in the appearance of the motet series and included far more information on the title page than provided in earlier prints. This chapter presents a study of the books in Attaingnant's Series and is followed by a discussion of this series in relation to those of Petrucci, Antico, and Moderne.

OVERVIEW OF THE SERIES

Attaingnant's Motet Series is the largest series of sacred music printed in the first half of the sixteenth century, and is among the most substantial series printed by Attaingnant, who also produced two series of Masses and two series of chanson books during his quarter century career as a music printer.[3] The pace at which Attaingnant printed the books of his Motet Series was unprecedented: the first book appeared in April 1534 and with books 2 to 13 appearing over the next thirteen months, the average was a

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[3] Attaingnant printed three other large-scale series: a seven-book numbered Mass series in 1532 (choirbooks with 36-38 folios), an eleven-book chanson series from 1528-1530 (4 partbooks, 16 folios each), and a 36-book numbered chanson series between 1536 and 1550 (2 partbooks, 16 folios each). On the Mass series, see HeartzCat, AllaireDiss. On the chanson series, see HeartzCat, AdamsDiss, AdamsChan, BrownMode, and BernsteinLChanson.

mind-blowing one book per month. Table 4.1 outlines the Motet Series, giving the

printing date and full title of each book, as well as the number of pieces and folios per

book.

Table 4.1: Overview of Attaingnant's Motet Series

Book	Printing Date	Book Title (as in print)	Number of Motets	Number of Folios
Book 1	April 1534	*Liber primus quinque et viginti musicales quatuor vocum Motetos complectitur quorum nomina tabella sequens indicat.*	25	16
Book 2	May 1534	*Liber secundus: quatuor et viginti musicales quatuor vocum Motetos habet quorum nomina tabella sequens indicat.*	24	16
Book 3	June 1534	*Liber tertius: viginti musicales quinque sex vel octo vocum motetos habet ut sequenti tabella demonstratur.*	20	16
Book 4	June 1534	*Liber quartus. xxix. musicales quatuor vel quinque parium vocum modulos habet. ut sequenti indice demonstratur.*	29	16
Book 5	August 1534	*Liber quintus. xii. trium priorum tonorum magnificat continet.*	12	16
Book 6	September 1534	*Liber sextus. xiii. quinque ultimorum tonorum magnificat continet.*	13	16
Book 7	November 1534	*Liber septimus. xxiij. trium quatuor quinque sex ve vocum modulos dominici adventus nativitatisque ei' ac sanctorum eo tempore occurentium habet. ut presens index tibi commonstrat.*	23	16
Book 8	December 1534	*Liber octavus. xx. musicales motetos quatuor quinque vel sex vocum modulos habet.*	20	16
Book 9	January 1535	*Liber nonus. xviii. daviticos musicales psalmos habet.*	18	16
Book 10	February 1535	*Liber decimus: Passiones dominice in ramis palmarum veneris sancte: necnon lectiones feriarum quinte sexte ac sabbati hebdomade sancte: multaque alia quadragesime congruentia c tinet. ut palam videre licet.*		16
Book 11	March 1535	*Liber undecimus. xxvj. musicales habet modulos quatuor et quinque vocibus editos: quorum index subsequitur.*	26	16

Table 4.1(cont.): Overview of Attaingnant's Motet Series

Book 12	March 1535[4]	*Liber duodecimus. xvij. musicales ad virginem christiparam salutationes habet. ut subscripto indice videre licet. Mense Martio. m.d.xxxv. post pascha.*	17	16
Book 13	May 1535	*Liber decimustertius. xviij. musicales habet modulos quatuor quinque vel sex vocibus editos. opus sane totius armonie flos nuncupandum: ut indice sequeti palam est.*	18	16
Book 14	? 1539	*Liber decimus quartus. xix. musicas cantiones continet P. de Manchicourt insignis Ecclesie Turonensis prefecto authore.*	19	16

As we can see in Table 4.1, a few of the books were printed in the same month, or after a break of a month in the production of the Series. The reason for printing two books of motets in one month, or skipping a month in the production of motet books, may have been connected to other activities at the printing press. In July of 1534, the month following the printing of Books 3 and 4, Attaingnant printed the second book in his second Mass series (RISM 1534[2]); in October, following the printing of Book 6 and a book of chansons in September, Attaingnant printed his *Vingt et huyt chansons* book (RISM 1534[12]); in April of 1535 Attaingnant may have produced up to three books of chansons.[5] In each of the months following a "double issue" or during those months in which no motet books were published, Attaingnant produced at least one book of music outside the Motet Series, showing that he was determined to print his Series over a short period of time. He was apparently unwilling to halt production on the Motet Series to

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[4] The date included on the title page indicates that this book was printed at the end of March, after Easter, which fell on the 28th of March in 1535. This may explain why no book was printed in April; note that the only other time that Attaingnant produced two books in one month, he did not produce a book in the following month - perhaps Book 4 also appeared at the end of the month, like book 12.

[5] HeartzCat, 278-279. Only catalogue number 65 is dated April, though Heartz situates two other chanson books (no longer extant) between this book and the thirteenth book of motets (Heartz catalogue numbers 66 and 67).

accommodate the printing of more "high end" books such as the Mass volume, choosing instead to double production on Series in some months to offset the time taken for the printing of other musical books.

The timing of the "release dates" of the individual books was certainly part of the overall marketing plan for the Series. On two separate occasions, the date of the printing was directly related to the contents of the books. The November printing date of Book 7 (motets for Advent and Nativity) coincides with Advent, the season mentioned in the title; thus Attaingnant made his book available just before the start of this season, probably as part of a deliberate marketing strategy.[6] Similarly, the February printing date of Book 10 (motets for Holy Week and Lent) coincides with the upcoming Lent and Easter season, the season mentioned in the title of the book. In 1535, Easter fell on the 28th of March, therefore Lent would have begun in mid-February: perfect timing on Attaingnant's part.

From April 1534 to April 1535 Attaingnant printed more than twenty-one books, far more than he had ever printed in previous years.[7] It is hardly surprising that such a pace could not be kept indefinitely, and in fact Attaingnant did not produce a single book from June 1535 to January 1536, at least, no records remain of any prints from his presses during those months. When production began again in January of 1536, it was at a slower pace (six books between January 1536 and January 1537). The only time Attaingnant ever came close to the level of production of the 1534-35 year was in 1545, with thirteen

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[6] Advent now starts after St. Catherine's feast day, though in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Advent started before 25 November - St. Catherine's day. On the actual start date of Advent and the contents of Attaingnant's Book 7, see Chapter 6.

[7] Only 10 extant books are dated 1532, and only 4 from 1533.

volumes, mostly of chansons books.[8] Attaingnant seems to have cared a great deal about the production of his Motet Series, and must have believed it to be a worthwhile investment of his time and resources.

ORGANISATION AND FORMAT IN ATTAINGNANT'S PRINTS

One of the features of Pierre Attaingnant's prints (be they chanson anthologies or Mass collections) that has received considerable attention in scholarship are the various methods the printer used to organise his music within his anthologies. Some of these methods included listing the number of pieces in the book at the start of the title to distinguish one series from another (as he did in his early chanson anthologies), or numbering the books in the series, as he did for his Mass series, his Motet Series, and his later chanson series. Looking at individual books, Courtney Adams showed that Attaingnant made a concerted effort to minimise the number of page turns in the books of his early chanson anthologies (before 1536),[9] and Howard Mayer Brown found that Attaingnant ordered his later chanson anthologies (the numbered book series) according to the modes of the chansons.[10] Attaingnant clearly had a long-standing concern for the organisation and "usability" of his music prints. Indeed, we find some of these organisational approaches in the Motet Series, in addition to several original techniques.

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[8] This year also featured three volumes of motets by Manchicourt, the first a reprint of Book 14 under the title *Petri Manchicurtii Bethunii inclite Tornacensis ecclesie Puerorum symphoniacorum modera toris, modulorum musicalium Primus Tomus*.

[9] AdamsChan.

[10] BrownMode. Brown found that while the traditional definition of "modally ordered" that one finds in the later prints from Italy does not apply to the Attaingnant chanson prints, they are ordered according to specific modal criteria.

I found that all fourteen books in the Motet Series are organised in such a way that page turns in the middle of the motets are usually avoided, with the majority of pieces appearing on a single page or opening in all partbooks. In a few instances, page turn considerations are set aside in favour of other factors on which Attaingnant evidently placed more importance: specifically the placement of motets in a specific order based on textual considerations.[11]

Modal Ordering

As printing developed in the sixteenth century, printers found new ways of organising their prints, including ordering the contents according to mode. This became particularly popular in the latter half of the sixteenth century, especially in prints devoted to a single composer, but was also a feature of some earlier prints.[12]

In his study of Attaingnant's numbered chanson anthologies, Howard Mayer Brown found that the contents of each of the thirty-six books were divided according to mode.[13] This was, according to Brown, a trait unique to the numbered chanson anthologies, the anthologies that were printed as part of an extended series (as *Livre premier, Livre second*, etc.). It seems reasonable that Attaingnant may have tried this organisational approach before the production of his new chanson anthologies. Brown showed that almost all of the books printed after 1536 could be divided into four modal groupings, representing the four modal pairs *protus*, *deuterus*, *tritus* and *tetrardus*. He

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[11] This occurs with dramatic effect in Book 2, discussed in Chapter 6, though even then, page turns are minimal.
[12] On modally ordered prints, see WieringModes, PowersTypes. See also BergquistLasso, LewisGardano, and FreedmanLasso.
[13] BrownMode, 78.

determined this by looking at the system (flat or no flat) and final note of the tenor part of each chanson.

My study of the 281 motets in Attaingnant's Motet Series, however, found very little evidence that Attaingnant had any thought of modal order when he compiled this particular series. No clear patterns of order according to system and final note emerge in any of the fourteen books, with the exception of the two books of Magnificat settings, which Attaingnant states in his titles are ordered according to the eight Magnificat tones.[14]

We may conclude that *this* series does not feature the same level of modal organisation or ordering that Brown discovered in the chanson anthologies. This is not unexpected, given that this series appeared two years before the first modally ordered chanson print, and that none of the early chanson anthologies examined by Brown were modally ordered.[15] Furthermore, as we will see in the use of descriptive titles (title rubrics) and as will become evident in the discussions of the texts and rubrics of the motets, textual considerations were much more important to Attaingnant than musical factors: the absence of an approach similar to that of the chanson series here does not result from a lack of desire for modal organisation, but rather because of an apparent preference for ordering based on subject and possible use of the motets.

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[14] There are however hints of ordering according to clef. In Book 2 for example, pieces with g-clefs in the Superius dominate the first twelve pieces, while the emphasis in the second half of the book is on c-clef pieces. Similarly, Book 14 has a palindrome-like clef pattern. These examples however seem much more like coincidental groupings than evidence of deliberate ordering on Attaingnant's part.
[15] BrownMode, 76-77.

Format and Layout

One factor that is particularly unique to Attaingnant's Series, in relation to motet series that were printed before 1534, is the consistency of the layout and format of the fourteen books. Each of the fourteen volumes was printed in partbook format, with one book each for the Superius, Contratenor, Tenor and Bassus voice-parts. As was standard for motet prints in the early sixteenth century, all books have the same dimensions (Attaingnant's measuring 16 cm x 20.5 cm) and are all in oblong quarto (landscape) format. All fourteen books contain sixteen folios per partbook and feature a substantive title page with the same basic layout. The make-up of the individual pages of the books is also remarkably uniform, with the part name appearing in the centre of the running head on both sides of each folio, and with all books containing six staves per page.

This consistency of format and layout is quite different from that of the earliest motet series printed by Petrucci and stands out against that of Moderne and Antico's series as well (which we reviewed in Chapter 3). Amidst all this homogeneity, however, several small changes occurred during the course of printing the fourteen books. Table 4.2 outlines the principal features of the prints at four points in the Series, with features that remained the same shaded in grey.[16]

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[16] I chose these four books because they represent the first, middle and last books of the Series, and included Book 13 to highlight the connections between the Series and Book 14, printed four years after Book 13.

Table 4.2: Format and Layout Features of Select Books from Attaingnant's Motet Series

Features	Book 1	Book 7	Book 13	Book 14
Date of print	April 1534 (mense Aprili 1534 –all books)	November 1534 (Mense Nouêb. 1534 –CT only)	May 1535 (Mense Mayo. m.d.xxxv –all partbooks)	? 1539 (M.d.xxxix -all partbooks)
Foliation	1-16 (recto only).	1-16 (recto only).	1-16 (recto only).	1-16 (recto only).
Running Heads	Left-right: rubric, composer name, part name (centre) folio (far right, recto only).	Left-right: rubric, composer name, part name (centre) folio (far right, recto only).	Left-right: rubric/extra part-name, residuum, composer name; part name (centre) folio (far right, recto only).	Left-right: extra part name, part name (centre) folio (far right, recto only).
Number of Motet / Non 4-voice motets	25 / None.	24 / Four 3-voice, seven 5-voice, two 6-voice.	18 / Four 5-voice, six 6-voice.	19 / Four 5-voice, two 6-voice.
Title page contents and layout	Title, *tabula*, part name, colophon and date, privilege.	Title and date, *tabula*, part name, colophon, Privilege.	Title and date,[17] *tabula*, part name, colophon, privilege.	Title and date, *tabula*, part name, colophon.
Book organisation	None indicated, all 4 voice motets.	Advent and Nativity (as in title rubric).	None.	All Manchicourt motets (as in title rubric).
Tabula (Index)	All partbooks, 2 columns, alphabetical: title, composer, folio.	All partbooks, 2 columns, alphabetical: title, voice-part info, composer, folio.	All partbooks, 2 columns, alphabetical: title, voice-part info, composer, folio.	All partbooks, 2 columns, alphabetical: title, voice-part info, folio.
Total named composers / Total anonymous motets	12 named composers / 3 anonymous motets.	15 named composers / 1 anonymous motet.	14 named composers / 1 anonymous motet.[18]	1 named composer / 0 anonymous motets.
Colophon / Privilege	Place of printing, printer's name, date. / *Cum privilegio ad sexennium*.	Place of printing, printer's name, date. / *Cum privilegio regio ad sexennium*.	Place of printing, printer's name, date. / *Cum privilegio regio ad sexennium*.	Place of printing, printers' names (two), date. / None.

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[17] Roman numerals (from Book 8 onwards).

[18] This motet, *Sancta Maria mater dei*, is a canon in four voices, with the music appearing only in the Superius book. No composer name was printed in any of the *tabulae* or in the Superius book, however someone added the name "Claudin" in a cursive hand to the page to the copy held at the Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek in Jena, to all appearances the same hand that added rubrics and notes to other pages in the book.

The title page of the books underwent several minor changes, but all follow the

same basic layout. The page contains five distinct sections: the title and opening

paragraph, the *tabula*, the printer's information, the part name, and the privilege.

Reproductions of the title pages of Books 1, 7, 13 and 14 follow, in order to illustrate this

consistency.

Image 4.1: Title Page of Book 1 of Attaingnant's Motet Series

Image 4.2: Title Page of Book 7 of Attaingnant's Motet Series

Image 4.3: Title Page of Book 13 of Attaingnant's Motet Series

Image 4.4: Title Page of Book 14 of Attaingnant's Motet Series

Title

The titles of the books in Attaingnant's Series are remarkably uniform: all start

with the book number, followed by the number of motets, the number of voices in the

motets, and the information that all motets are listed in the *tabula*.[19] Attaingnant provided

all of this information in Latin, and used the same font and size for all fourteen books. It

is worth noting that all previous extant motet books printed by Attaingnant featured the

title and additional information (colophon, etc.) in French not Latin, and that the books in

this series are the first in which Attaingnant used Latin for *all* non-musical information.[20]

Attaingnant had previously used Latin only for his volumes of Masses. In contrast to

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[19] Book 14 is the only exception; it features no direct reference to the *tabula*.
[20] The one possible exception is the now-lost 1533 print of Jannequin motets, which survives only as a record in the catalogues of Ferdinand Columbus (HeartzCat, 253).

Petrucci and Antico, whose use of Italian in their prints suggests a vernacular or secular approach, Attaingnant's use of the Latin language and gothic font point to a more sacred use for the Motet Series.[21]

One aspect of the title that changed during production was the inclusion, in the title, of a rubric concerning the subject of the motets in several books of the Series.[22] Additionally, the title of Book 13 stands apart from the other books, featuring more than a simple title (such as Book 1), but not falling into the category of "title rubric" books (such as Book 7). In addition to the number of the book and pieces contained in the book, Attaingnant added the phrase "musicales habet modulos quatuor quinque vel sex vocibus editos. opus sane totius armonie flos nuncupandum: ut indice sequeti palam est" ("has musical modulos [motets] published for four, five and six voices, work that should surely be called the flower of all harmony: as is clear in the following index"). This phrase does not appear in any of the other books of the Series, and is, in fact, more akin to the tone of Italian prints, or those of Moderne, which include non-descriptive, flowery language to describe the *quality* of the contents.[23]

Tabula

In contrast to the printed motet books of Petrucci, Antico and Moderne, Attaingnant placed the *tabulae* of his Series on the title page of each book, and made it the central feature of the title page. It provided a wealth of information about the motets

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[21] GrendlerBooks, 470. All of Attaingnant's later motet prints use Latin, but combined with an Italian font, not a gothic font. Note also that Moderne's books use Latin as well (Liber primus, etc.).

[22] These "title rubrics," discussed in Chapter 6, appear in the titles of Books 5-7, 9, 10, 12 and 14. The title rubric signals another change in these books, one discussed later on in this chapter (see "Anthology Types" below).

[23] Moderne used terms like "paragon des chansons" in his prints.

for potential buyers and owners of the Series. Attaingnant organised his *tabula* (printed uniformly on the title page of each and every partbook of all fourteen books), in two columns, with the title of the motet on the far left of each column, the name of the composer in the centre, and the folio number for each motet at the far right of both columns. The titles appear in strict alphabetical order. The composers' names are often simply the last name, though some also feature an initial (i.e. A. Villart). The foliation is listed in roman numerals. The entire *tabula* is printed in a small font, to allow for the large amount of information included on the page, and to emphasize the title of the book and the privilege.

With Book 3, the first book of the Series to feature motets for more than four voices, Attaingnant introduced a new element to his *tabula* designed to identify and locate pieces with more than four voice parts (described below in "Performance Matters"). Thus, looking at the *tabula* of the Book 7 Superius partbook, we see that the second motet, *Conceptio tua* is for five voices (5), that the additional voice is in the Contratenor range (cc) and that it is located in the Contratenor partbook, and on folio ii in this book. Motets for three voices required an additional adjustment in some of the partbooks: Attaingnant included the titles for these motets in all partbooks, but omitted the folio number in the partbook of the fourth voice (usually the Bassus), which did not participate in the three-voice motets.

Colophon and Privilege

Below the *tabula*, in medium font, Attaingnant placed his colophon, which included the location of his printing press and shop, his title as a music printer, and the month and year of publication (in Arabic numbers for the first seven books, and Roman numerals for the remaining books). This was followed by the appropriate part name, written in the same size as the title, and the privilege. It was in this part of the title page that Attaingnant advertised the location of his shop, and the fact that his music was protected by royal privilege. The wording of the privilege underwent several changes during the course of the Series, though its location and appearance on the title page remained constant throughout. The simplest form of the privilege appears on the title pages of Books 1 to 3 and 5 to 6, stating simply that the print is protected by privilege for six years.[24] Starting with Book 7, the standard wording of the privilege changed to include the fact that these prints were protected by *royal* privilege: the privilege on the title pages of Books 7 to 10, and 13 reads *Cum privilegio regio ad sexennium* ("With royal privilege for six years"). Books 4, 11, and 12, however, contain a much longer privilege, which includes a direct reference to the King, and is more formal in tone: *Cum gratia et privilegio christinanissimi francorum regis ad sexennium* ("With the grace and privilege of the most Christian King of the French for six years"). The changes in the wording of the privilege show an increasing emphasis on the crown, adding to the prestige of the Series and the printer.[25]

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[24] *Cum privilegio ad sexennium.*
[25] Only two years after the printing of Book 13, Attaingnant would receive the ultimate recognition from the crown and would start to advertise his connection by signing his prints "Royal Printer of Music."

Foliation / Gathering Signatures

Foliation and gathering signatures are two other features that contribute to the

uniformity of the Series, and show that Attaingnant considered all fourteen books as part

of a single series, which he linked together structurally as well as visually. Unlike those

of previous motet series, each partbook in Attaingnant's Series is foliated in precisely the

same manner from i to xvi, the foliation starting over at i for each of the fourteen books

and each partbook,[26] a feature that contributed to the standardisation of the partbooks.

The use of gathering signatures is also remarkably standardised. Unlike his predecessors

who used a sequence of letters to mark the gatherings of their partbooks books (i.e. A-B

for Superius, C-D for Tenor, E-F for Altus, and F-G for Bassus, in Petrucci's *Corona*

series), Attaingnant designed a system in which the different partbooks of the entire

Series could be quickly identified and the whole Series could be ordered according to

their gathering signatures. The four partbook signatures in Book 1 start with the letter 'a'

and run through to 'd.' Each partbook is assigned a specific letter code: 'a' for Superius,

'aa' for Contratenor, 'A' for Bassus, and 'AA' for Tenor. Book 2 picks up the sequence

of Book 1, with 'e' and runs through to 'h' and so on. Having run through the entire

alphabet from Books 1-6, Attaingnant started over at 'a' for Book 7, and included a

double-crossed 't' before each letter in all partbooks to distinguish these gatherings from

those of Book 1. When he reached the end of this second alphabet sequence at the end of

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[26] This is in contrast to Petrucci who experimented with consecutive foliation from one book to another, or Moderne who used pagination of both sides of the folios in his books.

Book 12, Attaingnant preceded the letters with an asterisk, in Book 13, a sequence that he continued into Book 14.[27]

The sequence of gathering signatures is significant on two fronts. Firstly, it demonstrates a large scale organisational approach on Attaingnant's part, not just in terms of content or visual layout, but at the technical level as well. These books were not only intended to look alike, but, as implied by the title "Liber primus, Liber secundus" and so on, were designed to go together physically: each partbook should be followed by the next, and could conveniently be bound together in the right order, thanks to the gathering signatures. Indeed, several of the extant copies survive with all partbooks for a specific voice bound together in order.[28]

The second significance of the series-long sequence of gathering signatures is the continuation of the sequence from Book 13 to Book 14. As mentioned above, the last book of Attaingnant's Series differs in some respect to the previous books, and some modern scholars have treated the fourteenth book as a separate entity.[29] However, Attaingnant took great pains to link this book to the others in his Series, using the same layout and format, naming it "Liber decimus quartus," and even tying the gatherings into the sequence used in the thirteenth book. Clearly Attaingnant considered it as inextricably linked to the previous prints, despite some significant differences in this last book.

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[27] Because of the standard 16-folios per-partbook format that Attaingnant maintained for the entire series, the alphabet had to be reset every six books, at the start of Book 7 and Book 13.

[28] On the extant copies of the Series, see Chapter 5.

[29] Most notably Freedman and Brobeck, though both acknowledge the inclusion of the fourteenth book in the modern edition edited by Smijers and Tillman (MotEd).

Running Heads

In addition to the remarkably detailed title pages, Attaingnant also included a great deal of information on the internal pages of his books, particularly in the running head. The running heads are divided into three parts: far left is the composer's name and rubric (a feature discussed in detail in Chapter 6), the part name appears in the centre, and the far right contains the folio number (recto side only). No printer had previously included so much information, so consistently in their series. The consistent use of detailed running heads in Attaingnant's Motet Series not only continued the trend of including much more information in his prints than was practiced by earlier printers, but also greatly added to the visual effect of the books: the highly informative quality of the title page was continued all the way to the last folio of the book through these running heads.

DISRUPTIONS AND IRREGULARITIES:
  FEATURES THAT CHANGED SIGNIFICANTLY DURING THE PRINTING OF THE SERIES

While we saw that many of the features of the fourteen books remained consistent over the course of the entire series, especially the more visually evident features of the title page and layout, several features underwent minor changes, such as the number of motets for more than four voices featured in the books, and the placement of the date on the title page. Some features changed significantly as the Series progressed, most notably the changes in types of motet books, Attaingnant's approach to the organisation of the motets within his books, as well as several features unique to Book 14.

Number of Motets per Book and Number of Voices per Motet

The number of voice parts per motet is a feature that fluctuated throughout the Series and naturally impacted the number of motets that could be printed in a single book. In his Motet Series, Attaingnant was able to include anywhere from 13 motets to 29 motets per book. Books 1 and 2 contain motets for four voices only, a trait shared by many of Attaingnant's motet books leading up to the Series, and have 25 and 24 motets respectively. Books 5 and 6 both contain 13 motets, owing to the length of the Magnificat text that they set. Book 12 contains only 17 motets, but with motets calling for twelve and eight voices, and several with six voice parts, the sixteen folios were filled much more quickly than those of the first two books. The fluctuating number of voices was a concern for Attaingnant. It did not prevent the inclusion of motets with more than four voice parts, but was apparently significant enough for him to feel that some explanation was needed on how to use the books when a motet featured more than four parts (discussed below in "Performance Matters").

While the majority of motets in Books 3 to 14 continued to be for four voices, several of the later books in the Series included more motets for five and six voices, especially Books 8 and 13, (fourteen of twenty motets in Book 8, and ten of eighteen in Book 13). This might be a reflection of changes in motet style, as five- and six-voice textures were becoming more standard in the 1530s.[30]

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[30] There is a move towards more emphasis on contemporary composers in books in the second half of the Series that are not limited by text subject. The books were printed so closely in time however that it is difficult to see changes in the contents as a clear style change issue, but, of the fourteen motets for more than four voices in Book 8, nine are by contemporary composers (three are anonymous), and seven of the ten in Book 13 are by contemporary composers (three are by composers about whom we have little information: works by Margot, Villain, and Jarsin all appeared for the first time in the Motet Series, and

Anthology Types: Mixed and Uniform Anthologies

All previous motet prints printed by Petrucci, Antico, Moderne, and Attaingnant himself had been essentially the same in one domain: they were all what I call "mixed anthologies," books that contained motets by a number of different composers on a variety of different subjects and set different types of texts. Starting with the fifth book of his Motet Series, Attaingnant began to include a different type of anthology, one that I refer to as a "uniform anthology." Uniform anthologies are distinct from mixed anthologies because they contain motets that are either all on the same subject, or all for the same feast/occasion, or because they all set the same type of text. Six of the books in Attaingnant's Series fall under this category, listed in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3: Mixed and Uniform Anthologies in Attaingnant's Motet Series

Mixed Anthologies (with rubrics for individual motets unless noted)	Uniform Anthologies (with descriptive titles on the title page)
Book 1	**Book 5:** title rubric: *trium priorum tonorum magnificat continet* (contains Magnificats on the first three tones).
Book 2	**Book 6:** title rubric: *quinque ultimorum tonorum magnificat continet* (contains Magnificats on the five last tones).
Book 3	**Book 7:** title rubric: *trium quatuor quinque sex ve*[l] *vocum modulos dominici adventus nativitatisque ei'*[us] *ac sanctorum eo tempore occurentium habet.* (has *modulos* [motets]for three, four, five or six voices for Sundays of Advent and of his birth, and the saints occurring at that time).

these composers produced only a few pieces each). See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the composers in the Attaingnant series.

Table 4.3 (cont.): Mixed and Uniform Anthologies in Attaingnant's Motet Series

Mixed Anthologies	Uniform Anthologies	
Book 4	**Book 9:** title rubric: *daviticos musicales psalmos habet.* (has musical Psalms of David).	
Book 8	**Book 10:** title rubric: *Passiones dominice in ramis palmarum veneris sancte: necnon lectiones feriarum quinte sexte ac sabbati hebdomade sancte: multaque alia quadragesime congruentia c[on]tinet. ut palam videre licet.* (contains Passions for Palm Sunday and Holy Friday, lessons for the fifth and sixth and seventh days of Holy Week, [and] many others suitable for Lent, as can be plainly seen).	
Book 11 no rubrics	**Book 12:** title rubric: *musicales ad virginem christiparam salutationes habet.* (has musical salutations for the Virgin, Mother of Christ).	
Book 13		
Book 14 single composer: Manchicourt		

The uniform anthologies all contain a short descriptive phrase (or "rubric") in their titles, specifying the single text-type or subject of the book. The mixed anthologies contain no such rubrics in the titles, but rather contain rubrics inside the books, assigned to individual motets.[31] Combining the two different types of anthologies was no doubt part of Attaingnant's marketing strategy: in this way he could target the market by offering them something quite different and specialised, but which would appeal to a variety of potential buyers. Anyone who owned a Book of Hours would find Book 12 with its settings of Marian Antiphons both familiar and appealing,[32] and churches and cathedrals, as well as amateur groups, or confraternities,[33] would find the specially selected options for Holy Week and Advent helpful in filling in the gaps in their own repertoire. That this fact was not lost on Attaingnant is evident in the timing of his publications.

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[31] This feature will be discussed at length in Chapter 6.
[32] The Book of Hours was a personal devotional book. See Chapter 7.
[33] On the use of motets for devotions by confraternities, see HatterThesis.

Book Organisation

The organisation of individual books typically depends on whether it is a mixed or uniform anthology.[34] The uniform anthologies are necessarily organised by type of text, but they usually feature an additional level of organisation within the book. For example, the two books of Magnificat settings are organised according to Magnificat tone: p*rimi toni*, *secundi toni*, *tertii toni*, and so on. The mixed anthologies, by their very nature, feature less clear-cut organisation. This does not mean, however, that Attaingnant compiled and printed their contents at random: Book 1 has no stated organisation in the title, but it is unified by the fact that it contains motets for four voice-parts only.[35]

In all books, whether the motets were organised according to a particular design or seem randomly placed, Attaingnant made an effort to place the pieces in each partbooks in such a way that even those motets with more than one part per-partbook would avoid a page turn mid-phrase. Typically, motets appear on a single folio, or a single opening. For example, in the Superius partbook of Book 13, only four page turns occur in the middle of a phrase, while the Superius partbook of Book 11 features a single page turn. Further disruptions of this kind were avoided by sometimes leaving the final staff lines of the page blank.

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[34] In Book 14 (Manchicourt motets), the pieces are organised according to number of voices (descending from 6 voices to 4 voices).
[35] The organisation of the individual books of the Series is discussed in greater detail with respect to text subject and rubrics in Chapter 6.

Title Page

Book 14 has a number of differences in the title page alone that are immediately evident, and that seem to set it apart from the other books of the Series. While the basic appearance of the title page follows the format of the previous books (as we saw in Table 4.2 and Images 4.1 to 4.4 above) there are several important differences. The first is a reference in the opening paragraph to the composer Pierre de Manchicourt (and his professional affiliation), as author of the motets of this book.[36] This is significant not only because it is the first time that a composer's name appears as part of the title of any book in the Series, but also because we learn from this that all motets in this book are by that one composer. The timing of the release of this single-composer print of motets is also significant because the year 1539 saw the publication of a total of eight single-composer motet prints: in addition to Attaingnant's Book 14, seven single-composer motet prints were published by the Scotto printing presses in Italy.[37]

The second difference between this book and the other thirteen books is the lack of a precise date for the print, beyond the year of publication. The third difference is the absence of reference to the *tabula*: in all other books, Attaingnant states that the contents of his books are listed in the *tabulae* that appear below the titles. While not a vital omission, it does contribute to a change in the appearance of the opening paragraph, and

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[36] I include a brief discussion of Manchicourt and his motets in Chapter 5 and Appendix E1.

[37] Julie Cumming and Peter Schubert researched these prints under the "SSHRC Standard Research Grant project: "The Lost Generation: The Motet between Josquin and Palestrina," 2009-2012. Because there is no precise dating on Book 14, or any other records pertaining to the printing of this book, it is impossible to ascertain whether Attaingnant was responding to Scotto's activities, or if the Italian printer's productions were inspired by Attaingnant. The lack of a precise date became standard practice for Attaingnant around the time of the printing of Book 14.

the tone of the title page. A fourth difference appears in the colophon. For the first time in the Series, two printers are listed in the colophon: Attaingnant, and Hubert Jullet. Jullet was in fact Attaingnant's son-in-law and became a partner at the printing press in 1537.[38]

One major difference between this book and the previous thirteen books is the absence of the privilege at the bottom of the title page, nor did Attaingnant sign his name as Royal Printer, something that he was required to do as part of the position he held.[39] It may be that Attaingnant could not include his title or privilege because of the inclusion of Jullet's name: in 1539 Attaingnant alone held the position of Royal Printer, despite the partnership of the two men.[40] This supposition is supported by the lack of both privilege and title of King's Printer on their other joint-publications that appeared between 1537 and 1539.[41] We therefore have a title page that both conformed to the standards established in the very first book of the Series, and that included some remarkable differences as well.

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[38] HeartzCat, 73.

[39] HeartzCat, 88.

[40] Heartz found evidence of a renewal of the 1531 privilege in 1537 for an additional six years (HeartzCat, 178), however the renewal mentions Attaingnant's name only. The fact that this renewed privilege and the appointment to title of King's Printer were addressed to Attaingnant alone explains why neither privilege nor title appear on the joint publications of Attaingnant and Jullet from the start of their partnership in mid-1537 until later in 1539, when both printers were named "King's Printer" (HeartzCat, 87). Image 4.5 of the 1542 Sermisy prints contains both the privilege and the title "Royal Printers of Music" for Attaingnant and Jullet. On the partnership of Attaingnant and Jullet, see HeartzCat, 73-75, 87-89, 119-120.

[41] The first print with both printers' names that features the privilege and title of Royal Printers of Music is the seventh book of chanson that appeared in 1540 (HeartzCat, 303). Attaingnant did print several books on his own during 1537-1539, which he signed "Royal Printer of Music" and that feature the six-year privilege notice.

Dedication

  The most striking difference between this book and the other books of the Series is the inclusion of a dedication on the first folio verso of the Superius partbook. The dedication, written by Pierre de Manchicourt, is followed by an ode to the composer by the nephew of his contemporary, Claudin de Sermisy. The page is reproduced as Image 4.5.[42]

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[42] A transcription and translation are provided by Heartz (HeartzCat, 178-181).

Image 4.5: Dedication and Poem from Book 14 of Attaingnant's Motet Series

Integerrimo ac doctissimo Viro Remigio Ruffo Cãdido insignis Ecclesie Turonen canonico meritissimo P. Maschicourtius S.D.

Non errauerunt, mea quidem sententia, Stoici Remigi eruditissime, qui, quę in terris gignũtur, ad vsum hominum omnia creari existimarunt, homines autem hominũ caussa esse generatos, vt ipsi inter se, alũ alijs mutatione officiorũ prodesse possent. Quod perpendēs Terentianus ille Chremes, obiurganti Menedemo seni, scite admodum respondit, homo, inquit sum humani a me nihil alienum puto. Et sane quia hominez nudum fragilemcz Deus formauerat, vt eum sapientia bene institutum melius insigniret: pręter cętera hũc amorem illi pietatis inseruit, vt homo hominem tueatur, diligat, foueat, contracz omnia pericula et accipiat, et pręstet auxilium: Sũmum igitur inter se hominũ vinculum est humanitas Quę profecto pręter raras animi tui ingenũcz dotes, multorum animos cũ perstrinxisset, magna familiaritate sibi cõiunxit. Et vt interim taceam, quę, erga omnes doctos, et indignitate fortunę male acceptos, tuę humanitatis officia extant; ego vel solus amplissimũ argumentum esse possum, qualis quãtuscz semper fuerit tuus ille singularis morum candor, et melioris vite non omittenda constitutio. Tu enim vir bene cognitũ, et diuersis fortunę flatibus obiectum adeo benigne, et re, et consilio fouisti: vt tibi iure acceptũ ferre debeam, quod etiam nũc res nostrę incolumes stent maxime: quas in extremum fere discrimen, inuidia ipsa cum adduxisset, tuum Petrum laborãtem, velut facto gradu, fustentasti seruasti, asseruisti. Nec licet quocz silentio nũc pręterire, qua animi honestate, tua nos opera vti volueris: quoscz labores vltro in rem nostram impenderis. Profecto si vt conatũ pręstitisti, ita coeptis fortuna respõdisset, meliore vento nauigaremus: quem in hac maris trãquillitate confido breui nõ defuturum. His igitur tot tuę humanitatis beneficijs affectus, magnopere sollicitor quopacto tuis in me meritis gratiam referre possim. Et quãuis in solidũ atcz aliqua ex parte haud fieri posse satis id intelligam, nihilominus tamen adiuncto aio impense laborãdum est, vt sic saltem tibi homini longe omnium gratissimo interiores bonę mentis affectus ostendãtur. Quãobrem aliquot nostras musicę artis cantiones tibi vt patrono dicamus, Remigi hũani Time, nostrę erga te beneuolentie testimoniũ fidelissimum: quas cũ amici bene quotidianis a me conuitijs postularent, necz eas, citra magnũ laborem, quis facile (omnibus obsequēdo) exscribere posset, necz etiam id consilij foret, eorum expectationem diutius protrahere, opereprecium me facturũ putaui, eas sub tui nominis tutela prelo cõmittere: quo facilius omnium volũtati satisfacerem, et hoc officio simul oēs amantissimos mei demereri possem. Necz id tibi mirũ videri debet, si quę tibi, itidem et illis priuatim dicata sunt, omnibus cõmuniter exposuerim, quin omnino par est, vt quem pari amore cõplectimini, ita eiusdē vigilijs gaudere et oblectari possitis Quę si vobis gratę fortassis videbũtur, equi bonicz velim cõsulatis. Si minus tamen iucunde: dedisse me operam, conatuncz omnem pręstitisse, queso, sufficiat. qui sicut pleriscz in rebus vel solus laudi vatur. Ita eũ ad veniam mihi libenter sperauerim profuturum. Vale.

Egidii de Sermisy ad P. Maschicourtium

Delphin per siculos euexit Ariona fluctus
Tãgentem Bonię plectra sonora lyrę
Muri olim Thebes Amphionis arte manebãt:
Iunctacz saxa suis quecz reposta locis.
Ad styga festinans Orpheus dulcedine mouit
Tergeminũ, Eurydices victus amore, canem

Petre tamen, Phoebo vel certent iudice, vincis,
Et tua nescio quid cantio maius habet.
Cui dulcedo omnis, cedant et pocula diuum,
Si quid et Ambrosia dulcius esse potest
Hęc sunt fida tui studĩ monumenta, nec vllum
Inuida posteritas est habitura parem.

The greater part of this dedication offers praise and thanks to his patron, Remy Roussel, the Canon of Tours. Manchicourt speaks of Roussel's financial and personal support, the fact that the Canon is responsible for Manchicourt's current appointment (at Tours), and the great steps that Roussel took to provide him with that position. Manchicourt also states that Roussel paid "advantageously for these labours," referring it would seem to the motets in this print.[43] Manchicourt then goes on to explain that he dedicates these motets to Roussel in thanks for all his support, and that the printing of the motets will satisfy all his friends, including those who have been asking for his motets. He closes by asking humbly for Roussel's approval of the motets and the effort he has put into producing them.

Several points emerge that shed light on Manchicourt's career and hint at the printing process. We learn that Manchicourt owes his present situation to the Canon of the Cathedral of Tours, and that that appointment had come into some jeopardy. Manchicourt also states that he is presenting these motets for the first time, at the behest of many who have been "clamouring" for his pieces, but that he prints them under Roussel's protection, revealing an anxiety about the printing process that was also present in other dedications.[44] He implies that he has taken the initiative in having the motets printed, though this language was so standardised in dedications that one cannot take it

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[43] HeartzCat, 180.
[44] Certon's dedication to Sermisy in his own 1542 print (RISM C 1707) uses the same language to describe the patron and process of printing his motets, including expressing anxiety about printing the motets, and needing to print them under the protection of someone's name.

too literally.[45] Could Attaingnant have been one of the friends who "kept up a virtually

daily clamor" asking for the pieces?

This dedication implies a different production process than that of the earlier

books, one in which the composer may have had a more active role. Jane Bernstein

discussed the relationship of composers and printers in her study of the Scotto printing

press, and concluded that the single-composer print was a safe "commissioned

publication," for which the composer (or his patron) typically funded at least part of the

publication.[46] However, the fact that Attaingnant entitled this book "Liber decimus

quartus" may indicate a limit to the involvement of the composer: this was probably not

the type of joint publication that one typically envisions of single-composer prints. There

is no evidence that Manchicourt had any active role in the publication, beyond providing

the dedication, and the music, and it may be that Attaingnant decided that the best way to

sell the music was to make the book part of his Motet Series.[47] Indeed, the print seems

more like an homage to the composer than a venture on Manchicourt's part and lacks one

of the key trademarks of other contemporary single-composer prints: the ostentatious

placement of the composer's name on the cover along with many descriptive adjectives.[48]

The poem at the end of the dedication also points to Attaingnant's influence on the

printing process.

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[45]BernsteinJPrint, 105. Attaingnant's print is the first surviving source for most of the motets, but not all of them. See the Composer Table (Appendix D1) and the Motet Table (Appendix D2).
[46] BernsteinJPrint, 77.
[47] Attaingnant had printed only one single-composer print of motets before 1539, the now-lost volume of Jannequin motets of 1533. Jacob Sagrans discussed the paucity of single-motet prints before 1539 in SagransScotto.
[48] SagransScotto. See for example the title page of Scotto's 1539 print of Gombert motets (RISM G 2977).

Egedii de Sermisy ad P. Manchicourtium
Delphin per siculos euexit Ariona fluctus
        Tangentem Aoniae plectra sonora lyrae
Muri olim Thebes Amphionis arte manebant:
        Iunctaque saxa suis quaeque reposta locis.
Ad stygo festinans Orpheus dulcedine mouit
        Tergenimum, Eurydices victus amore, canem
Petre tamen, Phoebo vel certent iudice, vincis,
        Et tua nescio quid cantio maius habet
Cui dulcedo omnis, cedant et pocula diuum,
        Si quid et Ambrosia dulcius esse potest
Haec sunt fida tui studii monumenta, nec vllum
        Inuida posteritas est habitura parem.

(Gilles de Sermisy to P. de Manchicourt
A dolphin carried Arion through the Sicilian billows,
        As he was plucking the tuneful strings of the Muses' lyre.
Once the art of Amphion made Thebes' walls stand firm;
        The stones were joined, each placed in its proper spot.
Overcome by love of Eurydice, Orpheus, hurrying toward the Styx,
        Moved Cerberus by his charm.
But, my Pierre, let them have a contest, even with Apollo as judge,
        And you will emerge victorious.
Your music has something great in it, second to no charms,
  not even the goblets of the gods,
        If there can be anything more sweet than ambrosia.
These are faithful memorials of your pains,
        And envious ages to come are not likely to have any equal).[49]

    The poem, written by Gilles de Sermisy, nephew of Claudin de Sermisy,[50] is two stanzas, each with three paired lines of alternating fifteen and fourteen syllables. The first stanza describes three separate situations: Arion playing his lyre and riding to safety on the dolphin's back, Amphion building the Thebes and maintaining the city through his (musical) art, Orpheus using his (musical) talent to move Cerberus. All are figures of mythology and all great musicians that accomplished wondrous feats for which they were remembered. The second stanza then declares that Manchicourt and his music outshine

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[49] HeartzCat, 181. This is Heartz's translation of the poem.
[50] Some sources erroneously attribute the poem to Claudin de Sermisy.

these great men, and that the motets of this print are fitting examples of his art. Gilles then looks to the future, doubting that any age to come will bear the equal of his music. Neither past nor future then can compare to Manchicourt or his music!

The poem is clearly meant to elevate Manchicourt and his music to the highest status, but also, one might imagine, to enhance the prestige of the print. It seems quite possible that the inclusion of the poem resulted from Attaingnant's initiative, because of the laudatory tone, and the fact that Attaingnant had included a similar poem in his 1532 Mass print in honour of the Cardinal of Tournon.[51] Indeed, the two poems both make references to mythological figures in the first half and praise the subject of the poem in the second half. No other motet print had featured a laudatory poem, and it would have been a fitting gesture of thanks on Attaingnant's part, especially if we accept Manchicourt's statement that others were asking for his music.[52]

Despite the differences between the Manchicourt book and the others, it is evident that Attaingnant considered it as an integral part of his Series by his use of the title "Fourteenth book," by the overall conformity of the layout and format to those of the first thirteen books, and by the inclusion of the same type of non-musical information inside the book (specifically rubrics). This is also evident in the more basic structural features of all fourteen books of the Series, specifically in the use of sequential gathering signatures. The fact that it is a single-composer print remains a novelty: perhaps it was included in the Series in the hopes of capitalising on the market. Either, Manchicourt (and his

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[51] RISM 1532[1]. The poem and translation are provided by Heartz (HeartzCat, 176-178). This print also contains a dedication by Attaingnant to Tournon.
[52] Moderne had printed several motets by Manchicourt in 1532, and Attaingnant printed a handful of motets in the previous books of this Series. For more on Manchicourt and the concordances of his motets, see Chapter 5, Appendix D1 and Appendix E1.

patron?) sought to capitalise on the popularity of the Series by having the composer's motets printed under its title, or Attaingnant sought to capitalise on Manchicourt's growing popularity by devoting an entire book to the composer.[53] The fact that it was reprinted six years later (1545), as a standard single-composer print without reference to the Series, confuses the issue, as does the fact that Attaingnant had printed single-composer prints before, and one single-composer motet print at that.[54] Surely, if this was meant to stand alone as a single-composer print, Attaingnant would have printed it without the words "Liber decimus quartus" at the start of the title, and without so diligently following the unique traits of the Series: use of rubrics inside the book, use of the same informative title page and running heads, use of the same gathering signature sequence. Indeed, the single-composer prints that Attaingnant printed just three years later are quite markedly different in appearance, as we can see from the following title page of the book of Sermisy motets (Image 4.6).

The differences that are immediately evident between this print and Book 14 are the prominent placement of the composer's name, the Italian font (versus the gothic font of the Series), and the division of pieces in the *tabula* according to voice number, rather than title.

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[53] Related to the first theory is the possibility that Attaingnant used the series as a way to tempt Manchicourt into printing his motets. Both theories imply that the Series was a success, a fact that we can't be sure of, especially since, as far as we know, there were no second editions printed of any books of the Series, except Book 14. The rapid printing pace of the first thirteen books means that we cannot assert that the Series was a success based on the number of books, however, the fact that Book 14 was printed at all implies some commercial success.

[54] Attaingnant printed an anthology of chansons by Jannequin in 1528 (Heartz catalogue number 4), and the now-lost book of Jannequin motets mentioned above (Heartz catalogue number 43).

Image 4.6: Title Page of the Superius Partbook of Attaingnant's 1542 Sermisy Motet Print (RISM S 2828)

CLAVDIN
CLAVDII DE SERMISY, REGII SACELLI
Submagiſtri, Noua & Prima motettorum ęditio.

INDEX VIGINTI OCTO MOTETTORVM.

SEX VOCVM					
		Aſpice domine	xiij	Partus & integritas	xj
O Maria ſtans ſub cruce	Fo. j	Alleluya Angelus domini	xiiij	Regi ſeculorum	ix
		Cantate domino	vj	Verba mea	iiii
QVINQVE VOCVM		Congratulamini mihi omnes	xvij	Veni ſanɛ̃e ſpiritus	xv
		Domine deus omnipotens	vij		
Quis eſt iſte qui progreditur	ij	Girum celi	xij	TRIVM VOCVM	
Quare fremuerunt gentes	iiij	Gaudent in celis	xvj	Aue ſanɛtiſsima Maria	xviii
Regina celi letare	ij	Miſerere mei domine	v	Benedictum ſit	xx
		Miſericordias domini	viij	Da pacem domine	xx
QVATVOR VOCVM		Michael archangele	xvij	Euntes ibant & flebant	xix
		Nos qui viuimus	ix	Regi ſeculorum	xviii
Aſtiterunt reges	xi	Noe Quem vidiſtis	xiij	Spes mea ab vberibus	xix
Audite reges	xij				

Liber Primus. 🌸 SVPERIVS. 🌿
Cum gratia & priuilegio Regis
PARISIIS in vico Cythare.
EX OFFICINA PETRI ATTIGNANT ET HVBERTI IVLLET,
Typographorum Muſices Criſtianiſsimi Francorum Regis.
M. D. xlij.

a. i.

The fact that the dedication in Book 14 ends with a laudatory poem addressed to Manchicourt, and the overall conformity of the book to the format and layout of the Series, would seem to suggest that the print was not solely undertaken on Manchicourt's initiative, but that Attaingnant was the driving force behind the inclusion of this book in the Series, and that the layout and organisation decisions were left to the printer.

We might suppose that the Series had been a commercial success given the publication of a fourteenth book, and that the approach to printing the Series that Attaingnant had used in his first thirteen books had been so well received that the printer saw no need to change the main features of the book, even after a four-year hiatus.

In a series as large as this one, one should not be surprised to find a number of errors and inconsistencies, yet these are few and far between. One type of anomaly that we find in the Series occurs in Books 7 and 11, in which the order of the last several pieces within the partbooks, and in turn in the *tabulae*, is inconsistent. In Book 7, the order of the "O" Antiphon settings at the core of the book is altered in the Superius partbook. In all four *tabulae*, the "O" motets are listed in order of use, not alphabetically. However, in the Superius partbook, the seventh and eighth motets are reversed. Since the order had great significance in both liturgical and devotional practice, we must assume that this was an error that occurred during production.[55]

Book 11 features a similar case of inconsistent ordering, but one that is much more complicated. Instead of finding just one piece out of order in a single partbook, we find that the order of the last six pieces changed in two of the four partbooks.[56] The reason for this was that two of the last six motets call for a fifth voice. *Esto michi domine* and *O dulcissime domine* both call for a secundus tenor part. Finding that he had no room in the Tenor partbook to include an additional full folio's worth of music (two sides of the folio), Attaingnant fit the secundus tenor parts in the Superius and Contratenor partbooks, noting the location of the parts in the Tenor partbook. He was able to fit them into these two partbooks by starting other pieces on the final staff line of a page, rather

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[55] The fact that the *tabula* lists the pieces in the "correct" order suggests that either the error was not caught in time to allow for corrections, or that Attaingnant chose to keep the order of the motets in the *tabula* in spite of the error. Given that the foliation does not give the recto and verso side, and that the seventh and eighth "O" motets could both be listed as on folio xii, this would not cause problems for singers using the *tabula*.

[56] The Tenor presents the motets in the same order as the Bassus partbook.

than leaving them blank, as he often did to present a single motet on a single folio or opening.

While the discrepancy in the order of motets in Book 7 may be attributed to printing house errors, those in Book 11 were clearly the result of trying to fit as much music into each partbook as possible. Remarkably, this resulted in only one mid-phrase page turn in both partbooks, and Attaingnant made the parts as easy to use as possible by guiding the singers through the page turns. Indeed, Attaingnant appears to have been quite preoccupied with helping the singers navigate the individual books and the Series as a whole.

Book 7 has an additional irregular feature: instructions to the singer for the performance and use of the motets featured in the print, which Attaingnant printed below the *tabulae*. This is the only time in the Series that Attaingnant includes additional information on his title page (Image 4.7). The instructions are only two lines of text and were printed in a smaller font, yet they contain vital information for the performance of these motets, and about the Series as a whole. The passage explains that the "O" Antiphon settings should be sung in combination with a Magnificat, and that Attaingnant has provided suitable settings in his fifth book of this Motet Series.[57]

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[57] The importance of this information is discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

Image 4.7: Title Page of Book 7 of Attaingnant's Motet Series (with additional information for the singer, printed below the *tabula*)

This attention to the needs of the singers, which is also displayed in the layout of the pieces on a single folio or opening, and the extensive amount of non-musical information, clearly indicates that Attaingnant intended and expected that these books would be used for performance, by professional *and* amateur singers.[58]

PERFORMANCE MATTERS

Unlike his predecessors, Attaingnant went to great lengths to include features that provided performance instructions inside of and on the cover of his books. One of these

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[58] Bonnie Blackburn suggests that Petrucci's prints were designed with amateur singers in mind, based on a study of the canons that the printer included in his prints, which are almost universally resolved for the singer by the printer (BlackburnCanon).

was the inclusion of rubrics, a feature discussed in Chapter 6, that indicated possible

occasions for performing the motets and described their textual subject matter. Another

feature relates to the process of singing motets from the partbooks when the piece called

for more than four voice-parts. The inclusion of a fifth, sixth, or even twelfth voice-part

had been an issue for printers since Petrucci printed his Venetian series in the first decade

of the sixteenth century. The placement of the additional voice(s) was a problem when

you only had four partbooks. Moderne solved this issue by producing books with motets

in a single configuration: *Primus liber cum quatuor vocibus*, or *Secundus liber cum*

quinque vocibus and so on.[59] Petrucci had also used this approach in the fifth book of his

Venetian series (MotV), and later both he and Antico addressed the issue by fitting in the

additional voice where they could, usually next to the corresponding voice-part, but not

always consistently so, and the extra voice-parts were not easily identifiable without

leafing through the whole book.

Attaingnant solved this issue through the use of a coded system for identifying

additional voices when he introduced five and six voice motets in Book 3. On the title

page of Book 3 he added this note for the singer

> *Nota pro huius tabule elucidatione: q. ciffre priores*
> *partium aut vocum numerum denotant bine aut litere*
> *sequentes: ut. ss. duas supremas partes: tt. 2. tenores*
> *cc. 2. contratenores bb duos bassos significant. Et ubi*
> *passim reperies Canon. 4. super 2. aut 4. sup. 1. id*
> *duas partes super unam aut 4. super unam fore*
> *canendas indicat.*

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[59] RISM 1532[10] and 1532[9], respectively.

> Explanatory note for this table: that first numbers denote the number of parts or voices, whence the following letters: as ss two upper parts, tt. 2 tenors, cc. 2 contratenors, bb two basses. And where throughout you find Canon 4 over 2, or 4 over 1, it indicates that four voices must sing on two or 4 on one.

Attaingnant's note explains that in the *tabula*, extra voices are indicated after the title in two steps: one is the number of voices (5, 6 or more); the other is the name of that voice part (ss, cc, tt, bb) which told the singer in which partbook they could find the additional voice(s): ss in the Superius partbook, cc in the Contratenor partbook and so on. Thus, looking at the *tabula* of the Book 7 Superius partbook, we see that the second motet, *Conceptio tua* is for five voices (5), that the additional voice is in the Contratenor range (cc) and that it is located in the Contratenor partbook, and on folio ii in this book.[60] These extra voice-parts were also clearly marked inside the book, at the head of the motet with standard terms such as "Secundus Tenor."

This numbering system was much more "user-friendly" than either existing approach.[61] But Attaingnant made his books even simpler to use by including directions inside the partbooks themselves. Even with the best planning, it was sometimes necessary to include two parts on a single folio and to require a page turn mid-phrase. In these cases, in addition to labeling the additional voice-parts (Secundus Tenor, etc.),

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[60] The foliation is usually the same in all partbooks, but Attaingnant occasionally had to reset the *tabulae* to accommodate pieces that took up more space in one partbook than in others, resulting in different foliation for one or more pieces.

[61] Even Moderne's system was not as clear as appears at first glance: one cannot identify which range the extra voice will fall in until one gets to the piece, and not all extra parts are situated in the corresponding partbook. For example, the Jacquet motet *Alma redemptoris* has a second Altus part, but it is printed on page 25 of the Bassus partbook. Petrucci's MotV is the one example in earlier prints in which one can easily find the fifth voice, as the printer had a separate Contratenor II partbook and combined the Tenor and Bassus parts in one partbook.

Attaingnant often guided the singer over page turns with special characters to mark the different voice-parts, or used the word *verte* to indicate that the line continued on the other side of the folio. Images 4.8-4.9 shows examples of these special characters and the use of the word *verte* for the motet *Laudem dicite deo*.

Image 4.8: Folio VI of Book 14 (Superius Partbook) of Attaingnant's Motet Series

Image 4.9: Folio VI verso and VII of Book 14 of Attaingnant's Motet Series (showing the continuation of the Primus Superius on the left and the Secundus Superius on the right)

In several instances Attaingnant also included the phrase "Residuum Secundus Tenor" in the running-head, to indicate the end of the piece. This was a practice that he had begun in his early prints, though prior to the printing of this series, the phrase had been written in French.

In taking these steps and providing this much information to the singers, Attaingnant was ensuring that the people who bought his books could sing from them with ease, whether they were well versed in the performance of music in partbooks or not.

TRADITION AND INNOVATION

Attaingnant's Series conformed in many ways with the conventions that Petrucci had established in his own motet series, and that Antico and Moderne later adopted. Like the earlier printers, Attaingnant prefaced his books with a title page, featured a *tabula* for each book, and provided the buyer with the printing information (and in this case, the precise location of his shop in Paris). Attaingnant's Series also differed from those of his predecessors. This is especially and immediately evident in the format and layout of the title pages of Attaingnant's books. Attaingnant's books, unlike all but one of the preceding motet prints (Moderne's MF2, *Secundus liber cum quinque vocibus*), feature all non-musical information on the title page of each partbook: the full title and book number, the complete *tabula* (including composers' names, folio number, and voice-part information), the colophon and the privilege, all on the first page of each partbook for all fourteen books.

The running heads of his books were also very informative, resembling those of Moderne and Petrucci's later *Corona* books. They provided the part name, folio number, composer's name, and other information, such as extra part name or rubric, in a consistent and detailed way throughout the Series.

In two related points of layout and format Attaingnant's Series differs dramatically from those of his predecessors. Nowhere do we find a printer's device or decorative woodcut, features that were prominent in the motet books of Petrucci, Antico, and Moderne. Nor, once we open the books, do we see any decorative initials at the start of the motets. Unlike his predecessors, who, it would seem, sought to link their products to the manuscript tradition, Attaingnant kept his books remarkably plain. This may have been a result of the extraordinary production pace, made possible by the single-impression printing method that did not allow for the addition of initials or superfluous embellishments. However, it seems more likely that this was a deliberate choice on Attaingnant's part. Indeed, this is supported by the fact that decorative initials at the start of pieces are noticeably absent from most Attaingnant prints, even the grand Mass series of 1532.[62] The only book to feature decorated initials is Book 14, which features printed initials that fill in the missing first letter of each motet.[63]

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[62] There is space at the head of the first staff line of every page, and at the head of each motet (which is sometimes filled by the words "Secunda pars," indicating the second part of a motet), however, the fact that none of the motets omits the first letter of the piece (as would be the case if the intention was to have manuscript initials added post-printing) precludes the possibility of adding an initial, though not a decorative symbol or flourish (as Moderne had done in his prints).

[63] Only a survey of all extant copies could confirm that the initials were added by Attaingnant himself, though it seems likely, given the necessity of the initial for the completeness of the text.

We saw that the layout and organisational features of the Series reveal a great deal about Attaingnant's planning for his Motet Series. The printer, concerned with making the books practically useful, arranged the layout of pieces in such a manner that avoided frequent page turns in the middle of a phrase, and included extra-musical information, both on the title page (such as the system for identifying extra voice-parts), and inside the book (such as the instructions for following a voice-part through a page turn). This ensured that the Series was useful for performance for both professionals and amateurs, a useful feature for the marketing of the Series to as wide a market as possible. Looking at the organisation and layout of the Series also showed us how Attaingnant planned to make his Series widely appealing in terms of content. We saw that by dividing his volumes into two types of anthologies, mixed and uniform, he could cater to both churches and amateurs. The potential appeal of the uniform anthologies as novelties and specialised items may also have played a role in the marketing of the Series: Attaingnant timed the release date of Books 7 (Advent and Nativity motets) and 10 (Lent and Holy Week motets) to coincide with the Advent and Easter seasons, respectively. Our study of the organisation and layout of the individual volumes revealed a consistent concern on Attaingnant's part for a cohesive series: he unified each volume visually and physically, from the title page of Book 1, all the way through to the final folio of Book 14, to create one grand Motet Series. Like his predecessors in motet series printing, Attaingnant must have recognised the usefulness of a "series" for future sales. His expansion of the concept of a series, including making his books more visually unified and more cohesive, and extending the number of books well beyond earlier efforts, made it a powerful marketing

ploy, and the speedy production of most of the Series ensured that his market would not

lose interest between publications.

CHAPTER 5

THE COMPOSERS IN ATTAINGNANT'S SERIES AND THEIR MOTETS: ATTRIBUTIONS AND AFFILIATIONS, CONCORDANCES AND MARKETS

In this chapter, I examine the sixty composers named in the Attaingnant Motet Series and their motets. I will demonstrate that Attaingnant relied on the works of a small number of well-known composers for the core of his Series, but also included motets by "minor" composers to fill the pages of his books, as well as some anonymous works. Many of the composers had been featured in earlier motet collections, as had some of their motets, but a number of them, the "Attaingnant Composers," are known to us only through these fourteen books. Indeed, many of the motets that Attaingnant printed appeared here for the first time, while others—the *unica*—survive only because Attaingnant included them in his Series.

The first part of the chapter includes a discussion of the composers featured in Attaingnant's Series: their known affiliations, how many motets Attaingnant assigned to them, and what path those motets may have taken to get from composer to printer. This is accompanied by short discussions of select composers in Appendix E. Part two looks at the participation of some motets in the larger core repertory of motets, as defined by Jennifer Thomas. We conclude with a case study of a single book to explore the markets for these motets.

There are sixty named composers in Attaingnant's Series, including eight who contributed more than ten motets each, and twenty who are represented by a single motet. There are also twenty-three motets that Attaingnant left unattributed. The composers range from the famous to the other-wise unknown, from the "Older" generation (those who flourished or died before 1534, when the first book in the Series was printed) to "Contemporary" composers (who were still alive between 1534 and 1539, while the Series was being printed).[1] Table 5.1 lists the composers and the number of motets attributed to each composer by Attaingnant.[2] I have used standardised forms of the names, in order to avoid confusion.[3]

Table 5.1: The Composers of the Attaingnant Motet Series (indicating birth/death dates or period of activity, generation and number of motets each, ordered by number of pieces, most to least, then by dates)

Composer Name	Dates (life or flourished)	Generation	Number of Attributed Pieces
Sermisy, Claudin de	1490-1562	Contemporary	25
Manchicourt, Pierre de	1510-1564	Contemporary	24
Willaert, Adrian	1490-1562	Contemporary	16
Verdelot, Philippe	1480- ca. 1530	Older	14
Gascongne, Mathieu	fl. 1517–18	Older	13
Mouton, Jean	1459-1522	Older	12
Richafort, Jean	1480-1550	Contemporary	11
Lhéritier, Jean	1480- after 1551	Contemporary	11

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[1] Conseil died sometime in November of 1534, but was still active until September of that year (GroveConseil). Hesdin and Maistre Jhan both died between the printing of Books 13 and 14. All three are considered Contemporary composers.

[2] This list reflects the number of motets attributed to each composer by Attaingnant. It does not include motets that have been attributed to the individual composers since printing. These are discussed below in "Anonymous Motets."

[3] In some cases, I relied on the form of the names in Motet Online Database (MotetOD), especially for the Lupus/Hellinck/Lupi motets.

Table 5.1(cont.): The Composers of the Attaingnant Motet Series

Composer Name	Dates (life or flourished)	Generation	Number of Attributed Pieces
Conseil, Jean	1498-1534	Contemporary	9
Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de	fl. Late 1520s-1538	Contemporary	9
Vermont, Pierre (Primus)	1495- before 22 Feb.1533	Older	8
Gombert, Nicolas	1495-1560	Contemporary	7
Jacotin	1519 - 1556	Contemporary	6
Le Heurteur, Guillaume	fl. 1530–45	Contemporary	6
Rousée, Jean	1534–60	Contemporary	6
Barra, Jehan de	fl.1510–23	Older	5
La Fage, Jean de	fl. 1518–30	Older	4
Févin, Antoine de	1470-1512	Older	3
De Silva, Andreas	1475-1522	Older	3
Moulu, Pierre	1484-1550	Contemporary	3
Lasson, Mathieu	1500-1553	Contemporary	3
Sohier, Mathieu	early 16thC-1560	Contemporary	3
Lupus	fl. 1518–30	Contemporary	3
Gosse, Maistre	1520–65	Contemporary	3
Mornable, Antoine	fl. 1530–53	Contemporary	3
Josquin Desprez	1450-1521	Older	2
Divitis, Antonius	1470-1530	Older	2
Jacquet of Mantua	1483-1559	Contemporary	2
Maistre Jhan	1485-1538	Contemporary	2
Hellinck, Lupus	1494-1541	Contemporary	2
Le Brung, Jean	early 16thC	Older	2
Penet, Hilaire	1501-1519	Older	2
Lupi, Johannes	1506-1539	Contemporary	2
Dulot, François	fl. 1514-1531	Older	2
Werrecore, Matthias Hermann	1522-after 1574	Contemporary	2
Le Bouteiller, Jean	fl. 1530–42	Contemporary	2
Cadéac, Pierre	1538–56	Contemporary	2
Du Hamel	?-?		2
Joris, Cornesle	?-?	Contemporary	2
Longueval, Antoine de	1498–1525	Older	1
Passereau, Pierre	1509–47	Contemporary	1
Pathie, Rogier	1510-1564	Contemporary	1
Guyon, Jean	1514-1574	Contemporary	1
Lenfant [4]	1519-30s	Contemporary	1
Certon, Pierre	1527- 1572	Contemporary	1

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[4] BrobeckDiss, 591-592. Brobeck found records of Hector le Boucher (L'Enfant) in the Sainte-Chapelle from 1519-1522, and as cantor at Notre Dame de Melun in the 1530s.

Table 5.1(cont.): The Composers of the Attaingnant Motet Series

Composer Name	Dates (life or flourished)	Generation	Number of Attributed Pieces
Courtois, Jean	fl. 1530–45	Contemporary	1
Piéton, Loyset	fl. 1530–45	Contemporary	1
Bourguignon, François	fl. 1533–40	Contemporary	1
Billon, Jo. de	fl. 1534-1556	Contemporary	1
Cybot	?-1556	Contemporary	1
Briant, Denis	?-?		1
Couillart	?-?		1
Georget, Mauricius	?-?		1
Jarsins, G.	?-?		1
Jodon	?-?		1
Le Roy, Guillaume	?-?		1
Louvet, G.	?-?		1
Margot, Colin	?-?		1
Villain, Florentius	?-?		1
Anonymous	?-?		23

Table 5.1 reveals several groupings of composers. At the top, we find the two most featured composers, Sermisy and Manchicourt, both contemporary composers who account for 17% of the motets in the Series. We have a second group from Willaert to Lhéritier, who account for 27% of the motets. These two groups form the "Top Eight Composers." We then have a break between the top two groups and the next group, which shows a sharp decline in the number of motets per composer from 9 to 2, and then there are the composers who are represented by a single motet. The last two groups feature a number of "minor composers" about whom we know very little, and whose total motet output was printed in this series; these are the "Attaingnant Composers." These groups are represented in Figure 5.1 below.

Figure 5.1: Different Groups of Composers Based on Number of Attributions in Attaingnant's Motet Series: Sermisy and Manchicourt, Six Other Composers in the Top Eight Group, Attaingnant Composers, Anonymous Composers, and Other Composers
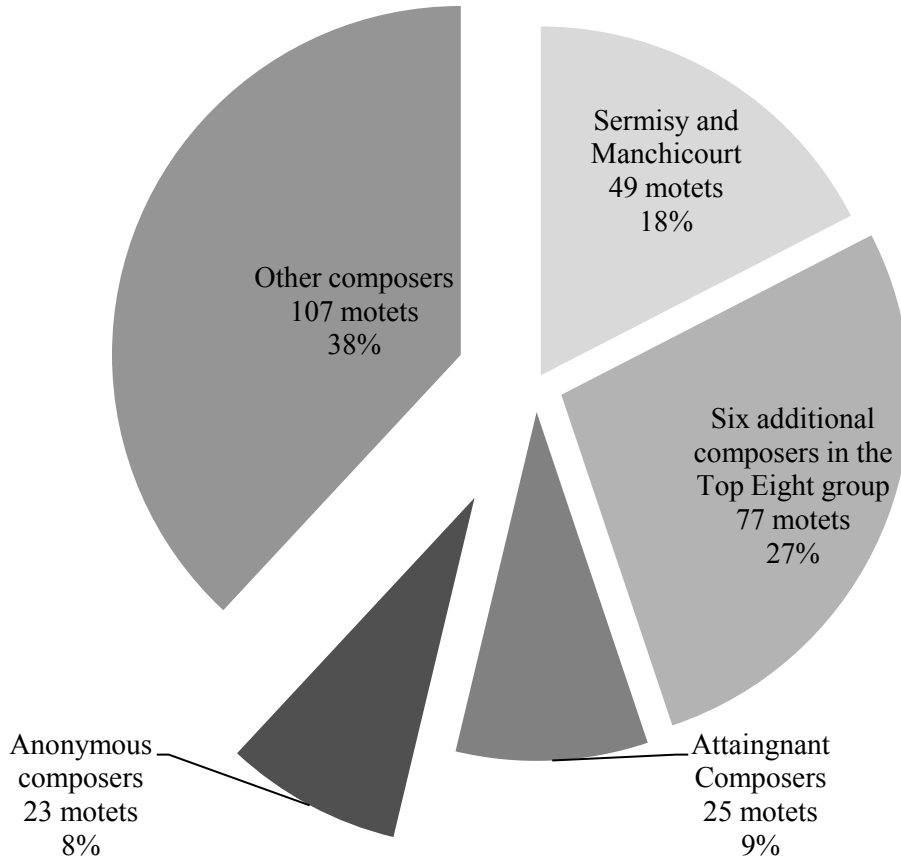
Noticeably absent from the list of composers are many of the older composers that we saw in the prints of Petrucci and Antico; Compère, Weerbeke, Obrecht, and Regis are nowhere to be seen, and the great Josquin figures only twice, where he had been the central figure in so many books of the earlier printed motet series. For the most part, Attaingnant's composers were of French or Franco-Flemish descent, worked predominantly within France, and were still alive at the time of printing.[5]

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[5] Only thirteen of the sixty composers (21%) fall into the older generation category.

This chapter investigates, where possible, how the motets found their way into Attaingnant's Series, and to what extent Attaingnant was drawing on well-known works, or publishing new or previously unknown motets. I have chosen to focus this line of inquiry on two groups: the Top Eight Composers and the "Attaingnant Composers" (both groups are listed in Tables 5.4 and 5.6 below, and discussed in Appendix E). This approach will illustrate the variety of composers that Attaingnant featured in his Series: from the well-known to the obscure, from those who composed numerous works, to those who are known for only a single motet. In the course of this study, we shall see that in both groups we find a number of works that survive only in Attaingnant's Series. These *unica* constitute a distinct grouping, coming from composers who belong to both groups. As we shall see, the selection of motets appears to have been based on at least two principal factors: the identity and reputation of the composer, and the text of the motet.

Overall Distribution of Composers in the Series

There is only one single-composer book in the Motet Series, and those whose names appear most often may be seen in a number of books, not just in one or two.[6] However, within this diversified approach, Attaingnant included smaller scale groupings of the works of some composers, sometimes building a book around a handful of works by a single composer. The Composer Table, (Appendix D1), sorts the Series by

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[6] The exception is of course Book 14, which is devoted exclusively to Manchicourt, although his name does appear in several of the other books as well.

composer, giving the title, motet number (used throughout this dissertation) for each motet, affiliations, and number of *unica*.[7]

In addition to the focus on certain composers in certain books, we also see a progression from a balance of more established composers from both the older and contemporary generations in the earlier books, to an emphasis on contemporary and often less-well known composers in later books. Figure 5.2 below shows the percentage of motets by older generation and contemporary composers in each book across the whole series.

Figure 5.2: Older vs. Contemporary Composers in the Books of Attaingnant's Motet Series

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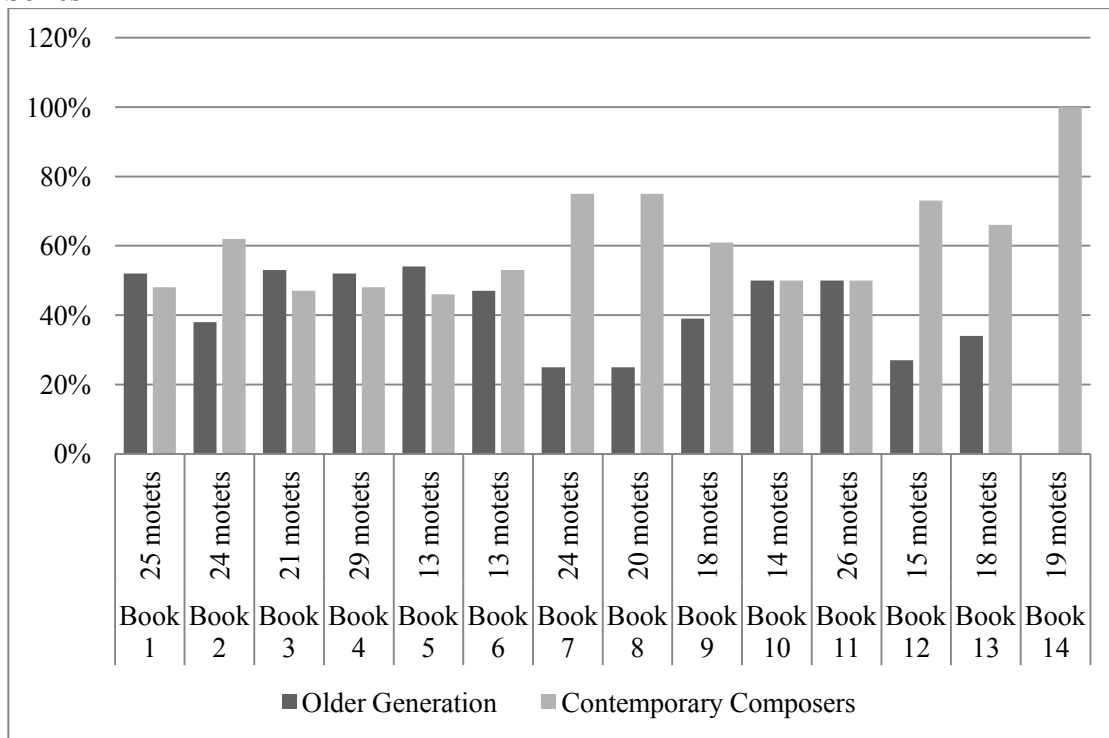
[7] The table is sorted by standardised name, starting with the anonymous motets. I have filled in the names of some of the composers, but have kept these bracketed and together with the other unattributed motets of the Series.

Book 11 holds a special place in the Series as the only book that has no rubrics (discussed in Chapter 6) and in terms of the subject of the texts as well (discussed in Chapter 7). It also features a high percentage of motets by composers who had ties to the French royal court. Table 5.2 lists the composers of Book 11 and their known affiliations to the court or related French nobility.

Table 5.2: Book 11 Composers and Affiliations

Composer	Affiliation in Paris (French nobility)	Number of Motets in Book 11 (out of 26)
Févin	Chapel of Louis XII (r. 1498-1515).	1
Longueval	Chapels of Louis XII, Anne de Bretagne (r.1488-1514), François I (r.1515-1547).	1
Mouton	Chapels of Louis XII, Anne de Bretagne, François I.	1
Sermisy	Chapels of Anne de Bretagne, François I.	9
Gascongne	Chapels of Louis XII and François I.	6
Passereau	Chapel of François I.	1
Vermont Primus	Chapel of François I.	1
Conseil	Sainte-Chapelle du Palais.	1
Lasson	Chapel of Antoine, Duke of Lorraine (r. 1508-1544).	1
La Fage	No known affiliation with the French royal court.	2
Verdelot	No known affiliation with the French royal court.	1
Willaert	No known affiliation with the French royal court.	1

Book 13 features seven of eighteen motets by six little-known composers: the names Jarsins, Joris, Jodon, Margot, Villain, and Pathie appear in no other book, and most do not appear in other sources.[8] This means that a third of the motets in the book were by minor composers, all likely French and possibly Parisian. The other motets are by composers who would have been active at the time: Claudin, Manchicourt, Lhéritier, Lasson, Jacquet, and Gombert were active and all well known, having appeared in

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[8] All but Pathie are discussed below and in Appendix E2. Pathie was an organist at Notre Dame de Paris, and composed one other motet that appeared in a 1567 print (RISM 1567¹), as well as several chansons. See GrovePathie.

previous books of this series and other sources as well. Because we have very little information about the biographies of the "minor composers," we cannot assert that the six motets by Jarsins, Joris, Jodon, Margot, and Villain fall under the "contemporary composers" category. For this reason, Figure 5.2 shows only 66% of motets in Book 13 as works by contemporary composers. However, given that these motets all appeared uniquely in Book 13, or appeared here first, it seems likely that Attaingnant acquired them directly from the composers and that they were indeed contemporary composers.[9] If we accept this hypothesis, then the total number of motets by contemporary composers in Book 13 rises to 100%. The overall impression then is of a book of contemporary and new music, with a strong emphasis on French composers, even more marked here than in earlier books.

We see a trend over the course of the Series, from a balance of older and contemporary composers in the earlier books, to a focus on contemporary composers and an emphasis on the works of one or two individuals in the later. This of course reaches its height in Book 14, where the focus is exclusively on the contemporary composer Pierre de Manchicourt, who was rapidly gaining local and international renown.[10] Indeed, thanks to this final volume, Manchicourt figures as one of the most prominent composers of the Series: Attaingnant attributed a total of twenty-four motets to Manchicourt, only one less than Claudin de Sermisy. These two composers head the first group of composers that are the subject of this section, those to whom I refer as the Top Eight

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[9] This is discussed below in the "*Attaingnant Composers*" and in Appendix E2.

[10] Manchicourt's name first appeared in Moderne's 1532 prints. In 1545 Attaingnant released a reprint of Book 14, under a different title, along with two other volumes of motets by Manchicourt. In the 1540s, his name begins to appear in print and manuscript sources from Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, Poland, and Denmark. This is based on a survey of the prints mentioned, and on information retrieved from Motet Online Database, and *Census - Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400-1550*.

Composers, the men to whom Attaingnant attributed ten or more motets each in the course of his Series.

Top Eight Composers

At the core of the Series are 126 motets (ca. 45%) composed by eight different composers: Claudin de Sermisy, Pierre de Manchicourt, Adrian Willaert, Philippe Verdelot, Jean Mouton, Mathieu Gascongne, Jean Lhéritier, and Jean Richafort. These eight composers are listed in Table 5.3, along with the number of pieces attributed to them by Attaingnant, their dates of birth/death or activity, and known affiliations with institutions in Paris. The last column indicates the generational category of the composer (older or contemporary).

Table 5.3: Top Eight Composers (composer, number of motets, dates, affiliations and generation) (L=Chapel of Louis XII (r. 1498-1515); A= Chapel of Anne de Bretagne (r. 1488-1514); F=Chapel of François I (r. 1515-1547); H= Chapel of Henry II (r. 1547-1559); SC=Sainte-Chapelle; ND=Notre Dame de Paris)

Composer	Number of Attributed Motets in the Series	Dates (life or activity)	Court Affiliation	Parisian Affiliation	Era (older vs. contemporary)
Sermisy	25	1490-1562	A, F	SC	Contemporary
Manchicourt	24	1510-1564	No	No	Contemporary
Willaert	16	1490-1562	No	?	Contemporary
Verdelot	14	1480- ca. 1530	No	No	Older
Gascongne	13	1517–18 f.	L, F		Older
Mouton	12	1459-1522	L, A, F		Older
Richafort	11	1480-1550	A, F		Contemporary
Lhéritier	11	1480-post 1551	No	No	Contemporary

Five of these composers belong to the contemporary generation, and only three composers belong to the older generation. Six of the eight composers produced significant amounts of polyphony and all have been the subject of scholarly inquiry.[11]

The style of the motets by these men has already been addressed at length by John Brobeck and will not be discussed in detail here.[12] Rather, I will address four principal questions: Were these composers connected to Attaingnant, and in what way? How may these motets have come to be included in the Series? Were these motets ever printed or copied into other sources prior to their inclusion in this Series? If not, can we trace a direct path from the composer to the printer? Short discussions of the eight composers are included in Appendix E1, in which I address these questions one composer at a time. The discussion that follows synthesises the information and draws conclusions about the group of composers. As we shall see, Attaingnant may have chosen some of the motets because of their evident "retail value," while others were completely unknown prior to their appearance in this Series. I have relied on three principal sources to determine pre-Series concordances: The Motet Online Database, *The Census - Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400-1550*, and the critical editions of the composers' works, where available.[13]

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[11] Two of the Top Eight Composers composed more than 100 motets: Mouton, and Willaert each have over one hundred motets securely attributed to them and Mouton has quite a few more whose authorship is questionable. Sermisy composed over 70 motets, Manchicourt over 60 motets, and Verdelot and Lhéritier composed close to fifty motets each. Only Richafort and Gascongne composed a smaller number of motets, with 37 motets whose authorship seems secure for Richafort, and 18 for Gascongne. The works lists for all composers have undergone revision, but these are the current totals, as noted in the Grove articles on each composer.

[12] Brobeck discusses the complete motet output of these eight composers (and several others) in terms of style and compositional approach in BrobeckDiss, and BrobeckClaudin. The reader is directed to the existing scholarship on each composer for further discussion on style and authorship.

[13] This discussion, and that of the *unica*, naturally depends on the current state of research and may require revision in the years to come.

Top Eight Composers with Ties to Paris or the French Royal Court

Four of the Top Eight Composers had clear ties with Paris and, more specifically, with the French royal court under Louis XII and François I: the motets of Sermisy, Mouton, Gascongne, and Richafort included in the Series by Attaingnant total 61 motets, almost half (48%) of the output of the Top Eight Composers. This is a significant emphasis on "royal composers," one that Attaingnant must have been aware of. It certainly points to a link between this Series and the court composers.

Another link between Attaingnant and his composers, whether members of the royal establishment or not, is the number of works that may have traveled directly to Attaingnant. For seven of the Top Eight Composers, Attaingnant included at least one motet that had not previously appeared in manuscript or printed format,[14] and for all eight composers he included at least one motet that survives uniquely in this Series. Table 5.4a lists the "first appearance" motets attributed to the Top Eight Composers and Table 5.4b provides a tally of the *unica*.

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[14] There is of course the possibility that some of the motets may have been copied into sources that are now lost.

Table 5.4a: First Appearance Motets by the Top Eight Composers

Composer	Number of motets that appeared for the first time in Attaingnant's Series (not *unica*)
Manchicourt	16 of 24
Sermisy	9 of 25
Gascongne	3 of 13
Willaert	3 of 16
Lhéritier	1 of 11
Mouton	1 of 12
Richafort	6 of 11
Verdelot	0 of 14
Total	39 of 126

Table 5.4b: Unique Motets by the Top Eight Composers

Composer	Number of motets that appeared uniquely in Attaingnant's Series
Sermisy	8 of 25[15]
Richafort	1 of 11
Manchicourt	4 of 24
Gascongne	3 of 13[16]
Lhéritier	2 of 11
Mouton	1 of 12
Verdelot	2 of 14
Willaert	1 of 16
Total	22 of 126

Twenty-two of the 126 motets by the Top Eight Composers (17%) are *unica*.[17]

Thirty-nine of the motets by these eight composers appeared in Attaingnant's Series

before being copied into surviving manuscripts or printed in other collections. Combined,

this accounts for sixty-one motets, almost half of the motets attributed to the Top Eight

Composers, which had never before been available and which, in the case of those by

Sermisy, Manchicourt, Richafort and perhaps Lhéritier and Willaert as well, may have

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[15] This does not include the motet *Kyrie eleison* (10.04) which is unattributed in the Series.

[16] This does not include the motet *Salve mater salvatoris* (1.14) which is unattributed in the Series.

[17] This proportion is significantly smaller for these eight composers than for the whole Series, which contains 92 *unica*, or approximately 33% of the Series.

been delivered more or less directly by the composers to Attaingnant. However, these eight composers had, as we see in the short discussions in Appendix E1, established reputations, some dating back to the late fifteenth century, and their music could be found in printed and manuscript sources in cities across France, Italy and Germany, and it is quite likely that Attaingnant drew on some of these sources for his Series.[18] Given all of these circumstances, the fact that Attaingnant was able to acquire their previously un-copied or unpublished music (higher amounts from the contemporary composers such as Sermisy and Manchicourt) illustrates the breadth of his network of connections, and the importance that he seems to have placed on offering his market new motets. This last point will become even more evident in our discussion of the second group of composers, those whose entire motet oeuvres appeared in Attaingnant's Series.

The "Attaingnant Composers"

One intriguing feature is the emphasis on minor composers that seemed to grow as the Series progressed. This was especially evident in Book 13, in which almost half of the motets were by composers about whom we know very little. In total, seventeen of the sixty named composers of Attaingnant's Series fall into the category of "Attaingnant Composers." They are listed in Table 5.5, along with their motets.[19]

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[18] A filiation study of the Series is well beyond the scope of this work and remains a task for the future.
[19] The total number of motets composed by each composer is naturally limited by the current state of research. It may be that some or all of these composers produced more motets that have simply not survived in sources or records that we know about at this time.

Table 5.5: "Attaingnant Composers" and Their Motets (organised by book, with entries in bold indicating a book with a stated theme, i.e. Advent and Nativity)

Book number	Composer Name	Title of Motets	Motet Number	Unique or First Appearance
Book 1	Couillart	Viri Galilei	1.02	1st appearance
	Le Bouteiller	Ave virgo gratiosa	1.17	Unique
Book 2	Le Bouteiller	Benedicta es celorum	2.14	Unique
Book 5 (Magnificats)	Cybot	Mag. primi toni	**5.02**	1st appearance
Book 6 (Magnificats)	Du Hamel	Mag. octavi toni	**6.06**	1st appearance
	Du Hamel	Mag. quinti toni	**6.12**	1st appearance
Book 7 (Advent and Nativity motets)	Rousée	Congratulamini mihi	**7.06**	Unique
	Rousée	Lapidaverunt Stephanum	**7.07**	Unique
	Rousée	Laudem dicite	**7.08**	Unique
	Rousée	Sospitate dedit	**7.09**	Unique
Book 8	Rousée	Exsurge quare obdormis	8.12	Unique
Book 9 (Psalms)	Briant	Dilexi quoniam	**9.01**	1st appearance
	Guyon	Fundamenta ejus	**9.02**	Unique
Book 10 (Lent and Easter motets)	Lenfant	In pace in idipsum	**10.07**	Unique
	Louvet	O rex gloriose	**10.11**	Unique
Book 11	Passereau	Unde veniet auxilium	11.14	Unique
Book 12 (Marian Antiphons)	Rousée	Regina celi	**12.07**	Unique
	Bourguignon	Regina celi	**12.10**	Unique
	Georget	Ave regina celorum	**12.02**	Unique
Book 13 (unstated theme: Contemporary and "minor" composers)	Joris	Tempus meum	13.02	Unique
	Jodon	Virgo salutiferi	13.03	Unique
	Joris	Factus est repente	13.04	Unique
	Margot	Beata dei genitrix	13.09	Unique
	Villains	Non conturbetur	13.11	1st appearance
	Jarsin	Respexit Elias	13.15	1st appearance

Table 5.5 shows that most of these "Attaingnant Composers" are featured in books with specific themes (in bold): four of Rousée's six motets are in Books 7 (Advent and Nativity motets), three of the motets appear in Book 12 (Marian Antiphon motets), several are found in one of the two Magnificat books (Du Hamel and Cybot), and two each in Book 9 (Psalm settings) and Book 10 (Lent and Easter motets). The largest

concentration occurs in Book 13 (contemporary and "unknown" composers), with six motets. These motets then were used to supplement the works of other, more well-known composers in books with specific themes where Attaingnant was limited in his choices: the need for settings of Psalms (Book 9) meant that Attaingnant could not simply choose a motet by Sermisy or Manchicourt, but had to find a setting of a Psalm text that had not been printed in earlier books of his Series.[20]

All of the Attaingnant Composers have names that suggest French or Franco-Flemish backgrounds. Eleven of the composers are virtually unknown, or are known only through mention in music manuscripts or archival records. Each composer is discussed in Appendix E2. Table 5.6 lists all Attaingnant Composers along with their known affiliations, number of motets that Attaingnant attributed to them, dates (of life or activity), and generation to which they belong (older vs. contemporary).[21]

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[20] There are no reprints in Attaingnant's Series, though there are a number of texts that are set more than once. See Chapter 7 of this dissertation.
[21] Unless otherwise indicated, all information regarding dates and affiliations may be found in the individual composer articles in Grove (see Bibliography).

Table 5.6: Composers Whose Only Surviving Motets Appear in Attaingnant's Series

Composer	Number of Attributed Motets in the Series /Total output	Dates (life or activity)	Known Court Affiliation	Parisian/French Affiliation	Era (Older vs. Contemporary)
Jodon	1 / 1 motet	??		Paris[22]	
Du Hamel	2 / 2 motets, 1 chanson	fl.1534-1540[23]		SC[24]	Contemporary
Jarsin	1 / 2 motets, 1 chanson	fl. 1534-1538[25]			Contemporary
Louvet	1 / 1 motet	??			
Margot	1 / 1 motet	??			
Villains	1 / 1 motet	fl. 1530s-1556[26]			Contemporary
Georget,	1 / 1 motet, 1 chanson	?-?			
Couillart	1 / 3 motets[27]	?-?			
Joris	2 / 2 motets	?-?			
Guyon	1 / 1 motet, 18 chansons	1514-1574		Chartres	Contemporary
Cybot	1 / 1 motet, 4 chansons	fl. 1530-1556(d)		SC[28]	Contemporary
Passereau	1 / 1 motet, 26 chansons	fl. 1509-1547	F[29]		Contemporary
Rousée	6 / 6 motets, 4 chansons	fl. 1534–60	H		Contemporary
Lenfant[30]	1 / 1 motet	fl. 1519-1530s	F	SC	Contemporary
Bourguignon	1 / 1 motet, 4 chansons	fl. 1533-1540			Contemporary
Briant	1 / 1 motet	fl.1535			Contemporary
Le Bouteiller	2 / 2 motets, 4 chansons	fl. 1530-1542			Contemporary

[22] HeartzCat, 99.

[23] Based on the appearance of his motets in Books 2 and 5, both printed in 1534, and his affiliation with the Sainte-Chapelle in 1540 (see next note), I have given him a 1534-1540 period of activity.

[24] BrenetSainteChapelle, 105.

[25] See the discussion in Appendix E2.

[26] See the discussion in Appendix E2.

[27] There is some doubt as to the attribution of the other two motets. See the discussion in Appendix E2.

[28] HeartzCat, 98.

[29] 1509, when François I was still François, Duke of Angoulême (GrovePassereau).

[30] HeartzCat, 98; BrobeckDiss, 591-592.

The Attaingnant Composers for whom we have confirmed periods of activity were all alive at the time of printing. Only three had confirmed ties to the French royal court (Passereau, Rousée, and Lenfant), but four of the others (Jodon, Du Hamel, Cybot, and Lenfant) were active in Paris, and Villains and Guyon were active in other regions of France (see the discussion in Appendix E2).

Passereau stands out among these Attaingnant Composers. He was a very famous composer in the chanson world and would likely have been known as such to buyers of the Series. In contrast, almost all of the other composers composed five works or less, and most only composed one motet, the motet featured in Attaingnant's Series.[31] Most of what we do know concerning their periods of activity and whereabouts suggests that they were contemporary composers who lived in or around Paris, and from whom, in most cases, Attaingnant likely acquired the motets directly.

Many of the motets appeared here for the first time or are unique to the Series, a fact that supports the theory of a direct path for the motets from composer to printer. Table 5.6 above ("Attaingnant Composers and Their Motets") includes a list of the *unica* and "first appearance" motets by the Attaingnant Composers. Eighteen of the twenty-five motets (72%) in the Motet Series attributed to these seventeen men are unique to Attaingnant's Series, and all of those that appeared in other sources (seven motets) appeared in Attaingnant's Series first, and were likely copied from Attaingnant's Series into the later sources. For instance, this seems to have been the case for the Magnificats by Du Hamel and Cybot, which all appear in the same source (VienNB Mus 15500), along with quite a number of other settings, including others found in Attaingnant's

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[31] Guyon is the obvious exception, with a large number of chansons.

Books 5 and 6. This number of *unica* and "first appearance" motets is significantly higher than the proportion of unique works by the Top Eight Composers, another fact that points to a local connection for many of the Attaingnant Composers, and a direct line from composer to printer.

Moreover, the fact that their complete motet output appeared in Attaingnant's Series ties them closely to Attaingnant, a relationship that could not be argued for many of the Top Eight Composers, several of whom lived outside of France, had international reputations, and likely had no direct contact with Attaingnant. The reason for including the motets of the Attaingnant Composers seems twofold: they "filled in the gaps" in books with specific themes, perhaps having been commissioned for that very purpose, and they expanded the range of the Series. Not only could you find motets by famous composers such as Mouton or the contemporary and local Sermisy, but you also had motets by chanson composers, like Passereau, and by minor composers such as Cybot and Du Hamel, whom you might have known of if you lived in Paris.

We find quite a substantial number of unique motets when we combine the totals of the two groups of composers (the Top Eight and the Attaingnant Composers): 40 of 151 motets (or 26%) appeared only in Attaingnant's Series. In light of this, it seems appropriate to expand our focus to the entire Series, for while these two groups represent two extremes, the well-known and the "obscure," there are also a number of composers who are represented by a single motet, or two motets, and the number of *unica* rises significantly when we factor all of these works into our analysis.

Unique Motets in Attaingnant's Series

One of the intriguing features of Attaingnant's Series that emerged in the discussion of both the Top Eight Composers and the Attaingnant Composers is the emphasis on works that had not previously appeared in either printed or manuscript sources.[32] Additionally, there are a large number of motets that are found in no other surviving sources. These are the *unica*, those works of which we would have virtually no record were it not for the fact that Attaingnant included them in his Series.

With so many printers arriving on the scene after 1530, and considering the large number of motets printed by Petrucci, Antico, Moderne, and Attaingnant himself, the fact that the Series contains a large number of *unica* is noteworthy.[33] Appendix B lists all motets from Sermisy to Jodon that fall under that category (including those already listed above) along with the name of the composer, and the book in which they appear.

Attaingnant included 92 motets unique to his Series (to our knowledge). Forty-one of these *unica* are by composers not featured in either the Top Eight or the Attaingnant Composers. Overall, the emphasis falls on contemporary composers, with only seventeen motets by older generation composers (names in italics in Appendix B). Forty-seven of the motets, almost half, are by composers with ties to the French royal court and other Parisian institutions (names in bold in Appendix B), and only eleven (or ca. 12%) of these 92 *unica* remain unattributed. Figure 5.3 shows the distribution of *unica*

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[32] This is in contrast to Antico, who, as we saw in Chapter 3, printed a large number of motets in his series that *had been* printed before.

[33] Indeed, when we consider that the motets of composers like Sermisy, Manchicourt, and Willaert found their way into single-composer prints and that they were frequently included in printed and manuscript sources, the probability of finding many unique motets in Attaingnant's Series seemed small.

among these groups, while Figure 5.4 shows them in relation to the non-unique motets of

the Series.

Figure 5.3: Distribution of *Unica* Among the Top Eight Composers, Attaingnant
Composers, Anonymous, and Other Composers
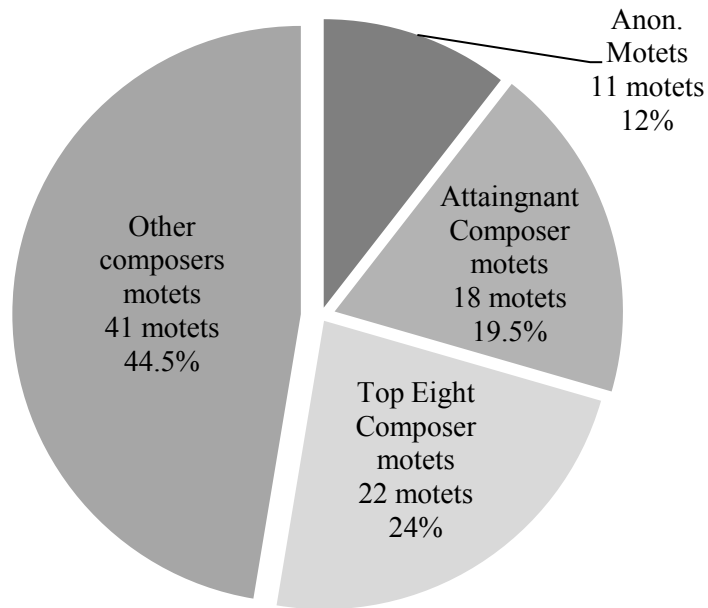
Figure 5.4: Distribution of the *Unica* in Proportion to the Entire Series
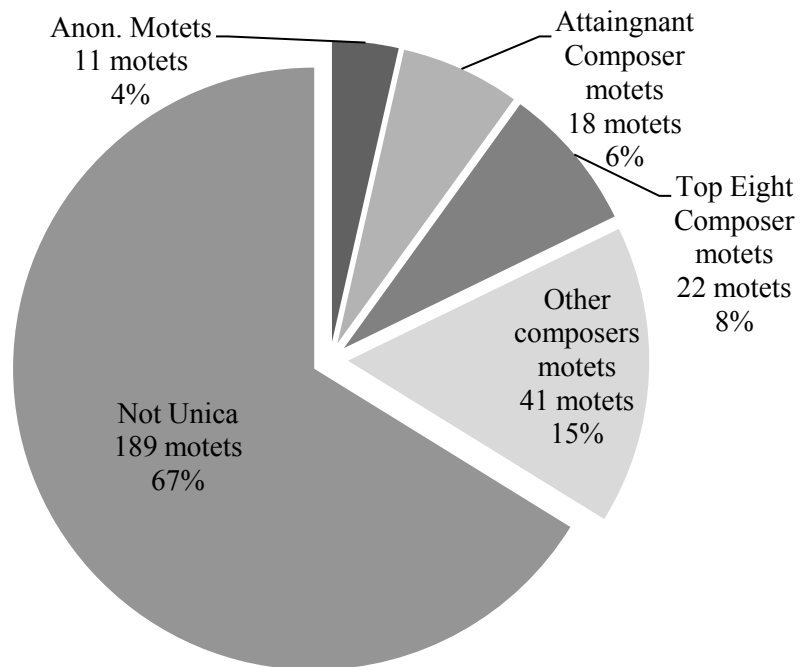
The *unica* of Attaingnant's Series total one third of the entire fourteen-book repertoire (92 of 281, ca. 33%). As we saw, these were not all anonymous motets, or by local, "minor" composers. We found *unica* by well-known composers such as Mouton, Willaert, Verdelot, and Lhéritier along with those by composers like Margot and Louvet, about whom we know nothing else.

Core Repertory Motets

The opposite of the unique motet is not just a motet that appeared in more than one source, but a motet that was copied in many sources, and that became part of what has been called the "core repertory of motets" by Jennifer Thomas.[34] Thomas found that there exists among printed and manuscript sources a group of fifty-four motets that gradually became associated with one another as more and more of them were copied and printed together.[35]

Many of Attaingnant's motets appeared in later sources. But to what extent did the motets that Attaingnant chose to include in his Series participate in the core repertory? Comparing our list of motets to those prepared by Thomas,[36] we find that only three of the 281 motets in Attaingnant's Motet Series are "core repertory motets": *Jerusalem luge* (motet 8.13, attributed to Lupus, Caen, and Richafort in various sources, but to Lupus in Attaingnant's Book 8), *In te domine speravi* (motet 9.07, attributed to Lupus in Book 9, but also attributed to Senfl and Verdelot in other sources), and *Pater*

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[34] ThomasDiss, 459-460. Thomas published a database of motets in both printed and manuscript sources that remains invaluable, and that has served as one of the primary resources of my dissertation. See MotetOD.

[35] Core repertory motets were copied into twenty or more sources.

[36] ThomasDiss, 418-421.

noster (motet 2.01, attributed to Willaert in Book 2). All three had appeared in several sources before they found their way to Attaingnant, but only one is by a Top Eight Composer. However, the names of four of the Top Eight Composers appear in the core repertory: Verdelot, Richafort, Mouton, and of course Willaert all appear with clear attributions,[37] as do Josquin, Gombert, Longueval, Hellinck, Maistre Gosse, and Le Brung, all names featured in Attaingnant's Series. Despite this congruence, it is clear that the majority of Attaingnant's motets did not join the ranks of the core repertory, nor can we state that Attaingnant had a definitive role in the formation of the core repertory, though his prints do participate in it.

Having looked at the *unica* and core repertory motets, and the motets of the Top Eight Composers and Attaingnant Composers, we see that the motets in the Series fall into three broad groups as far as concordances are concerned: *unica*, "first appearance motets," and motets that had previously been in circulation, either in manuscripts or prints. The Motet Table, Appendix D2, lists concordances (pre- and post-Series) for all motets. As we saw above, 92 motets are *unica*, meaning they survive in no other sources that we know of. From the Motet Table, we see that one hundred and three of the motets had appeared in other sources before Attaingnant printed them in his Series and that eighty-three of the motets are "first appearance motets," meaning that they appeared in Attaingnant's Series first, and were then copied into manuscripts or printed in other motet prints outside of the Series. When we combine the *unica* and the first appearance motets, we find that of the 281 motets in the Series, 178 motets, ca. 63%, had not previously

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[37] All but Willaert also appear attached to motets whose authorship remains in question.

appeared in either manuscripts or prints. These proportions are displayed in Figure 5.5
below.

Figure 5.5: Proportion of *Unica*, First Appearance Motets, and Previously Copied or Printed Motets in Attaingnant's Motet Series
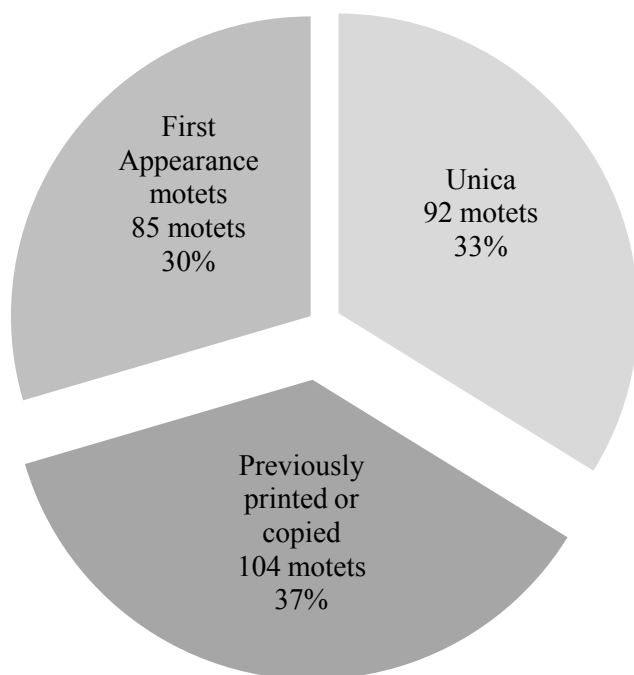
The great emphasis placed on printing new material and the dominance of Italian motet prints (by Italian composers) are two possible reasons for why we find so few "core repertory motets" in Attaingnant's prints, and for the large number of *unica* and first appearance motets.[38]

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[38] In contrast to the large number of *unica*, there are few motets that have a large number of concordances: the three "core repertory" motets have more than twenty sources each, but there is a significant drop off after that, with only fourteen other motets that have ten or more concordances. All found concordances (print and ms, pre-and post-Series) for the motets are listed in the Motet Table (Appendix D2).

Anonymous Motets in Attaingnant's Motet Series

Of the 281 motets that Attaingnant included in his Series, only 23, or 8%,

appeared without an attribution either in the *tabulae* or within the partbooks.[39] Table 5.7

below lists all motets that Attaingnant printed without attribution. Where the identity of

the composer has since been identified in concordant sources, it is noted in square

brackets.[40]

Table 5.7: Anonymous Motets in Attaingnant's Motet Series (with identified authors in [ ], and *unica* noted with italics)

No.	Composer	Title	Book and number
1	*Anonymous*	*Salve mater salvatoris mater*	*1.14*
2	[Willaert][41]	Lamentabatur Jacob	1.15
3	[Richafort/ Mouton][42]	Miseremini mei	1.22
4	[Mouton][43]	Nesciens mater	3.06
5	[Courtois][44]	Hi sancti quorum	3.07
6	[Richafort][45]	Pater noster	3.14
7	*Anonymous*	*Salve mater pietatis*	*3.19*
8	*Anonymous*	*Clare sanctorum senatus*	*4.02*
9	*Anonymous*	*Veniat dilectus meus*	*4.03*
10	*Anonymous*	*Nesciens mater*	*4.09*
11	Anonymous	Sancti spiritus adsit	4.10
12	[Mouton][46]	Christum regem regum adoremus	4.13
13	[Mouton][47]	Contremuerunt omnia membra mea	4.14
14	Anonymous	Ave mater matris dei	4.16
15	[Courtois][48]	Inviolata integra	4.27

[39] On anonymous pieces in sixteenth-century prints, see FeldmanAuthors. There is also an MA thesis on the anonymous motets in Attaingnant's Series that features some stylistic analyses of several anonymous motets (TreloarThesis).

[40] Note that all composers to whom these anonymous motets have been attributed in other sources are featured in Attaingnant's Series.

[41] MotetOD.

[42] MotetOD.

[43] MotetOD.

[44] MotetOD.

[45] MotetOD.

[46] MotetOD.

[47] MotetOD.

[48] MotetOD.

Table 5.7 (cont.): Anonymous Motets in Attaingnant's Motet Series (with identified authors in [ ], and *unica* noted with italics)

No.	Composer	Title	Book and number
16	*Anonymous*	*O sapiencia*	*7.10*
17	*Anonymous*	*Benedictus es domine deus*	*8.15*
18	Anonymous	Cede fragor strepitusque omnis	8.16
19	[Jacquet de Mantua][49]	Descendi in ortum	8.17
20	*Anonymous*	*Feria Sezta in Parasceves*	*10.02*
21	[Sermisy][50]	Kyrie eleison	10.04
22	*Anonymous*	*Passio domini/John*	*10.06*
23	[Sermisy][51]	Sancta Maria mater dei	13.18

Book 4, with its emphasis on Marian texts, has by far the heaviest concentration of anonymous motets, with eight, or over a quarter of the motets in the book, lacking any attribution.[52] Five of these are Marian, which may explain their presence in the book.[53] Only a handful of the twenty-three anonymous motets (4 of 23) appear in subject-specific books, meaning that Attaingnant, for the most part, was not limited to these motets because of textual restrictions, but likely chose to include them in order to fill out the book. Those motets in Books 1, 3, 4 and 8 appear in groups and their texts often complement the text subjects of their neighbours.[54] The anonymous motet in Book 13 (*Sancta Maria, mater dei*) was likely chosen because of the simple canonic style, and because of its text: three settings of this prayer appear as the final motets for three of the

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[49] GroveJacquet.

[50] BrobeckDiss, 64. The motet is attributed to Sermisy in Ballard's 1557 print of Lamentations (RISM 1557[7]).

[51] BrobeckDiss, 67. The motet is attributed to Sermisy in the 1540 print *Selectissimae necnon familiarissimae* issued by Kriesstein in Augsburg (RISM 1540[7]).

[52] Book 4 contains 29 motets, eight of which are lacking attribution, for a total of ca. 27%.

[53] Or it may be that Attaingnant simply needed to fill the book: the majority of the motets in Book 4 are quite short (Book 4 contains the most motets of any book in the Series), which means that Attaingnant needed more pieces to fill the sixteen folios.

[54] This is particularly true for Books 4 and 8, where the anonymous motets appear in close proximity to one another, and usually next to motets with the same subject and rubric. On the organisation of books by subject and rubric, see chapters 6 and 7.

books in the Series (Books 4, 7, and 13).[55] Of these twenty-three motets, eleven do not appear in other sources (italicised in Table 5.8 above: numbers 1, 6-10, 15-17, 20, 22), while those now attributed to Mouton and Richafort appear in several sources, with attribution.[56]

It seems likely that the motets that Attaingnant left unattributed did not come directly to the printer from the composers. One cannot quite believe that Attaingnant, who attributed 92% of the motets in his Series, would have left the attribution of a motet by a composer active in Paris, such as Sermisy or Richafort, blank if he had received the motet from the composer himself. Either he did not know the identity of the authors of these twenty-two motets, or the names were omitted by error during the rapid printing process. If we consider the great attention that Attaingnant gave to the placement of the names in the *tabulae* or at the start of the motets, the first option seems more probable. We may then conclude that these anonymous motets likely found their way to Attaingnant through a third party.

Overall, combining what we now know of the Attaingnant motets by our two groups of composers, we see that 86 of the 151 motets (or c. 57%) appeared first in Attaingnant's Motet Series, as far as we know, and that, given the proximity or relation of the composer to Parisian institutions, the majority of these likely travelled directly from the composer to the printer. We also saw that while Attaingnant featured a large number of otherwise-unknown composers in his Series (17 of 60 named composers, or 28%, with

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[55] This prayer is discussed in chapter 6.
[56] Some of these anonymous motets may appear in other sources, but it has not been possible under the restrictions of the current project to compare all anonymous settings to those printed by Attaingnant. The possible concordances are listed in the Motet Table (Appendix D2).

a combined total of 25 motets, or 8% of the Series) the focus is firmly on the works of eight composers with local and foreign reputations, from both the older generation of composers who had well-established reputations by the year 1534, and those of the younger generation, who were just starting to make their mark. Indeed, the exploration of how Attaingnant may have promoted the reputations of these contemporary composers is an intriguing question that remains open for future research. The study of concordant sources that post-date the Series would be a place to start in determining the "reach" of these composers, but such a study is beyond the scope of the current project.[57]

MARKETS AND MOTETS

Besides shedding light on the participation of the motet in the core repertory, or the degree to which Attaingnant was printing new works, concordant sources can also reveal something about the make-up of the actual market for the Series. One of the theses that I have touched upon several times is that Attaingnant seems to have followed more than one set of criteria when organising his motets and creating his Series. These include arranging the format and layout to appeal to both amateurs and professionals, grouping his motets according to subject, including both large-scale works and smaller motets as well, and featuring works by famous and obscure composers. All of this suggests a desire to appeal, not to a single group of consumers, but to a vast and varied market, a supposition that is supported when we examine who bought his Series, and where his motets ended up.

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[57] Concordances are given for each motet in the Motet Table (Appendix D2).

Markets: Buyers and Singers of the Attaingnant Motets

While a complete survey of all later concordances of all volumes of the Motet Series is beyond the scope of the present work, we can hypothesize about potential and actual markets for the sixteenth-century motet and Attaingnant's Motet Series by looking at the pre- and post-Series concordances of a single book. I have selected Book 2 for this purpose.

Julie Cumming, in her discussion of the publics for Petrucci's first motet series, looked at the actual owners of Petrucci's books, and the concordant sources for the motets in order to hypothesize about the make-up of the markets for these prints.[58] She found that the owners of these sources fell into distinct groups: churches, chapels, academies, choir schools, private collectors, and theorists.[59] We can use the same methods she developed for Petrucci's series to speculate about the market for Attaingnant's Series. By situating the surviving copies of the Series and looking at concordant sources and understanding for whom they were made and by whom they were used, we can infer a possible market for Attaingnant's printed motet books.[60] To these sources we can also add records of the Motet Series that survive in catalogues. Since only a few copies of the Series survive, the concordances and catalogue entries will be especially helpful here in mapping out Attaingnant's market.

Six copies of the Motet Series are currently housed in European libraries. These are outlined in Table 5.8.

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[58] CummingPublics.
[59] CummingPublics, 106.
[60] CummingPublics. Julie Cumming used a similar approach in her study of the markets and publics for Petrucci's early motet prints.

Table 5.8: Surviving Copies of Attaingnant's Motet Series

Types of Owners	Sets of the Series	Current Location	Provenance and Sixteenth-century Owners
Cathedrals and churches	Set 1	France, Noyon, Ancienne Bibliothèque de Chapitre.	France, Noyon. Belonged to the Cathedral of Notre Dame de Noyon.
	Set 2	France, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Vm. 83 Rés.	France, Paris. Belonged at one time to the church of Sainte-Catherine, later to the church of St. Germain-le-vieux.
Court Chapel	Set 3	Italy, Milan, Biblioteca del Conservatorio, Fondo Santa Barbara NO. 57.	Italy, Mantua. Santa Barbara Cathedral (Court Chapel of the Gonzaga family).
Private Collection	Set 4	Austria, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek SA 76 d2.	Germany, Augsburg. Owned by music collector Raimund Fugger the Younger of Augsburg.
No Information on ownership	Set 5	Germany, Jena, Universitätsbibliothek.	Unknown.
	Set 6	Italy, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S CLI 21-22.	Unknown.

Sets 1 and 2 are particularly interesting as they originally belonged to institutions in France. The Noyon set is the only known complete copy of the Series that survives today, and Daniel Heartz has found that it was originally part of the music collection of the Cathedral, Notre Dame de Noyon.[61] The second "French" set of the Motet Series is currently housed in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris.[62] It was owned by the church of St. Germain-le-vieux in Paris,[63] which stood just below Notre Dame Cathedral, and was a stone's throw away from Attaingnant's shop in the Rue de la Harpe. On this set, we also find a mark of ownership for the library of the church of Sainte Catherine of Paris, suggesting that part or all of the set may originally have belonged to a second church in Paris. One other set (number 3) has been traced to a church music collection,

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[61] HeartzCat, 135.
[62] HeartzCat, 346. The other print is the 1546 print of Mornable motets (HeartzCat # 141).
[63] HeartzCat, 346.

that of Santa Barbara of Mantua, the Ducal Chapel of the Gonzaga family in the second half of the sixteenth century.[64]

Set number 4, currently held by the Austrian National Library, was once part of the private collection of Raimund Fugger the Younger of Augsburg, a noted collector of printed music.[65] We have yet to find any information on the original ownership of sets 5 and 6.

Two individual books from the Series also survive: a copy of Book 6 survives in the Bibliotecca Bertoliana in Vicenza, and a copy of Book 14, originally part of the music collection of the Herwart family of Austria, is currently held in the Bayerishe Staatsbibliothek in Munich.[66]

Traces of the Series also survive in several catalogues, indicating that the Motet Series was part of now lost collections belonging to the royal library in Lisbon,[67] and the St. Anna choir school in Augsburg.[68] Known owners of Attaingnant prints thus fall into four categories: cathedrals and churches, court chapels, choir schools and private consumers. These individual books and catalogue records are outlined in Table 5.9.

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[64] On music in Mantua in the sixteenth century, see FenlonMantua. Fenlon notes the existence of the Attaingnant Series in the archives of the cathedral (FenlonMantua, 116; 202).
[65] HeartzCat, 131.
[66] HeartzCat, 297.
[67] HeartzCat, 128-129.
[68] HeartzCat, 132.

Table 5.9: Individual Books and Catalogue Records of Attaingnant's Series

Types of Owners	Copies of Single Books	Current Holdings	Provenance and Sixteenth-century Owners
Private Collection	Book 14	Germany, Munich, Bayerishe Staatsbibliothek.	Austria. Originally owned by the Herwart Family.
No Information on ownership	Book 6	Italy, Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana, FF. 2.7.23(1).	Unknown.
Court Chapel	Catalogue Record 1	Lists books 1-5, along with other Attaingnant motet prints.	Portugal, Royal Library at Lisbon. Catalogue made in 17thC for King John IV.
Choir School	Catalogue Record 2	Lists all fourteen books, along with a set of chansons printed by Attaingnant in 1538-1539.	Germany, St. Anna choir school in Augsburg. Catalogue made in late 16thC by the school cantor and composer Adam Gumpelzhaimer.

We can expand our view of who used Attaingnant's Series by looking at concordant sources for the motets from Book 2. Book 2 was chosen for this case study because it represents a balance between both types of prints in the Series: it is a mixed anthology, having no stated subject in the title, but does have distinct groupings according to the subject of the motets inside the books. It is also the first book of the Series to feature a more consistent use of rubrics, as maintained in the later books. Table 5.10 lists the motets of Book 2, along with the names of the composers.

Table 5.10: Book 2 Motets and Composers (ordered by number of concordant sources that contain two or more motets in Book 2)

Motet Number	Composer Name	Motet Title	Number of Concordant Sources with two or more Book 2 motets (listed in Table 5.11 below)
2.01	Willaert	Pater noster	8
2.12	Mouton	Noe psallite	4
2.03	Verdelot	Victime paschali	3
2.04	Verdelot	Gaudeamus omnes in domino	3
2.13	Willaert	Omnipotens sempiterne deus	3
2.18	Willaert	Ave regina celorum	3
2.23	Willaert	Patefacte sunt ianue	3
2.05	Willaert	Congratulamini mihi	2
2.06	Verdelot	Sancta Maria sucurre	2
2.16	Richafort	O presul egregie	2
2.20	Gombert	Aspice domine quia facta	2
2.02	Dulot	Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi	1
2.08	Gascongne	Christus vincit Christus regnat	1
2.21	Gascongne	Spiritus ubi vult	1
2.22	Lhéritier	Virgo Christi egregia	1
2.07	Richafort	Christe totius dominator	0
2.09	Lhéritier	Ave Maria gratia plena	0
2.10	Conseil	Egredere ab occidente	0
2.11	Sermisy	Noe magnificatus est rex	0
2.14	Le Bouteiller	Benedicta es celorum	0
2.15	Richafort	O quam dulcis et beata	0
2.17	Werrecore	O crux viride lignum	0
2.19	Conseil	Pater peccavi	0
2.24	Verdelot	Ave sanctissima Maria	0

Table 5.10 (above) lists the number of concordant sources that contain two or

more motets from Book 2, for each motet in Book 2. The majority appear in these other

sources once or twice (and some not at all), but there are seven that appear more

frequently. Willaert's *Pater noster* appears in eight sources, which reflects its status as a

"core repertory motet."[69] Indeed, four of the seven motets are by Willaert, with the other three by Verdelot and Mouton. They were "international stars," composers whose motets appear in multiple sources, and who are core repertory composers. In fact, they are three of the Top Eight composers of Attaingnant's Series as well. Table 5.11 below lists all sources with more than two concordances with the Book motets, including type of owner, manuscript name, date of the source, concordances (motet number), provenance of the source and notes on ownership or use of the sources and contents. Information in columns 2-3 and 4-5 (left to right) is cited from Census-catalogue and RISM. Sources with two or more concordances with Book 2 were included in the interest of space, and because this indicates some shared repertoire with the Series.

Table 5.11: Concordances for the Book 2 Motets

Types of Owners	MS Siglum, (Name) or Printer, Title, Type of Print	Date	Concordances with Book 2	Provenance	Notes (ownership, use)
Cathedrals	VerBC 760 (Verona. Biblioteca Capitolare MS DCCLX)	1520-30	2.01, 2.09, 2.21	Italy, Verona	For use at the Verona Cathedral. Motets.
	PadBC A17 (Padua. Biblioteca Capitolare MS A 17)	1522	2.06, 2.12, 2.13	Italy, Padua	For use by cathedral choir of Padua. Motets, Te deum.
	CasAC N(H) (Casale Monferrato, Archivio Capitolare N(H))	1538-45	2.01, 2.05, 2.12	Italy, Casale Monferrato	Copied at Casale Monferrato for use at cathedral. Masses, Te Deum, Psalms, Magnificats, Motets.
	PadBC D27 (Italy, Padua, Duomo, Biblioteca Capitolare, Curia Vescovile MS D.27)	1541-50	2.18, 2.23	Italy, Padua	Copied in Padua for use by the cathedral choir. Mass, Magnificats, Motets.

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[69] Thomas lists this motet as part of the 1520-1530 core repertory, with 34 sources for this motet (ThomasDiss, 418; 429-434).

Table 5.11 (cont.): Concordances for the Book 2 Motets

Types of Owners	MS Siglum, (Name) or Printer, Title, Type of Print	Date	Concordances with Book 2	Provenance	Notes (ownership, use)
Court Chapels	LonRC 2037 (London, Royal College of Music MS 2037)	1527-34	2.01, 2.12, 2.18, 2.23	Italy, Ferrara	Used at ducal court. Motets.
	VatP 1976-9 (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Pal. lat. 1976-9)	1528-31	2.01, 2.08	Netherlands, Brussels	Court MS (for Queen Anne, King Ferdinand I of Hungary). Motets.
	BerlGS 7/KönsSU 1740 (Berlin, MS XX. HA StUB Königsberg Nr. 7 Pb 11)	1537-44	2.16, 2.18, 2.20, 2.23	Germany, Prussia (Könisburg)	Owned by the Duke of Prussia in 1564. Masses, Kyrie-Gloria, Te Deum, Motets.
	ModE N.1.2 (Italy, Modena, Biblioteca Estense MS {alpha}.N.1.2)	1534-35	2.12, 2.18	Italy (Ferrara)	Copied by Jean Michel for Ercole d'Este (Ferrara). Used by the Court Chapel. Masses, Credos, Motets.
	FlorD 4 (Florence, Duomo, Archivio Musicale dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore MS 4)	1563 in MS	2.13, 2.16	Italy, Florence	Copied by scribe of the Medici court and church of San Lorenzo. Motets.
Con-fraternity	HradKM 29 (Czech Republic, Hradec Králové, Krajske Muzeum, Knihovna MS II A 29)	1556, -62	2.01, 2.02	Czech Republic, Hradec Králové	From the library of the confraternity of literati at the Church of the Holy Spirit in Hradec Králové. Motets and Czech sacred pieces.
Individual nobles	ChiN M91/1 (Newberry Library, Case MS VM1578.M91)	1525-29	2.01, 2.03, 2.04, 2.05	Italy, Florence	Presentation to Henry VIII of England. Motets and Madrigals.
Private Collectors	Scotto, *Moteti de la fama libro primo*. Single Composer Print: Lhéritier	1555	2.09, 2.22	Venice	One copy once owned by the Herwart family. One copy held at the Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale (S 272).[70] Motets.

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[70] BernsteinJScotto, 479.

Table 5.11(cont.): Concordances for the Book 2 Motets

Types of Owners	MS Siglum, (Name) or Printer, Title, Type of Print	Date	Concordances with Book 2	Provenance	Notes (ownership, use)
Unknown Ownership	VatVM 571 (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Vat. Mus. 571)	1520-30	2.01, 2.13	Italy, Rome	Copied in Rome. Motets and Italian secular pieces.
	HerdF 9821 (Germany, Herdringen, Schloss Fürstenberg, Bibliothek 9821)	1545-50	2.01, 2.20	Germany	Probably copied in Germany. Masses, Mass movements, Motets, secular French and Dutch pieces.
	A. Gardano, *Electiones diversorum motetorum distincte quatuor vocibus.* Mixed anthology	1549[13]	2.03, 2.04	Venice	Unknown. Motets.
	Scotto, *Elletiones de Motetti libro primo.* Mixed anthology (all Verdelot motets at start)	1549[15]	2.03, 2.04, 2.06	Venice	Tenor partbook: Barcelona, Biblioteca Central; Altus partbook: Valladolid, Archivo de la Catedral; One copy at London, Royal College of Music.[71] Motets.

As we can see from Table 5.11, there is great variety among the sources, including both manuscripts and prints. [72] Among the manuscripts, ten contain sacred polyphony only and three contain a mix of sacred and secular pieces: the Vatican VM manuscript was copied in Rome for an unknown individual or institution, and the Herdf

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[71] BernsteinJScotto, 402.

[72] A single print copy, in contrast to manuscripts, would have been owned by many different people, from different market groups. Unfortunately, few copies survive, and only one of the five copies of the three printed sources provides any information about the original owners.

9821 is likewise of unknown ownership, while the Newberry source was designed in Florence as a presentation manuscript for Henry the VIII of England.[73]

Table 5.12 also shows us that the motets in Book 2 had a history of circulation among five distinct market groups: large cathedrals, court chapels, confraternities, individuals (in this case, members of the nobility), and private collectors. Comparing our findings to those from Cumming's research on the Petrucci motet books, we find that our market groups overlap; the only significant difference is the absence of music theorists from our list. There were considerably more music theorists in Italy than in France, which may explain the absence of this group from our list of market members for the Attaingnant motets.

Comparing the owners of sources containing copies of the pieces found in Book 2 and the actual owners of the Series, we find several parallels: both groups of owners include cathedrals, court chapels, and private collectors in their ranks. But each group also featured a type of buyer not found in the other. By looking at both actual owners and potential owners, we expanded our view of the market for the Series, and that it likely included members from all of these groups: cathedrals and churches, choir schools and confraternities, and individuals, including private collectors.

CONCLUSIONS

Our discussion of the composers that Attaingnant featured in his Series and of the motets themselves sheds light on several aspects of the Series. We saw that while Attaingnant relied on the works (and reputations) of eight composers, he also featured a

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[73] On this source and its importance as a source for the early madrigal, see FenlonHaar.

number of relatively unknown composers, who were likely local composers whom Attaingnant knew and who brought their music directly to the printer for inclusion in his Series. We saw that among these two groups, many of the motets are unique to this series, especially those of the "Attaingnant Composers," but that even for celebrated composers such as Mouton, whose motets were copied into manuscripts and printed by other printers multiple times, Attaingnant managed to find unknown works. Taken together, the *unica* form an impressive group in the Series, totaling one third of the whole repertoire and preserving the works of composers from both the older and contemporary generations.

It is also clear that Attaingnant did not draw his repertoire exclusively from the French Royal Chapel. Many of the Top 8 Composers had no apparent connections to the court at all, including Manchicourt, one of the two most featured composers. It is possible that these motets had been collected by members of the Court Chapel, but there is to this date no indication of the contents of the Chapel repertoire. The high number of court composers featured in the Series certainly ties Attaingnant's prints to the court, but we cannot assume that the Court Chapel was the source from which Attaingnant collected all his motets.[74]

In as much as Attaingnant seems to have been concerned with offering new and unknown works, he also paid great attention to the authorship of the motets in his Series, leaving only twenty-three of 281 motets without attributions. Attaingnant, seemingly by

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[74] I agree with Heartz that the high number of court composers in Attaingnant's prints and his connections to the court (privilege of 1531, and later being named Royal Printer) tie the prints to the court (HeartzCat, xix). However, the analysis of the concordances of the motet (above) calls into question Brobeck's assertion that this Motet Series was drawn exclusively from the court repertoire (BrobeckDiss, 507; BrobeckLit, 145).

design, included a broad range of Franco-Flemish composers in his Series, from the established masters of the past, to the unknown composers of the present.

The investigation into concordant sources that pre-date and post-date the Series, like the discussion of the known owners, also shows that the sixteenth-century motet market was composed of many different "groups" including cathedrals, churches, court chapels, choir schools, confraternities, and private collectors, a fact that Attaingnant must have been aware of before he began printing his Series, and that he must have taken into consideration when selecting pieces and organizing his books, given that motet series printing had been around for nearly thirty years. But Attaingnant did not have to rely on suppositions and hearsay to discover what the motet market was interested in: some of them were coming in and out of his shop every day, and had been known to him for at least six years.[75] In that time, he had plenty of opportunities to take the pulse of the market and plan out his Series to best suit his buyers. But music-book buyers were not the only market group that frequented his shop. Though best remembered as a printer of music, Attaingnant was, in fact, also a book dealer who sold much more than music in his shop. The next two chapters look at features of the Series that would have appealed to all kinds of book buyers. Chapter 6 looks at the rubrics, how they were used to organise the Series, what we can learn about the intended uses for the Series, and the function of the motet. Chapter 7 examines Attaingnant's roots as a book dealer and the ties between the types of texts set in the motets of the Series and the many different types of books that had been sold in the shop in the Rue de la Harpe.

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[75] Attaingnant's market obviously included buyers from other parts of Europe, as we saw above in the discussion of the extant copies of the Motet Series.

CHAPTER 6

RUBRICS IN THE MOTET BOOKS OF PIERRE ATTAINGNANT: LITURGICAL OR DEVOTIONAL ASSIGNMENTS?

One of the unique features of Attaingnant's Series is the assignment of what I call "rubrics" to several books and to individual motets throughout the Series. These are short phrases in Latin that the printer placed in the titles of six of the books and at the start of more than one hundred of the motets. The rubrics have received very little attention in scholarship on the motet or on Attaingnant.[1] They provide valuable insight into the planning and organisation of the Series, and the use of rubrics is one of the new and unique techniques Attaingnant used to make his Series attractive and easy to use. These methods—including small-scale organisation of individual books, as well as large-scale editorial decisions—give the Series a cohesiveness that was all but unprecedented in earlier motet prints.[2]

In this chapter I will also use the rubrics to further our understanding of the function of this Motet Series, and the function of the motet in general, an issue that has prompted much scholarly debate, but that has never been addressed in relation to the complete Attaingnant Series.[3] But before we address this issue we must first understand

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[1] Neither Heartz nor Brobeck, the two most prominent Attaingnant scholars of the last decades, discuss the inclusion of rubrics *inside* the books in any detail, though Brobeck does address the rubrics on the title pages, especially that of Book 7 (See BrobeckLit).

[2] The obvious exception is Petrucci's Motetti B, which is organised by subject, and the books in Moderne's series, which are organised by number of voices.

[3] Brobeck discussed a group of 47 motets from the Series that he called "liturgical motets," but did not explore the entire series. He did not consider the rubrics and their implications for the function of the Series and motet, and I have also found new information about several of the pieces, most notably Sermisy's *Kyrie* setting from Book 10 that alters some of his findings. Brobeck suggested that this piece, which contains an additional phrase not found in the Roman liturgy (*Parce famulis...*) was composed specifically

what the term rubric meant in the sixteenth century, how this relates to the phrases used

by Attaingnant, the different types of rubrics the printer assigned to his motets, and how

they fit into the printer's overall plan for the Series.

RUBRICS DEFINED

The term "rubric" (or "rubrique" in French) dates back to the 14th century and

stems from the Latin word *rubrica,* meaning red chalk.[4] In medieval liturgical

manuscripts, a rubric was a special addition to the text, written in red ink, which gave

specific directions for the performance of a liturgical item, or indicated the feast day and

office at which the chant or text was to be performed, while the chants and texts

themselves were written in black. These rubrics were not performed, but functioned as

prescriptions: Do this for this chant, sing this chant at this time.

Liturgical rubrics ranged from longer instructions to shorter "headings," as can be

seen in Image 6.1 below of a Dominican Missal from the thirteenth century.

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for the French court chapel. I have found, however, that the chant that is set in the motet (left unattributed by Attaingnant) is present in the Breviary for Use of Paris, and that the motet actually sets the chant melody preserved in that book. The sectionalised form of the piece and the necessity for additional chant and text does not contradict Brobeck's assertion that this piece was composed for liturgical use, but the presence of the text in the Breviary for Use of Paris broadens the use to include any institution that followed the Use of Paris, and indeed, any individual familiar with the Use of Paris. It also opens up the possibility that this was not composed by Sermisy: if the use was not limited to the court chapel, then composers at the Sainte-Chapelle or Notre Dame could have composed the motet for use by one of the two choirs at these institutions.

[4] BrownMS, 111.

Image 6.1: Dominican Missal (ca. 1240), with Long and Short Rubrics (bottom, outside columns)

Missal of the Dominican Convent of Lausanne, copied ca. 1240, folio 83v and 84.
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Missel_dominicain_MG_2117.jpg>

 The shorter type of rubric also appeared in devotional books, such as Books of Hours, where they had a descriptive function rather than a prescriptive function. The Book of Hours was a devotional prayer book intended for use by the laity. It imitated the monastic practice of the divine office, but in a much less rigid manner.[5] For example, in the 1440s Book of Hours shown below (Image 6.2), the rubric "De beata Catherina. ant" appears in red at the start of the Antiphon "Gaude virgo catherina," indicating that the text that follows is an Antiphon for Saint Catherine. Similarly, the word "oratio" at the end of the

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[5] Books of Hours are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.

page appears in red, indicating that the following text is a prayer. These were simple, descriptive heading rubrics.

Image 6.2: Manuscript Book of Hours (ca.1440-1450), Rubric: "De beata catherina. ant" and "oratio" (both in red ink)
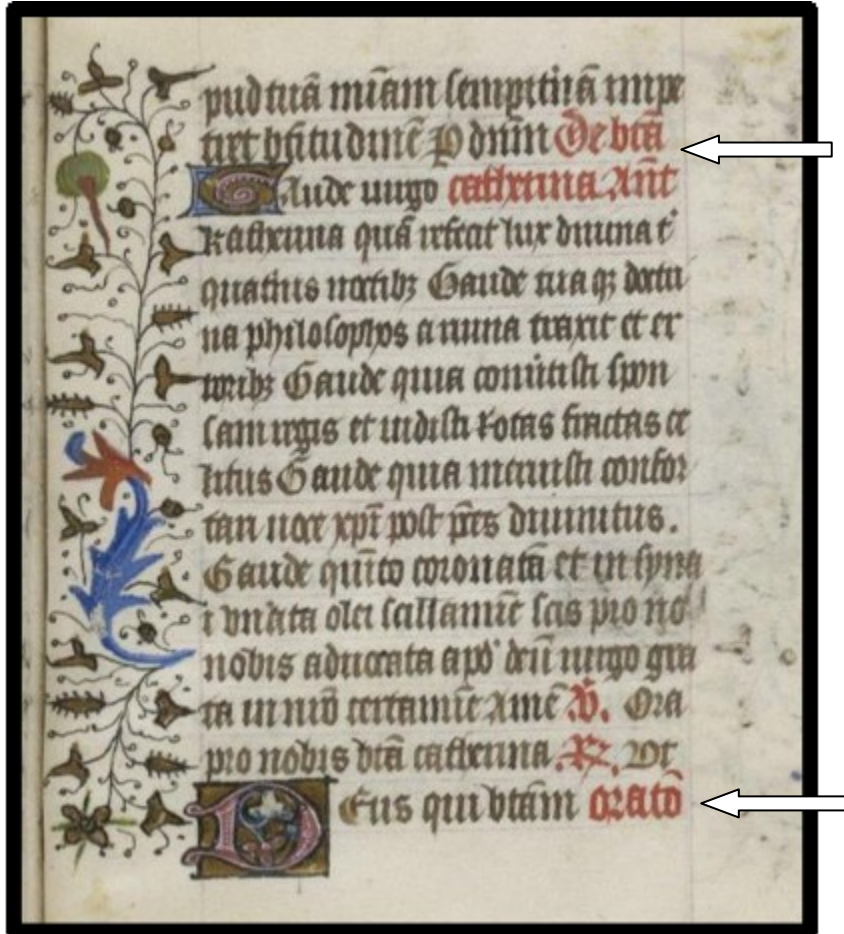
Horae ad usum Romanum ca. 1440-1450, folio 192.
©Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits (NAL 3229)
<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84528299/f391.image.r=Romanum%201440-1450.langEN>

Rubrics in manuscript sources, such as the ones reproduced above, were traditionally and predominantly written in red. The development of printing, however, resulted in the disappearance of red ink in most books: printing in two colours would

have slowed down the process and likely increased the cost of printing a book.[6] In response to this, many printers chose to print rubrics in black, but used changes in font or size, special characters or initials, or customary placement of the rubrics at certain places on the page to distinguish them from the rest of the text. In an example from the 1520s, the Parisian printer François Regnault placed the rubric "Suffragia" at the top of the page to indicate that the texts are for the suffrages of the saints, and then used a special character (℃) to mark the rubrics inside the text.

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[6] Printed chant books often used red for the staff lines and black notes, following manuscript tradition. See for example the reproduction of Attaingnant's printed *Manuale* (1546) in Heartz's catalogue (HeartzCat, 44).

Image 6.3: *Horae ad Sarum* (1527), Rubric: "Suffragia" (top, centre), and Use of Special Characters (right-hand side)
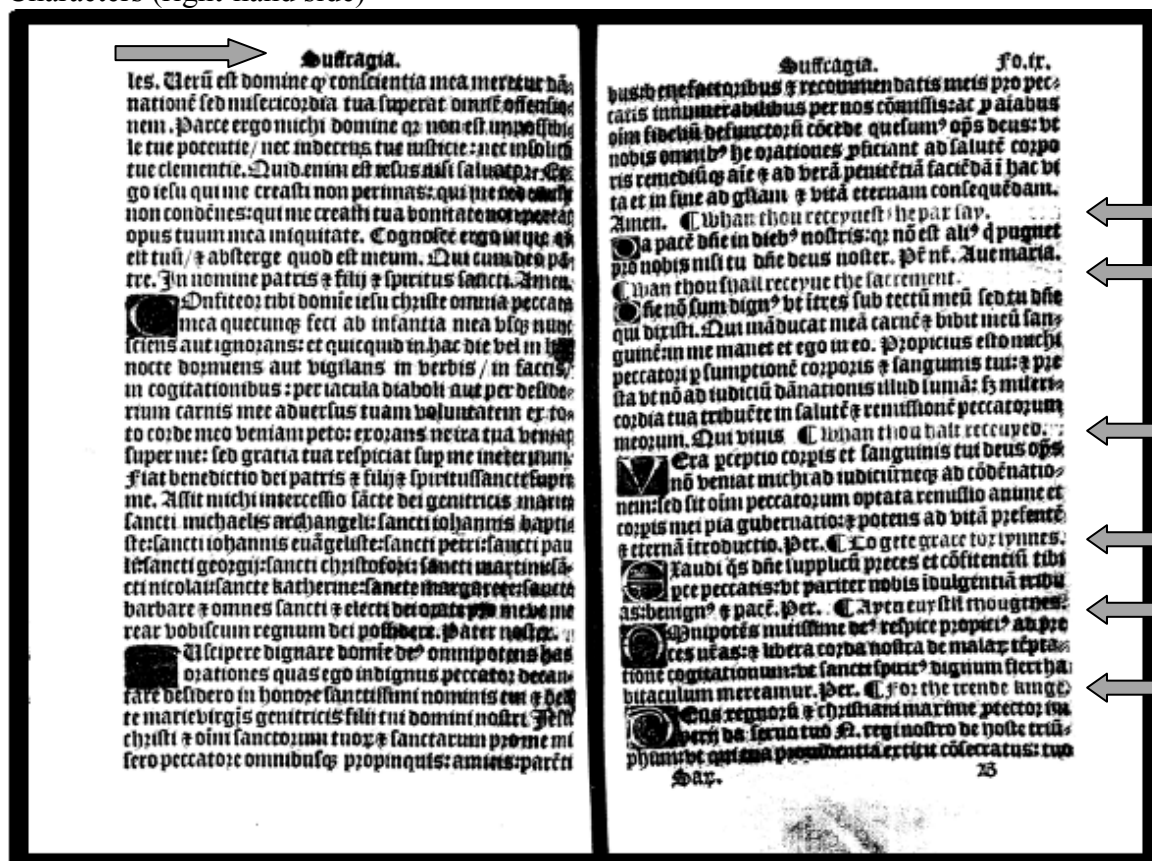
Horae ad Sarum. Paris: François Regnault, 1527, folio 8v and 9
©British Library Board (C.42.e.7). Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.[7]

The rubrics in Attaingnant's Series are mostly descriptive headings that identify

the subject and/or feast of the motets, but are not part of the text of the motets. While the

rubrics are not prescriptive, many of them are the same as (or similar to) those found in

some liturgical books, notably Antiphonals, Breviaries, and Missals. In terms of function,

however, they have more in common with the rubrics found in manuscript and printed

Books of Hours.[8]

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[7] Image produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*. www.proquest.com.
[8] They are also similar to the titles of Masses on a specific subject or theme, such as Sermisy's Missa plurium motetorum (from Attaingnant's 1532 Tertius liber RISM 1532³).

There are two types of rubrics in Attaingnant's Series: those that appear in the titles of specific books, and those that are assigned to individual motets. In the former, the rubrics are somewhat longer and serve not only to identify a potential occasion for which the motets could be sung, or the types of motets, but also, in one instance, to provide performance directions to the singer.

Six of the fourteen books in the Series contain rubrics in their titles. These books are what I call "uniform anthologies:" books with motets for a single occasion, or setting a single type of text. The practice of including a rubric in the title of a motet print was not entirely without precedent. Petrucci had included a "rubric" in the title of his *Motetti B* in 1503 (Image 6.4 below).

Image 6.4: Title Page of Petrucci's Motetti B (1503), Title Rubric: *De passione de cruce de sacramento de beata virgine et huiusmodi* ("Motets of the Passion, the Cross, the Sacrament, the Blessed Virgin and of this kind")
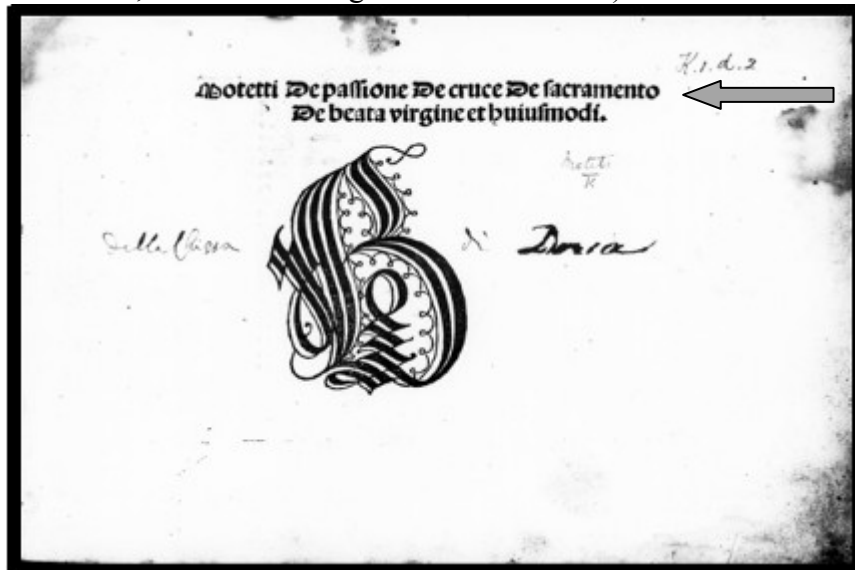
However, as we shall see, Attaingnant's rubrics are much more specialised, referring to a single text type or season.

The rubrics on the title pages of four books (5, 6, 9 and 12) are the short descriptive type: they simply tell us about the contents, much like the rubric for the St. Catherine Antiphon in the Book of Hours reproduced above (Image 6.2). The rubrics on the title pages of Books 5 and 6 both identify the contents of the books as Magnificats, on the different Magnificat tones: Book 5 (Image 6.5) contains settings on the first three tones, Book 6 (Image 6.6) on the five remaining tones.[9]

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[9] Book 6 also has one setting on the first tone. See the discussion of the Magnificats in Chapter 7.

Image 6.5: Title Page of Book 5 (Superius Partbook), Title Rubric: *trium priorum tonorum magnificat continet* ("contains Magnificats on the first three tones")

Image 6.6: Title Page of Book 6 (Contratenor Partbook), Title Rubric: *quinque ultimorum tonorum magnificat continet* ("contains Magnificats on the five last tones")

The title page of Book 9 contains the rubric "daviticos psalmos," indicating that the contents are settings of Psalms (Image 6.7).

Image 6.7: Title Page of Book 9 (Tenor Partbook), Title Rubric: *daviticos musicales psalmos habet* ("has musical Psalms of David")

Book 12 contains motets "ad virginem christiparam salutationes," salutations to the Blessed Virgin Mary. These motets are settings of three of the four Great Marian Antiphons sung at the end of Compline, the final office of the day: Ave Regina celorum, Regina celi, and Salve Regina. The emphasis on the title page is on the "Regina" and "Salve" settings, as indicated by the larger font of those motet titles, and the large brackets used to group the settings together, as can be seen in Image 6.8 below.

Image 6.8: Title Page of Book 12 (Contratenor Partbook), Title Rubric: *musicales ad virginem christiparam salutationes habet* ("has musical salutations for the Virgin, Mother of Christ")

The title rubrics in these four books imply a single text genre for the motets contained in the book: all are Magnificats, all are salutations for the Virgin, all are Psalms. [10] But in the final two books with title rubrics, Books 7 and 10, Attaingnant included motets for a single liturgical season, and settings of different genres of texts. This resulted in a slightly different kind of title rubric, one that was more than just the short descriptive rubrics of Books 5-6, 9 and 12. Both title rubrics refer to specific seasons, but also indicate that the contents are for diverse feasts within that season, though Book 10 (Image 6.9) is more specific than Book 7, and therefore closer to the kind of title rubric seen in Books 5-6, 9 and 12.

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[10] These rubrics also identify three subgenres of the larger genre of the motet of the Series. The subgenres of the motet are discussed in Chapter 7.

Image 6.9: Title Page of Book 10 (Superius Partbook), Title Rubric: *Passiones dominice in ramis palmarum veneris sancte: necnon lectiones feriarum quinte sexte ac sabbati hebdomade sancte: multaque alia quadragesime congruentia c*[on]*tinet. ut palam videre licet* ("contains Passions for Palm Sunday and Holy Friday, lessons for the fifth and sixth and seventh days of Holy Week, [and] many others suitable for Lent, as can be plainly seen")
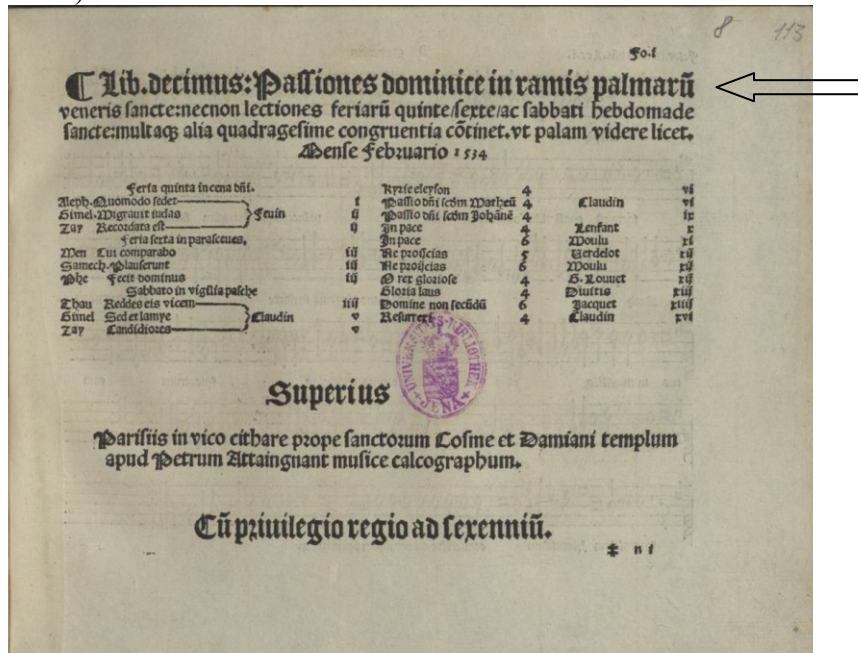
The rubric for Book 10 indicates that the book contains Passions and Lessons for Holy Week and Easter, as well as other motets suitable for Lent. A study of the text sources for these motets found that not only did all the texts have a tradition of use for Lent and Holy Week, but that Attaingnant actually ordered the contents within the book according to their use: the Passion and Lesson settings are grouped together, while most of the remaining motets, such as the two settings of "In pace" and "Ne proiicias," are grouped in the same order that one finds in contemporary Breviaries for the Use of

Paris.[11] The book also ends with a motet that sets an Introit text for Easter Sunday, the last day of the season indicated in the title rubric. This suggests familiarity on Attaingnant's part with what texts were traditionally used for specific occasions and demonstrates a desire to respect or even promote these traditions. This approach to organisation was completely unprecedented, but is perhaps not surprising given that Attaingnant, while printing large quantities of polyphonic music, was also printing liturgical books and selling Books of Hours. He printed a Breviary in 1525, a Missal in 1541, another Breviary and Manuale for Use of Noyon in 1546,[12] and his father-in-law had been one of the premier printers of Books of Hours of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[13]

Attaingnant's attention to the textual subjects of his motets and the season for which they could be used is also evident in Book 7, which, like Book 10, contains music for a specific season (Image 6.10).

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[11] Bréviare de Paris, folio ccxx (listed in Text Sources Bibliography). The text sources for the motets are provided in the Text Sources table in Appendix G.
[12] HeartzCat. These are discussed in Chapter 7 and inventoried in Heartz's catalogue (numbers 1, 98, 138 and 139).
[13] Attaingnant's father-in-law and the history of their bookshop are investigated in Chapter 7.

Image 6.10: Title Page of Book 7 (Tenor partbook), Title Rubric: *trium/quatuor/quinque sex/ve*[l] *vocum modulos dominici adventus nativitatisque ei'*[us]/*ac sanctorum eo tempore occurentium habet* ("has *modulos* [motets] for three, four, five or six voices for Sundays of Advent and of his birth, and the saints occurring at that time").
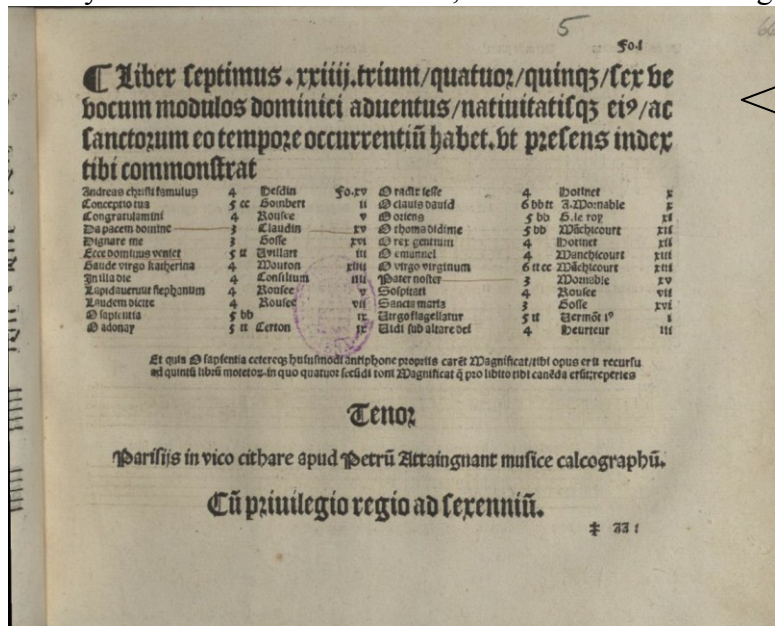
Attaingnant's rubric on the title page states that the book contains music for Advent and the Nativity, but also contains motets for the individual saints' feasts which occur at this time. In addition to the title, he included rubrics inside the book to more precisely identify some of the motets whose subjects were not immediately evident, and to distinguish the motets for Advent and the Nativity from those for individual saints. Some motets have rubrics that re-iterate the title information, while some have rubrics that do not have obvious connections to Advent or the Nativity. Table 6.1 lists the contents and rubrics of Book 7.

Table 6.1: Rubrics and Motets in Book 7 of Attaingnant's Motet Series

Motet No.	Rubric	Date of Saints' Feasts	Motet Title	Rubric Group
7.01	De sancta Katherina	Nov. 25	Virgo flagellatur	Sanctoral: Individual Saints
7.02	No rubric		Conceptio tua	No rubric
7.03	De adventu Domini		Ecce dominus veniet	Temporal Cycle
7.04	In festo innocentium	Dec. 28	Vidi sub altare	Sanctoral Cycle
7.05	De sancto Johanne Evangelista	Dec. 27	In illa die suscipiam	Sanctoral: Individual Saints
7.06	In die nativitatis Domini		Congratulamini mihi	Temporal
7.07	De sancto Stephano	Dec. 26	Lapidaverunt Stephanum	Sanctoral: Individual Saints
7.08	De omnibus sanctis	Nov. 1	Laudem dicite	Sanctoral Cycle
7.09	De sancto Nicolao	Dec. 6	Sospitate dedit	Sanctoral: Individual Saints
7.10	No rubric		O sapientia	No rubric
7.11	No rubric		O adonay	No rubric
7.12	No rubric		O radix Jesse	No rubric
7.13	No rubric		O clavis David	No rubric
7.14	No rubric		O oriens splendor lucis	No rubric
7.15	No rubric		O Thoma didme	No rubric
7.16	No rubric		O rex gentium	No rubric
7.17	No rubric		O Emanuel	No rubric
7.18	No rubric		O virgo virginum	No rubric
7.19	De sancta Catherina	Nov. 25	Gaude virgo Catherina	Sanctoral: Individual Saints
7.20	De sancto Andrea	Nov. 30	Andreas Christi	Sanctoral: Individual Saints
7.21	No rubric		Da pacem domine	No rubric
7.22	Oratio dominicalis		Pater noster	Miscellaneous
7.23	De beata Maria		Dignare me laudare	Marian
7.24	De beata Maria		Sancta Maria mater dei	Marian

Among the motets are settings of the nine "O" Antiphons sung with the

Magnificat as part of the Vespers liturgy during Advent at Notre Dame de Paris, a

tradition dating back to the 13th Century.[14] They were sung on the nine days leading up

to Christmas, in precisely the same order in which Attaingnant printed them in his book.[15]

These motets then fall under the subject of the title rubric and therefore needed no other

identification. Presumably the long standing traditional use of these Antiphons at

Christmas time is the reason that Attaingnant did not include more specific rubrics with

each motet to suggest the day on which they could be sung: anyone buying the book who

was familiar with the Use of Paris (or other Catholic rites) would have recognised at least

seven of these nine motets as part of the Advent and Nativity season to which Attaingnant

refers in his title.[16] Attesting to this familiarity are the marginalia found in the Superius

partbook of the copy held at the Jena University Library.[17] At the top of folio 9, on which

Attaingnant printed the "O adonay" setting, someone has written in a cursive hand:

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[14] WrightNotreDame, 106-07. Wright states that the use of these nine Antiphons was specific to the Use of Paris, and that other churches had varying numbers of Antiphons for this season, from as few as six to as many as twelve. The "O" Antiphons also appear in roughly the same order in the Poissy Antiphonal, a Dominican Antiphonal of 428 folios from Poissy, written 1335-1345 (available online at LaTrobe: <http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/MMDB/images/Poissy/FOL_001R.htm>, and listed in the Text Sources Bibliography), but without the "O Thomas" and "O virgo" Antiphons. The acronym "ero cras"(tomorrow I come) results from the combination of the first letters of the original seven "O" Antiphons read in reverse: E(manuel)R(ex gentium)O(riens splendor) C(lavis David)R(adix Jesse)A(donay)S(apientia). This acronym is disrupted in the liturgy of Paris by the addition of the "O Thomas didime" and "O virgo virginum" Antiphons (WrightNotreDame, 106).
[15] The motet *O Emanuel* is out of order in the Superius partbook -apparently a mix-up occurred when printing that piece as there are no format issues that would necessitate such a break in the order. In fact, the *tabula* of the Superius partbook gives the motets in the correct order, with *O rex* coming before *O Emanuel*.
[16] As mentioned above, some uses had different numbers of "O" Antiphons. For example, the Roman rite actually only had seven "O" Antiphons: O sapiencia, O adonay, O radix, O clavis David, O oriens, O rex gentium, O Emanuel (LU, 340-342). However, these seven Antiphons were the core of the "O" Antiphon group sung during Advent in many different regions, some of which had up to 12 Antiphons.
[17] Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, 4 Mus.2a-d. The library has recently made these prints available in digital facsimile: < http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/hisbest/receive/HisBest_cbu_00019144;jsessionid=0B2E028104D7AB31642C0B56FB8BB20F#tab0>. This is the source of all images from Books 1-13 included in this dissertation.

"Antiphona in adventu Domini."[18] Other motets, however, such as *Sospitate dedit* were apparently harder to identify, hence the rubric "De Sancto Nicolao," identifying one of the saints celebrated during Advent, whose feast day falls on the 6th of December. Most of the rest of the contents of the book also fall neatly into the season to which Attaingnant assigns them, starting with the motets for saint's feasts in November and moving through Advent and Christmas, to the feast of Circumcision. However, four motets stand outside this designated season. The first is The Lord's Prayer, common in liturgical books and Books of Hours, which one would recite on a daily basis. The second is a setting of the Marian Antiphon "Dignare me laudare," the third is the motet *Laudem dicite*, and the fourth is a prayer to Mary. While the rubric of the Antiphon setting does not imply a direct link to the Advent or Nativity season, the Antiphon did have a traditional use as part of the liturgy for the Octave of the Feast of the Conception of the Virgin, which occurred on December 8th, thus tying in nicely with Attaingnant's overall theme for Book 7.[19] The motet *Laudem dicite* seems strangely out of place, with the rubric declaring its connection to All Saints (November 1) and the text itself part of the liturgy for that feast. However, well before the sixteenth century, Advent began with St. Martin's Day on November 11.[20] "Martinmas" as it was sometimes called (the period of fasting from St. Martin's to Christmas) originally overlapped with the Octave of All Saints. The motet

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[18] The same hand wrote several other "rubrics," including one on the page of Sermisy's *Da pacem domini* that he (?) classified as "Oratio pro pace."

[19] This Antiphon appears in numerous sources, both liturgical and devotional, for a large number of feasts and occasions, including both the conception and birth of Mary in Antiphonals dating back to the 13th Century. See CANTUS for a full list of liturgical sources, and Chapter 7 for a more detailed discussion of text sources in general, including a discussion of the three settings of this text in Attaingnant's Series.

[20] HerzogTheologicalEncyc, vol 1: 59.

therefore remains connected to Attaingnant's overall theme for Book 7, and the early start to Advent also explains the presence of the two St. Catherine motets (November 25).

The motet *Sancta Maria mater die* sets a simple prayer that often appeared in simple polyphonic settings at the end of printed books, possibly as a pedagogical tool for teaching children to read Latin and music.[21] At first glance, these two prayers ("Pater Noster" and "Sancta Maria mater dei") do not seem to fit into the season specified by Attaingnant, nor were they specifically used for the Advent/Nativity season. However, I would argue that prayers to the Father and to the Mother "round out" the selection of texts for Advent and are an appropriate conclusion to a book devoted to the *birth* of Christ.

We can see from these books with title rubrics that Attaingnant's Series has a high degree of cohesion: that it was more than just fourteen books of random motets printed in succession. Turning now to the contents of those books without title rubrics, we find a comparable level of organisation and planning, though with far more variety.

ATTAINGNANT'S INDIVIDUAL MOTET RUBRICS: BOOKS 1-4, 8, 13 AND 14

Of the 281 motets that Attaingnant printed in his Series, 118 appear with an individual rubric in at least one of the four partbooks (listed in Appendix F). That amounts to more than 40% of motets in the Series.[22] When we combine the motets that appear with an individual rubric and those with a title rubric, the total is 230 motets, an

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[21] VanOrdenSing. Van Orden discusses this prayer in detail. Attaingnant also included different settings of it at the end of two other books in his Series: 4 and 13. These are discussed in Chapter 7.

[22] This does not include the rubrics in Books 5 and 6, which identify the tone of the Magnificat (Primus toni, etc.), or in Book 10 which identify the Lessons and Passions. It does include the thirteen rubrics in Book 7 listed in Table 6.1 above. If we include those in Books 5-6 and 10, the total rises to 155, or 55%.

astonishing 81.8% of motets in the Series to which Attaingnant assigned some kind of rubric pertaining to subject, or feast/occasion.

The individual rubrics in Attaingnant's Motet Series resemble those rubrics associated with manuscript and printed Books of Hours, and indicate the subject of the motet, and/or feast or occasion on which the motets *could* be sung. They typically appear at the top of the page, in the left hand corner (Image 6.11), although when a piece begins part-way down the page, the rubric is found within the staff that precedes the new motet and is printed in a larger font than the rest of the text (Image 6.12).

Image 6.11: Motet *Surge propera* by Matthias Werrecore (Book 4, Superius Partbook, Folio 14v), Rubric: De beata Maria (top left corner)

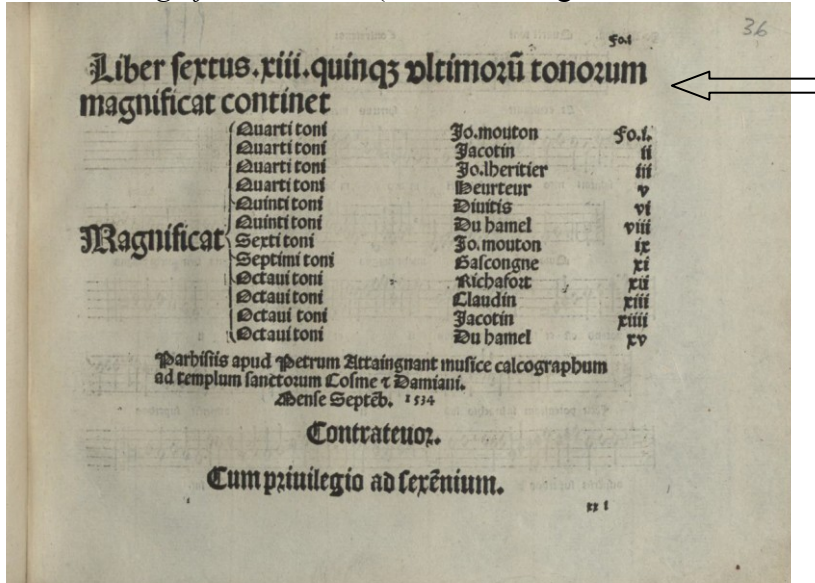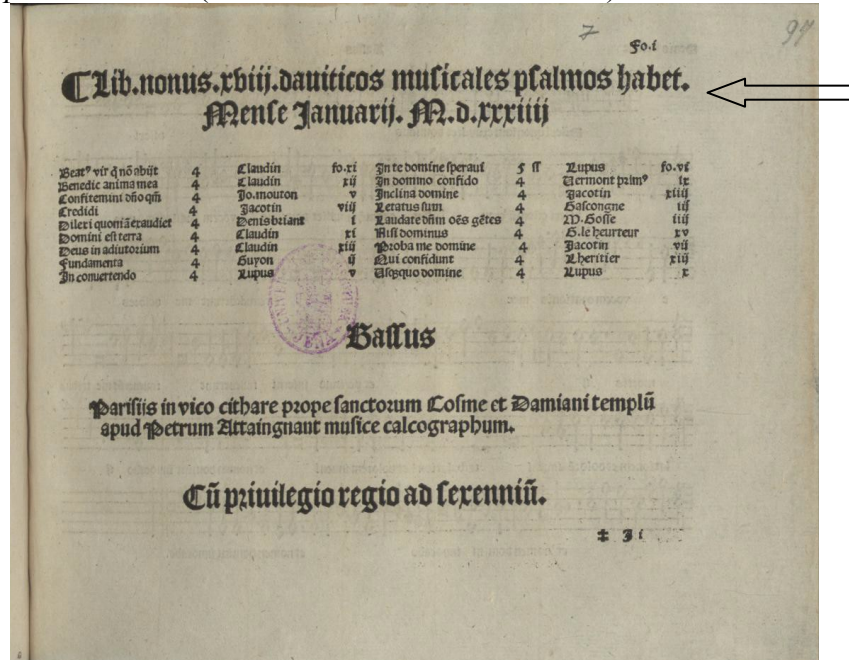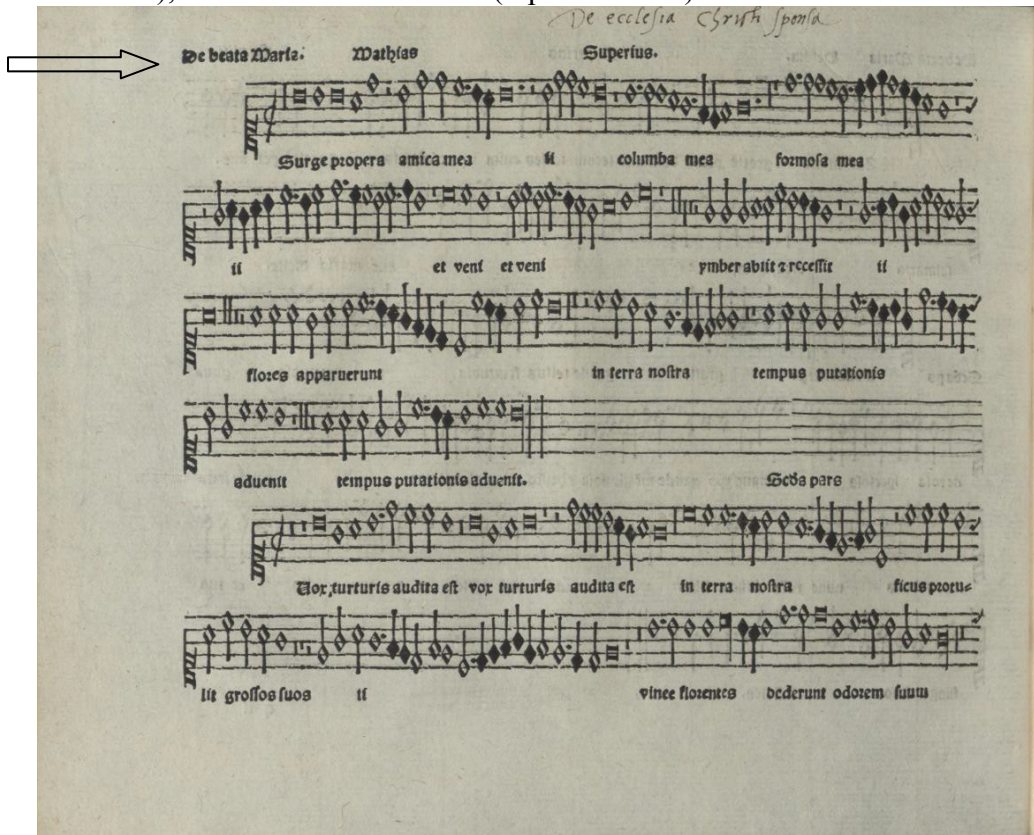©Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek (ThULB Jena: 4 Mus.2a(4), Bl.62ᵛ)
<http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/hisbest/receive/HisBest_cbu_00019143>
Used with permission. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.

Image 6.12: Motet *Inviolata integra* by Jean Courtois (Book 4, Superius Partbook, Folio 15), Rubric: "De beata maria" (within staff lines, right)
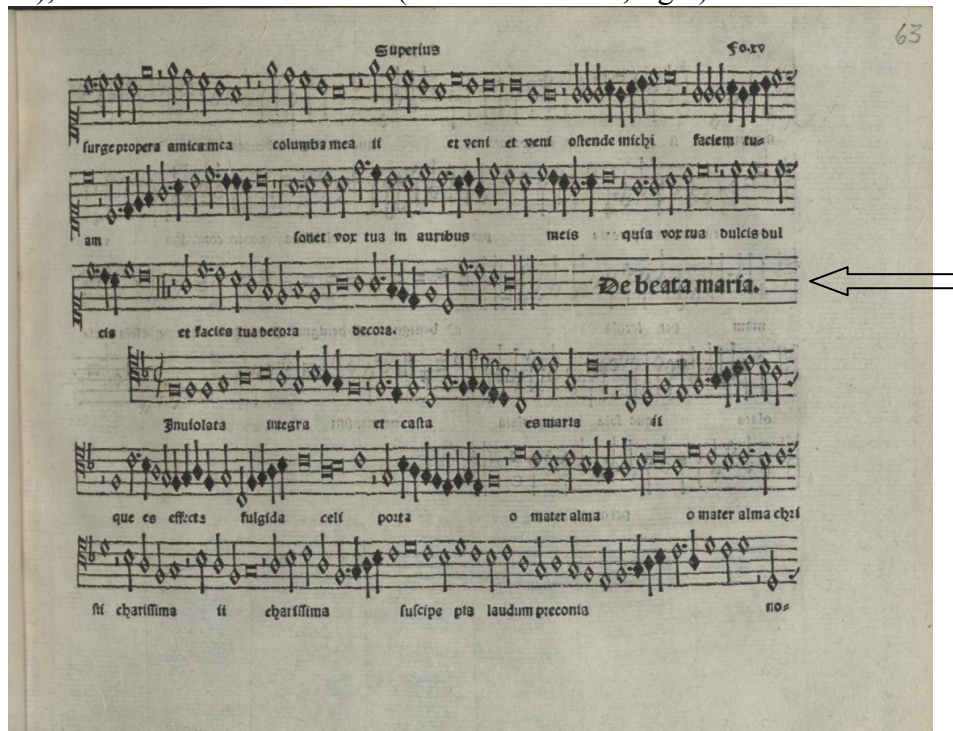
The rubrics range from the specific to the general, and fall under four broad categories

(Table 6.2).

Table 6.2: Individual Motet Rubrics Categories

Rubric Category	Total Rubrics
Marian Rubrics	10 different rubrics (44 motets)
Sanctoral Cycle Rubrics	24 different rubrics (35 motets)
Temporal Cycle Rubrics	17 different rubrics (25 motets)
Miscellaneous Rubrics	8 different rubrics (14 motets)

Marian Rubrics

The Marian rubrics, those rubrics that refer either to the Virgin Mary in a general
sense or to specific feasts associated with Mary, are by far the most common, accounting
for 44 of the 118 motets with individual rubrics. Most Marian rubrics are very general: 29
of the 44 are simply "De beata Maria," indicating that the motet text was about Mary, and
was appropriate for any Marian feast throughout the year or for any occasion on which
the singer would like to pray to or celebrate Mary. Other rubrics are more specific, such
as the rubric "De assumptione beate Marie" for Penet's motet *Virgo prudentissima* in
Book 3 (3.10), which indicates that the piece could be sung for the Feast of the
Assumption of Mary, which fell on August 15. Table 6.3 outlines the different Marian
rubrics and the number of appearances for each rubric throughout the Series.

Table 6.3: Marian Rubrics[23]

Rubrics for Non-Specific Marian Feasts/Occasions (6 different rubrics)	37 Motets
De beata Maria	29
De beata virgine Maria	2
De beata virgine	1
De virgine Maria	1
Salutatio angelica	2
Salutatio communis beate Marie	2
Rubrics for Specific Feasts of the Virgin (4 different rubrics)	**7 Motets**
De purificatione beate Marie	3
De assumptione beate Marie	2
In assumptione beate Marie	1
De annunciatione beate Marie	1

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[23] I have filled in the abbreviations and standardised the capitalisation of words (first word and proper
nouns only) in this table and those that follow, though the capitalisation of words is not standardised in
Attaingnant's prints. I follow the spelling in Attaingnant's prints ("beate" instead of "beatae").

These Marian rubrics appear in the majority of the books in Attaingnant's Series, excepting those with specific subjects or types (Books 5-6, and 9-10), or Book 11, which contains no rubrics whatsoever.[24] The majority of Marian rubrics appear in Books 4 and 8, which have a marked Marian tone. Attaingnant did not assign a rubric to all Marian motets, however, and some motets appear without a rubric, even though the same text appears earlier in the Series with a rubric. The high number of Marian rubrics parallels the high number of motets with Marian subjects: all but fifteen of the fifty-nine motets that pertain to the Virgin Mary (20% of the Series), have a rubric at the start of the motet.[25] These fifteen motets are not all localised within the same book, though there are a number of them that appear in Books 1 and 3. Table 6.4 below lists these fifteen motets, in order of appearance within the Series. Motets with an asterisk (*) next to the title indicate a motet text that appears more than once in the Series.

Table 6.4: Marian Motets without a Rubric in Attaingnant Series

Motet Number	Title	Composer
1.06	Alma redemptoris*	Lhéritier
1.08	Beata es virgo Maria	Lhéritier
1.10	Maria virgo semper letare	Gascongne
1.11	Dignare me laudare*	Gascongne
1.14	Salve mater salvatoris mater	[Gascongne]
1.17	Ave virgo gratiosa*	Le Bouteiller
1.19	Ave sanctissima Maria*	Mouton
1.21	O gloriosa dei genitrix	Gombert
3.04	Dignare me laudare*	Verdelot
3.05	Ave Maria gratia dei plena*	Sermisy
3.19	Salve mater pietatis	[anon]

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[24] Book 11 and the reasons for this lack of rubrics are discussed below under the heading "Subjects of the Motets."

[25] This does not include the settings of the Great Marian Antiphons in Book 12, or the settings of the Magnificat in Books 5 and 6. These three books have title rubrics and therefore do not require individual rubrics. These motets also represent two distinct subgenres of the motet, the Magnificat and the Great Marian Antiphons, discussed in Chapter 7.

Table 6.4 (cont.): Marian Motets without a Rubric in Attaingnant Series

Motet Number	Title	Composer
3.20	Ave sanctissima Maria*	Verdelot
7.18	O virgo virginum quomodo	Manchicourt
11.20	Tota pulchra	Sermisy
14.02	Regina celi letare*	Manchicourt

Most of the Marian motets listed in Table 6.4 above are clearly Marian, with words such as "mater," "virgo," "genitrix," or "Maria," and therefore did not need a rubric to identify the subject. Given that the practice of including rubrics in motet books was new, it is not surprising that not all of the motets received rubrics, or that Attaingnant was not consistent in assigning rubrics to motets that set the same text.

Sanctoral Cycle Rubrics

Rubrics falling under the category of the Sanctoral Cycle account for 24 of the 60 different rubrics (or 35 of the 118 motets with rubrics) and can be divided into three groups: feasts from the Commons, feasts on fixed days within the Sanctoral cycle, and rubrics identifying specific individual saints.

The rubrics for the Commons resemble those found in liturgical books, though some are more general, simply stating that the motets are suitable "for a bishop" or "for an apostle."[26] Table 6.5 lists the Commons rubrics.

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[26] In most cases, rubrics in books for the liturgy will read as "Commune Apostolorum" instead of simply "De apostolis," linking the texts specifically with the Commons, unlike Attaingnant's rubrics, which do not imply a direct or exclusive tie to the liturgy, and are in fact closer to what one finds in Books of Hours (usually "De omnibus apostolis" or "De apostolis").

Table 6.5: Sanctoral Cycle Rubrics –Commons of the Saints

Rubrics for Feasts of the Commons of the Saints, non specific feast days (7 different rubrics)	11 Motets
De apostolis	5
De uno episcopo	1
De uno apostolo	1
De communi unius virginis	1
In dedicatione ecclesie [27]	1
Plurimorum martyrum	1
Pro Defunctis (not specific, not part of the Commons)[28]	1

Rubrics that fall outside the Commons include those for the feasts of the Cross (not specific to either the feast for the Invention of the Cross or the Elevation of the Cross), the feast for the Holy Innocents, and four rubrics for the feast of All Saints (Table 6.6).

Table 6.6: Sanctoral Cycle Rubrics –Specific Feasts

Rubrics for Feasts of the Sanctoral Cycle, specific feast days or non-Commons (5 different rubrics)	7 Motets
De cruce (September 14 / May 3)	1
In festo sancte crucis (September 14 / May 3)	1
De omnibus sanctis (November 1)	3
In festo omnium sanctorum (November 1)	1
In festo innocentium (December 28)	1

A significant number of rubrics refer to specific, individual saints. There are twelve named saints in the rubrics of Attaingnant's Series, and with only one exception (St. Philip), all were commonly included in Books of Hours (see Table 6.7 below).[29] St.

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[27] Typically included in the Commons in liturgical books, but can occur at any time of the year.

[28] Typically included in the Commons in liturgical books, but can occur at any time of the year.

[29] These eleven saints number among the most represented saints in Books of Hours, and are all listed in the Suffrages section of many Books of Hours. For a detailed list of the most common saints featured in Books of Hours, see CHD-Memorie Sanctorum Index < http://www.chd.dk/tutor/sslist.html> (listed in the Text Sources Bibliography).

Philip was listed prominently in the calendars of Books of Hours for the Use of Paris, as

one of the most important saints of the year (i.e. one that had to be rubricated in Paris).[30]

Table 6.7: Sanctoral Cycle Rubrics –Individual Saints (including Book 7 rubrics for saints)

Rubrics for Feasts of Specific Saints (12 different rubrics)	In Book 7	17 Motets (total in the Series, including Book 7)
De sancta Catherina (Nov 25)	2	3
De sancto Andrea (Nov 30)	1	2
De sancto Nicolao (Dec 6)	1	1
De sancto Stephano (Dec 26)	1	2
De sancto Johanne Evangelista (Dec 27)	1	1
De sancto Anthonio (Jan 17)	0	1
De sancto Philippo (May 1)	0	1
De sancte Johanne Baptista (June 24)	0	1
De sancto Paulo (June 29/30)	0	1
De sancto Petro apostolo (June 29)	0	2
De sancta Anna (July 26)	0	1
De sancto Dionysio (Oct 9)	0	1

Five of the saints named in rubrics appear in Book 7 (Advent and Nativity), including St.

Catherine, to whom three motets with rubrics are addressed, the most of any rubricated

saint in the Series.

Temporal Cycle Rubrics

Twenty-five motets, with seventeen different rubrics, have rubrics related to the

Temporal Cycle. Fifteen of these rubrics fall under the two most important seasons within

the Temporal Cycle: Advent and the Nativity (including Advent, Christmas Day, and

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[30] Rubricated means that the name had to be written in red or gold, signifying the importance of the saint. This information is taken from the "Composite Paris Calendar" published online as part of the CHD Book of Hours study: <http://www.chd.dk/cals/pariscal.html> and <http://www.chd.dk/cals/paristyp.html>.

Epiphany), and Easter and Pentecost (including Palm Sunday, Holy Week, the

Resurrection, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost). These two seasons also coincided with

the subject of two of the books in the Series, Books 7 and 10, respectively. Rubrics in the

Temporal Cycle are listed in Table 6.8 below.

Table 6.8: Temporal Cycle Rubrics

Rubrics For Feasts Related to Advent, the Nativity and Epiphany (5 different rubrics)	In Book 7	8 Motets (total in the Series, including Book 7)
De adventu Domini	1	1
In nativitate Domini	0	3
In die nativitatis Domini	1	1
De epiphania	0	1
In die epiphanie	0	2
Rubrics for Feasts Related to Holy Week, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost (12 different rubrics)		**17 Motets**
In ramis palmarum		1
In die parasceves		1
In festo pasche		1
In resurrectione Domini		3
De resurrectione Domini		2
De ascensione		1
De ascensione Domini		2
In die ascensionis Domini		1
In die pentecostes		2
In festo pentecostes		1
De trinitate		1
De sanctissima trinitate		1

All of the feasts or subjects pertaining to the Temporal Cycle indicated in

Attaingnant's rubrics can be found in liturgical books or Books of Hours with similar

wording. We also find a number of Attaingnant's rubrics in the Suffrages in Books of

Hours that do not fall under either the Temporal or Sanctoral cycle. These miscellaneous

rubrics are listed in Table 6.9, along with other rubrics not connected to either Sanctoral,

Temporal, or Marian feasts.

Miscellaneous Rubrics

This last group of rubrics features a broad range of subjects: "for the King,"

"against the plague," "for sins," as well as those relating to the Holy Spirit or the Blessed

Sacrament, three appearances of a rubric for the Lord's Prayer, and one rubric stating that

the piece is appropriate "for any trouble." These are listed in Table 6.9 below.

Table 6.9: Miscellaneous Rubrics

Rubrics with no clear relation to Mary or the Temporal / Sanctoral Cycles (8 different rubrics)	Liturgical use as a rubric[31]	Devotional use as a rubric	14 Motets
Pro peccatis	Yes	Not found	2
Oratio Dominicalis	Yes	Yes	3
Pro quacumque tribulatione	Yes[32]	Not found	1
De sacramento altaris	Not found[33]	Not found	1
In festo sacramenti	Yes[34]	Yes	3
De sancto spiritu	Not found	Yes	1
Contra pestem	Not found	Yes	2
Pro rege nostro	Yes	Not found	1

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[31] This column and the "Devotional use as a rubric" column are based on surveys of sources listed in the bibliography. It is possible that these rubrics appear in either liturgical or devotional sources to which I have not had access, though the current table does reflect the most common use of these rubrics.

[32] Biblia Clerus, Missal 1967. < http://www.clerus.org/bibliaclerusonline/it/cfy.htm> (in the Text Sources Bibliography). This rubric appears in the modern Missal for the use of Rome as the rubric for the Antiphon "Parce Domine" in Antiphonals, and for Votive Mass in an Evangelistary, and a Votive Mass in a Sacramentary (text: Parce domine).

[33] Title of a treatise printed in the 1520-30s: Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, *De sacramento altaris*, 1127. It is very similar to "In festo sacramenti," and both are related to the feast of Corpus Christi.

[34] MSCat-Edinburgh, 154. This entry is for a manuscript book of sermons from the 15th Century. This is the only use I have found of this rubric in a liturgical book; most liturgical books use the phrase "Corpus Christi" instead.

The miscellaneous rubrics can be divided further into those found in liturgical

books and Books of Hours. Several resemble those found in both kinds of books: "Oratio

Dominicalis" appears frequently in both liturgical books and Books of Hours. "In festo

sacramenti" is not common in liturgical books, but it and "De sacramento altaris" are part

of Corpus Christi. Three of the four rubrics appear in Book 13, as does "Pro quacumque

tribulatione," a common phrase used for Votive Masses and Antiphons in Missals and

other liturgical books. "Pro peccatis" and "De sancto Spiritu" are both very general and

are also common phrases one finds in liturgical books for prayer and Votive Masses, and

in Books of Hours (such as the "Horae de sancto Spiritu" present in many Books of

Hours).

The rubric "Contra pestem" (against the plague) which appears twice in Book 4 is

found only in Books of Hours,[35] though there is a connection between the texts to which

it was assigned by Attaingnant and the liturgy.[36] *Recordare domine* sets an Introit text

that was part of the Missa Vitanda mortalitate, a Votive service that was used specifically

in response to threats from the plague.[37] The text of the second motet was also connected

to plague liturgies, as part of the Gradual for the Missa Vitanda mortalitate.[38] Both motets

were composed by Philippe Verdelot, and sometimes travel as a single motet. Verdelot

may have composed the motet in Florence in 1527, when the city was decimated by the

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[35] The rubric "Contra pestem animalium" does appear in Missals dated from the 1700s, but not in other sources that I consulted. See for example, the printed Missal for use of Cluny (1733) digitised by Gallica: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k56752152/f4.image.r=>.

[36] See the Text Sources table in Appendix G for the text sources of these two motets.

[37] Christopher Macklin, e-mail message to author, May 20, 2013. The Introit was also part of the standard liturgy, connected to the De Regum feast and to the Summer Histories from Kings in liturgical books.

[38] The text appears as several liturgical genres (Psalm, Responsory, Gradual) but the final line of the motet "et propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum" (and forgive us our sins for the sake of thy name) is not found in liturgical books with the rest of the text, but is part of Psalm 78 (line 9).

plague.[39] The motet sets a foreign *cantus firmus* taken from the motet *Parce domine* by

Jacob Obrecht, who famously died of the plague in 1505.[40] The use of the rubric "Contra

pestem" may thus be seen as a reflection of the liturgical uses for the two texts (both

associated with Votive services against the plague, but apparently never in the same

source)[41] and the history of the motet(s) and *cantus firmus*, which would have been less

than a decade old when Attaingnant printed them in his Series. By splitting the motet into

two separate motets, Attaingnant was reflecting the liturgical uses of the texts, and

providing not one but two pieces that could be sung against the plague.[42] Attaingnant's

rubric indeed does not restrict the use of the two motets to any one situation. It does not

employ the use of the phrase "Missa Vitanda mortalitate" or a specific liturgical service:

"against the plague" simply means "this motet is suitable for singing against the plague,"

for whoever the buyer might happen to be.[43] Interestingly, Book 4 features a third motet

on the subject of illness. The motet *Infirmitatem nostram* (4.17) appears after the two

plague motets and sets a prayer for All Saints that appeared frequently in French Books

of Hours in the section called "Commemoration of the Saints."[44] It was also printed in an

English book of prayers against the plague published in 1531.[45] That Attaingnant did not

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[39] VerdelotOmnia, xi.

[40] GroveObrecht.

[41] Christopher Macklin, e-mail message to author, May 20, 2013. Macklin's extensive research into liturgical books for services against the plague did not turn up any source that includes both motet texts. My thanks to Chris Macklin for this information.

[42] The text of the *cantus firmus* was apparently an original text (I have found no match for it in any source I consulted), and is distinct from the Antiphon of the same name. This motet is listed in Appendix C, along with all other motets with foreign *cantus firmi*.

[43] On the uses of motets and singing against the plague, see ChiuDiss.

[44] See for example the Rouen Hours, folio 49v (in the Text Sources Bibliography).

[45] BushPlaguePrayers. Bush, Paul. *This lytell boke contaynethe certayne gostly medycynes necessary to be vsed among wel disposed people to eschewe & to auoyde the comen plage of pestilens thus collecte and sette forth in ordre by the diligent laboure of the religyous brother Syr Paule Bushe preste and Bonehome*

include a rubric "Contra pestem" for this third motet may be owing to the fact that it was not a liturgical text, or because the printer was not aware of the uses to which this text had been put in England. The latter is more likely given that Attaingnant did not limit his assignment of rubrics to motets that set texts that were part of the liturgy.[46]

As was the case in the books with title rubrics, all of the rubrics assigned to individual motets correspond either to the subject of the motet text, or to the traditional liturgical or devotional use of the texts. In some cases, motets with the same rubric within a book are grouped together, such as the two motets with the rubric "Contra pestem" that appear in Book 4, or the Marian rubrics in Books 3, 4, and 8. In one case, Attaingnant ordered a single book according to the category of the rubrics. Book 2 is divided into two parts, the first half (motets 1-12) with rubrics predominantly from the Temporal cycle, the second half (motets 13-24) with a large number of rubrics that coincide with the Sanctoral cycle.[47] These are listed in Table 6.10a and 6.10b.

Table 6.10a: Temporal Cycle Rubrics in Book 2 of Attaingnant's Motet Series

No.	Motet Title and Composer	Rubric (as in print)	Liturgical Context
1	Pater noster (Willaert)	Oratio Dominicalis	Not specific / Prayer at start of Office
2	Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi (Du Lot)	In resurrectione Domini	*Temporal cycle: Easter*
3	Victime paschali (Verdelot)	De resurrectione Domini	*Temporal cycle: Easter*
4	Gaudeamus omnes (Verdelot)	In resurrectione Domini	*Temporal cycle: Easter*
5	Congratulamini mihi (Willaert)	De resurrectione Domini	*Temporal cycle: Easter*
6	Sancta Maria sucurre (Verdelot)	Salutatio communis beate Marie	Not specific / Any Marian feast
7	Christe totius (Richafort)	none	n/a
8	Christus vincit (Gascongne)	Pro rege nostro	Not specific
9	Ave Maria gratia plena (Lhéritier)	Salutatio angelica	Not specific / Prayer at start of Office
10	Egredere ab occidente (Conseil)	In die epiphanie	*Temporal cycle, Epiphany*
11	Noe magnificatus (Sermisy)	In nativitate Domini	*Temporal cycle, Christmas*
12	Noe psallite (Mouton)	In nativitate Domini	*Temporal cycle, Christmas*

Table 6.10b: Sanctoral Cycle Rubrics in Book 2 of Attaingnant's Motet Series

No.	Motet Title and Composer	Rubric (as in print)	Liturgical Context
13	Omnipotens sempiterne (Willaert)	De uno apostolo	*Sanctoral cycle, Commons* (not specific apostle –N.)
14	Benedicta es celorum (Le Bouteiller)	De beata Maria	Not specific / Any Marian feast
15	O quam dulcis (Richafort)	Plurimorum martyrum	*Sanctoral cycle, Commons* (not specific martyrs –N.)
16	O presul egregie (Richafort)	De uno episcopo	*Sanctoral cycle* (not specific bishop –N.)
17	O crux viride (Werrecore)	In festo sancte crucis	*Sanctoral cycle May or September* (not specific)
18	Ave regina celorum (Willaert)	Salutatio communis beate Marie[48]	Not specific / Any Marian feast (same as No.9)
19	Pater peccavi (Conseil)	Pro peccatis	Not specific
20	Aspice domine (Gombert)	none	n/a
21	Spiritus ubi vult (Gascongne)	In die pentecostes	Temporal cycle (not specific)
22	Virgo Christi egregia (Lhéritier)	De communi unius virginis	*Sanctoral cycle Commons* (not specific –N.)
23	Patefacte sunt (Willaert)	De sancto Stephano	*Sanctoral cycle -December*
24	Ave sanctissima Maria (Verdelot)	De beata Maria	Not specific / Any Marian Feast

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[48] The two "Salutatio" motets are settings of Marian Antiphons. On the tradition of Marian Antiphons in France, see Chapter 7.

This book represents the different levels of organisation that Attaingnant employed in his Series: groupings of motets according to rubric (Resurrection, Nativity), use of different rubrics to accentuate a specific group, as well as the organisation of motets according to the liturgical cycle of their rubrics in imitation of a liturgical book, such as an Antiphonal. Book 2 then is a microcosm of the Series, a single book that offers motets on the many different subjects seen across the entire series.

Clearly Attaingnant planned his books carefully and chose his rubrics with great attention to detail. These were not catch phrases that Attaingnant coined in a haphazard manner; they reflected and respected the traditional or current uses of the texts. In two cases, both in Book 2, Attaingnant took a certain degree of liberty with the texts, making them more generally appropriate by removing references to specific individuals and replacing the names with the letter "N," indicating that a name should be inserted during performance.[49] This is the case for the Book 2 apostle motet *Omnipotens sempiterne* by Willaert (motet 2.13), to which Attaingnant assigned the rubric "De uno apostolo." This motet appears in later sources with the name "Bartholomei," which is also the name included in the original text as it appears in liturgical books, but Attaingnant removed all references to any one apostle.[50] So, here we have a case of Attaingnant changing the text of a motet and reflecting that change in his rubric, making the motet useful for more than a single occasion.[51]

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[49] This occurs in motets 2.13, 2.16.

[50] The text does not appear in the Commons of any liturgical book I have consulted, though it appears in the liturgy for the feast of St. Bartholomew.

[51] Petrucci also adapted pieces to make them more "universally appealing" in his *Canti* series, by printing the music without the text, thereby making the prints suitable for singing in any language. See KmetzPetrucci for a discussion of Petrucci's activities and the *Canti* series.

Only rarely did Attaingnant reprint a motet text with a different rubric: the text "Hac clara die" appears twice, once with the rubric "De beata maria" (8.03) and once with the rubric "In assumptione beata maria" (1.05). Since both motets set the complete Sequence, I would argue that Attaingnant changed the rubric the second time he printed this text in order to provide a broader range of uses for the motets, instead of limiting the pieces to the Feast of the Assumption of Mary, as he had done early on in the Series when rubrics were clearly still a new phenomenon. Several motets that set the same texts appear with a rubric in one book and without a rubric in other books. This is especially true of the Marian motets (discussed above).

SUBJECTS OF THE MOTETS

The rubrics in Attaingnant's Series identify thirty-eight different subjects, with several subjects dominating the Series, though they do not identify all subjects, nor do we get a complete picture of the overall make-up of the Series through the rubrics alone. The rubrics also help us identify groupings of motets on the same subject, as we saw above. I also found that the rubrics can help us identify certain types of texts, and that Attaingnant was remarkably consistent in the assignment of rubrics to one type of text and not to another kind of text.

Saints

Individual saints and biblical figures are another group who figure prominently in the subject matter of the motets. A total of forty motets feature texts whose subject matter pertains to a specific saint or individual from the Bible. The most common are motets that

refer to individual saints, almost all of which are accompanied by a rubric. The handful of

motets that refer to biblical figures (Judith, Jacob, Lazarus, Moses) either appear without

a rubric, or the rubric pertains to another feature of the text, such as a specific feast. For

example, the motet *Respexit Elias* (13.15) appears with the rubric "In festo sacramenti."

In this case, the rubric suggests that this motet is suitable for a feast of the Sacrament,

which coincides with the feast on which the text was sung in the liturgy (a Responsory

for the feast of Corpus Christi), rather than the figure who is the subject of the text.

Attaingnant's rubric then does not refer specifically to the individual who is the subject of

the text, but suggest a possible occasion for singing the motet. Although few liturgical

books use the phrase "In festo sacramenti,"[52] one source that does is the *Très riches*

heures du Duc de Berry, a Book of Hours from the late fifteenth century, where the rubric

is accompanied by a full page miniature of Christ offering the bread and wine.[53] This is

another instance of a rubric matching a devotional source and a liturgical source. I would

argue that it also opens up the possibility of uses for this motet: Attaingnant appears to be

suggesting that this motet can be sung for a celebration of the sacrament, which could be

extended to communion, or special Votive services. This example also illustrates how

even rubrics that seem to indicate a specific liturgical feast can also simply refer to the

story of the text, in this case, Elias being fed the bread of life by an angel.[54]

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[52] For example, "In festo sacramenti" returned no hits on CANTUS, Gallica, E-codices, or the Medieval Music Database (MMDB). Most liturgical sources use "Corpus Christi" or some variant of this name.

[53] Reproduced at <http://www.cassicia.com/FR/La-meditation-du-jour-avec-le-RP-J-Baeteman-Lazariste-Missionnaire-apostolique-sur-l-Eucharistie-supreme-marque-du-divin-amour-No_863.htm>.

[54] I did not find the text of the motet with the rubric "In festo sacramenti" in any source, but it is included in liturgical books for the feast of Corpus Christi. An explicit assignment for the feast would be "Pro Corpus Christi," for example.

Book 11

Book 11 is an anomaly in the Series: it is the only book in which Attaingnant did not include a single rubric of any kind. Many of the motets are prayers to God, and several others pertain to God in a more general sense. [55] Indeed, Book 11 may be characterised as a book of prayers, not to Mary, but to God, with eighteen motets on this subject.[56] Several of these are occasional motets, referring to specific members of the French nobility.[57] Although I could not trace all texts to liturgical or devotional sources, this would not have excluded the printing of rubrics, as Attaingnant did not limit the use of rubrics to texts that were suitable for liturgical use (i.e. set a complete liturgical text along with the chant melody), or indeed to texts that were found in liturgical books.[58] One explanation for the lack of rubrics in Book 11 may have been a result of the production pace at which Attaingnant's presses were operating at the time Book 11 was released in March (during Lent), just after the printing of Book 10 that appeared in February. Attaingnant released Book 12 at the end of March (the date on the print states it was "post pascha") and printed three books of chansons that he released in April. Between the middle of February and the end of April,[59] Attaingnant's presses produced five separate editions of polyphony. No wonder then that the two books of motets printed within this period contain no individual rubrics!

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[55] For example, Lasson's *In manibus tuis* (motet 11.25) is about the coming of the Kingdom of God.
[56] Motets 11.01, 11.03-11.09, 11.12-11.18, 11.22, 11.25 and 11.26.
[57] These are discussed in Chapter 7 along with other motets from Book 11.
[58] Attaingnant assigned rubrics to the two motets in Book 4 (4.04 and 4.05) which set prayers found exclusively in Books of Hours. For my discussion of the different genres of texts set in the Series and their different degrees of "completeness," see Chapter 7.
[59] Book 10 would surely have been printed by mid-February in time for Lent, leaving the rest of the month for the production of Book 11.

Another possible explanation for the absence of rubrics in Book 11, and one that reflects more positively on Attaingnant, comes from the texts themselves. Table 6.11 below lists the motets in Book 11.

Table 6.11: Contents of Book 11, "Prayers to God" (an asterisk (*) indicates a "prayer to God" text)

Title	Composer	Motet
Quare tristis es*	Gascongne	11.01
Benedicite deum celi	Longueval	11.02
Vide domine afllictionem*	La Fage	11.03
Exsurge quare obdormis*	Sermisy	11.04
Non nobis domine*	Gascongne	11.05
Domine rex omnipotens*	Sermisy	11.06
Adjuva me domine*	Conseil	11.07
Recordare domine testamenti*	Vermont Primus	11.08
Da pacem domine*	Sermisy	11.09
Si bona suscepimus	Sermisy	11.10
Homo natus de muliere	Sermisy	11.11
Quousque non reverteris*	Sermisy	11.12
Sustinuimus pacem*	Sermisy	11.13
Unde veniet auxilium michi*	Passereau	11.14
Deus regnorum et christianissimi*	Gascongne	11.15
Aspice domine de sede*	La Fage	11.16
Ne reminiscaris domine*	Gascongne	11.17
Gaude francorum regia corona*	Févin	11.18
Antequam comedam	Mouton	11.19
Tota pulchra	Sermisy	11.20
Videns dominus flentes	Willaert	11.21
O dulcissime domine*	Verdelot	11.22
Rex autem David	Gascongne	11.23
In manibus tuis	Lasson	11.24
Esto mihi domine*	Sermisy	11.25
Bone Jesu dulcissime*	Gascongne	11.26

The occasional motets might understandably appear without rubrics, since most have only a tenuous connection to the liturgy or devotional books, and Attaingnant had printed

original or secular texts without rubrics in earlier books.[60]The subject of the texts are also quite evident from the titles, and these "prayers to God" were appropriate for any time; one really did not need a rubric to know that "Da pacem domine" is a prayer for peace, or to indicate when one should sing this common prayer. Indeed, the Series contains forty-two motets (almost 15%) which may be described as prayers to God on a variety of topics, but predominantly asking for peace and deliverance.

Turning to the rest of the Series, we see that most of the motets in the other books that set the same type of subject (i.e. prayers to God) do *not* appear with rubrics in those books either. It would seem that Attaingnant only "rubricated" certain types of texts, or rather, motets with specific subjects: events in the life of Christ, Marian texts, and motets with texts connected to the Commons of the Saints or individual saints. Supplications to God, with the exception of the Lord's Prayer, are largely unidentified in the Series. This was unrelated to the completeness of the texts themselves, for as we saw with the Marian motets, Attaingnant did not assign rubrics to some motets that set a whole liturgical text, like the well-known Antiphon *Ave sanctissima*, and in other instances, provided rubrics for motets that set bits and pieces of different texts. For example, motet 2.21, *Spiritus ubi vult*, appears with the rubric "In festo Sacramenti," but sets a text cobbled together from at least three different texts, which would negate a liturgical use for this motet.[61] This leads us to an important conclusion about Attaingnant's rubrics. Having seen that Attaingnant assigned rubrics to both liturgical and non-liturgical texts, to motets that set

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[60] Richafort's *Christe totius* (2.07) and Lhéritier's *Cum rides* (8.05) stand out in their books because of their lack of rubrics: both set poems from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries. See Chapter 7, and the Text Sources table in Appendix G.
[61] In fact, I have been unable to trace a portion of this text. The text sources for this motet are listed in the Text Sources table in Appendix G.

both whole texts as they were preserved in liturgical or devotional sources, and to motets with texts that combined a few phrases from numerous different texts, we can conclude that Attaingnant's rubrics were not "liturgical" assignments intended to be followed in the manner of the rubrics in liturgical books. They were *descriptions* of the subjects of the texts, and *suggestions* for using the motets, *based on but not exclusively related to* the traditional uses of the texts in the liturgy and Books of Hours.

CONCLUSIONS

Attaingnant's focus in organising his Series appears to have been the subject matter of the motets, rather than their original use or their function within or outside the liturgy. He grouped motets with texts of the Passion and Resurrection together in a single book in Book 10, and as a distinct section in Book 2. He used a similar approach for motets on the subject of Advent and the Nativity. He made very little effort to suggest specific uses for the motets, as can be seen in the descriptive nature of the rubrics he assigned to entire books and to individual motets. His rubrics were recommendations for use, guidelines for the general populace based on the subjects of the texts and the traditional or possible uses of those texts, or parts of the texts. They did not indicate that a motet could or should substitute for the chant, a conclusion that is evident when we see that some rubrics accompany motets whose texts were not connected to the liturgy at all. Attaingnant included rubrics in his books to make them easy to use, and as a marketing tool: "here are motets on all these subjects, or related to these seasons, which you can sing at these times."

For those motets that may originally have been composed to serve a liturgical function (only 16% of the Series, like the Magnificats, or other motets that imply a need for additional chanted material),[62] Attaingnant only rarely included the chant incipit.[63] These books were apparently not meant to function as practical books of liturgical polyphony: in addition to the size of the books (which is significantly smaller than the books of Masses that Attaingnant produced), no effort was made to provide the "missing" components for the "liturgical motets," suggesting that he considered them as complete enough for performance.

The overall impression is of a series of polyphonic works that set Latin texts other than those of the Mass, one in which all types of motets were included, and whose contents were clearly advertised; an encyclopedia of sacred music. As we shall see in the next chapter, the distinction between what was liturgical and what was non-liturgical becomes even less marked when we examine the sources for the texts of Attaingnant's Motet Series.

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[62] These are the 47 motets listed by Brobeck as "liturgical motets" (BrobeckLit, 147-149). This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8 of this dissertation.

[63] Only one of the nine "O" Antiphon settings in Book 7 is prefaced by the chant incipit (*O sapiencia*, the first of the "O" Antiphons).

CHAPTER 7

ATTAINGNANT AS BOOKSELLER,
AND THE TEXTUAL SOURCES OF THE MOTETS

Imagine yourself in Paris in June of 1534. You want to buy a motet print, and you are directed to the Rue de la Harpe, near the University, where Pierre Attaingnant has his shop. You enter and pick up the latest book of his motet series. The title page lists all the pieces, and you look them over to see what's inside. You are confronted by texts that you have heard or sung as part of the liturgy, and that you read regularly in your private devotional Book of Hours. If you are a true connoisseur of motets, you also realise that some of these are the same texts you've sung before, perhaps from your copy of Petrucci's *Motetti de la Corona*. But these are new settings, different from what you've seen in the books of other printers. Taking a look at the books around you, you realise that the shop is not just a music shop, but that Attaingnant is actually selling many different kinds of books, books that feature some of the same texts printed in the motet print in your hands.

This chapter provides a study of the texts for the 281 motets printed in Attaingnant's Series, and makes connections between the texts of the motets and the other books that Attaingnant sold in his shop by determining which texts were in Books of Hours, which texts part of the liturgy, and which texts appeared in other books. Through an analysis of the text genres, we will see how the texts of the motet had

changed since the late fifteenth century, and which genres had become more or less

popular among composers.[1]

     We begin with the context in which the Series would have been sold, a bookshop

that had served a diverse clientele for more than forty years before Attaingnant printed

his Series, and one on whose shelves could be found a variety of books: liturgical books,

devotional books, books for students, and books containing French-language texts from

France's past, all side by side with numerous types of polyphonic music books. The

history of the shop can be traced through the life of Philippe Pigouchet, Attaingnant's

father-in-law, and the early years of Attaingnant's career. What we find is a bustling hub

of activity with diverse patrons, many of whom would have found the Motet Series

appealing, in part due to the texts that it featured.

THE BOOKSHOP IN THE RUE DE LA HARPE

Philippe Pigouchet: Master Printer and Bookseller

     Philippe Pigouchet is generally acknowledged as one of the premier printers of

Books of Hours from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and as one of the

five most accomplished producers of Books of Hours in France, alongside Antoine

Vérard, Simon Vostre, Thielman Kerver, and Jean Du Pré. Although little is known about

his ancestry or life in Paris, some details can be gleaned from his printed materials, and

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[1] The texts of the motets were important to Attaingnant, yet they have been virtually ignored in previous scholarship, with the exception of Brobeck, who looked at the liturgical sources for some of the motets (BrobeckLit), and the liturgical sources of motets by a small group of composers featured in the Series (BrobeckDiss).

the brief passages in scholarship and catalogues of Books of Hours produced in the last several centuries.[2]

The earliest record of Pigouchet places him as an *ouvrier* in the printing shop of Parisian printers Antoine Caillaut and Louis Martineau in 1483.[3] André Martin, in his overview of fifteenth-century illustrated French books, states that Pigouchet became printer and *libraire* (bookseller) in that same year,[4] however, the earliest evidence of Pigouchet's activities dates from a 1484 Book of Hours published by Simon Vostre, where he is credited as the artist of the miniatures.[5] Pigouchet's first efforts as a printer seem to date from 1486, when he produced a Book of Hours for the Use of Rome for the same Simon Vostre.[6] It is necessary here to distinguish between printers and publishers. Unlike Attaingnant, who was both printer and publisher of his music, many of the men who were part of the Book of Hours book trade were either printers (men who usually owned a printing press and produced the books) or publishers (men like Vostre, who were not involved in the labour of production, but who were responsible for the distribution

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[2] On Pigouchet in general see BrunetManuel, RenouardRepertoire, ReidDiss, BrechenridgeDiss, PollardPrintedBooks, DuffEarlyBooks, and HeartzCat.

[3] MartinLivreFrançais, 128; RenouardRepertoire, 346

[4] MartinLivreFrançais, 128; RenouardRepertoire, 346. Renouard states that Pigouchet was a *libraire juré* from 1488 onwards.

[5] RenouvierVostre, 4. "Officium beate Virginis secundum usum romanum. Paris, pour Simon Vostre, cum figuris Philippi Pigouchet." This information is found in an entry in the *Catalogo della libreria Capponi* (Rome, 1745). Renouard has called this date into question, suggesting it was actually 1494 (RenouardImprimeurs, 388). The later dating of the print is problematic: it lists Pigouchet only as author of the *figuris*, yet by 1494, Pigouchet was signing his work as "imprimeur" in commissioned works, and occasionally also as "libraire" (a 1488 print for Geoffrey Marnef contains both titles, despite having been produced for another bookseller). Additionally, no printer is named on the print. Since Vostre never printed books for himself, it must have fallen to someone else. It is tempting to see Pigouchet as the printer, perhaps not yet firmly established on his own and therefore not using the title "imprimeur."

[6] RenouvierVostre, 4. Renouvier found this record in G.W. Panzer's *Annales typographici ab artis inventae origine ad annum MD post Maittairii Denisii aliorumque doctissimorum virorum curas in ordinem redacti, emendati et aucti* Vol. 2 (Norimbergae: J.E. Zeh 1794 -vol 1-5 1793-97). Panzer lists an extant copy of this edition (in the Bibl. Capit. Sebald. Seu Dilherriana). On Vostre, see RenouvierVostre, ReidDiss, MartinLivreFrançais, PollardPrintedBooks, BrunetManuel, and RenouardRepertoire.

and sale of the product). A few, including Pigouchet, were both, sometimes printing for themselves, sometimes working on commission from other *libraires*.

The colophon of the 1486 Book of Hours clearly names Pigouchet as the printer, and presumably the distribution of the print would have been solely Simon Vostre's responsibility, as only he is named *libraire*:

> "Ces presentes heures à lusage de Rome furent achevees par Philippe pigouchet le cinquiesme jour de Janvier Lan de grace Mil quatre centz quatre vingtz et VI. pour Simon Vostre. libraire demeurant a paris en la rue neuve nostre dame pres la grant eglisse."[7]

> [The present hours for Use of Rome were completed by Philippe Pigouchet the fifth day of January the year of grace 1486 for Simon Vostre, bookseller residing in Paris on the new street Notre Dame close to the great church.]

Between 1488 and 1502 Pigouchet printed at least thirty-five editions of Books of Hours for Vostre,[8] as well as for several other less prolific publishers, notably Pierre Regnault, a bookseller in Caen,[9] and Geoffrey Marnef, Guillaume Godard, and Jean Poitvin in Paris.[10] Pigouchet also printed several editions for two of Paris's most esteemed

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[7] I have preserved the original spelling and punctuation. The use of the word "achevée" might imply that Pigouchet only "finished off" the product, however, since he used that same term in several other Books of Hours that he printed on his own, we cannot see this as "completed the hours that Vostre had begun." Also, the *Petit dictionaire de l'ancien français* lists under the word *achever* the synonyms "executer" and "realiser": "completed" is therefore used in the translation.

[8] ReidDiss, 11. These are described in Brunet's catalogue (BrunetManuel, column 1574-1586).

[9] On Regnault, see BrunetManuel.

[10] BrunetManuel, column 1569. See RenouardRepertoire and BrunetManuel for more information about these publishers.

publishers: one for the renowned printer/publisher Antoine Vérard,[11] and three for the *libraire du roi* Guillaume Eustace.[12]

Although most of Pigouchet's printing activities were by commission and most of them for Vostre, he did print several editions of Books of Hours that he sold himself. Paul Lacombe, in his catalogue of printed Books of Hours in public Parisian libraries, identified four distinct editions for Use of Paris, Rome, and Rouen, which Pigouchet printed under his own name. The earliest of these dates from 1488,[13] only two years after his first print for Vostre, and the same time that the collaboration of these two men seems to have taken off. The fact that Pigouchet printed books under his own name implies that these were books that he sold himself; that they were not commissioned works that he printed and then turned over to a publisher for distribution. But where would he have sold his prints? The answer lies in the colophon of one of his earliest printed books.

In 1491, Pigouchet printed a second Book of Hours for the Use of Paris under his own name.[14] Unlike the collaborations with Vostre, Pigouchet here retained all of the books and indicated in the colophon where they could be purchased. The colophons of both prints mention Pigouchet as the printer and the location of his shop, but the 1491edition gives explicit directions to potential purchasers and reads as follows:

> Ces presentes Heures à lusage de Paris, furent achevées le premier iour de decembre mil quatre centz quatre vingtz et onze, par Philippe Pigouchet, imprimeur, demeurant en la rue de la Harpe, devant Saint Cosme, en l'ostel de colliege de Dinville. *Qui en vouldra avoir, il en trouvera au dit lieu, et devant*

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[11] On Vérard, see RenouvierVérard, and WinnVérard.
[12] RELICS (Renaissance Liturgical Imprints: A Census) lists editions in 1507, 1508, and 1509.
[13] Lacombe Catalogue # 6.
[14] Lacombe Catalogue #24 and 25.

Saint yves, à lenseigne du Pellican, en la rue Saint Jacques.[15]

[The present Hours for Use of Paris were completed the first day of December 1491 by Philippe Pigouchet, printer, living in the street of the Harp in front of Saint Cosmas, and in the building of the college of Dinville. *Whoever may desire [one of the books] will find them at the stated location and in front of Saint Yves at the sign of the pelican in Saint Jacques street.*]

Here we have it in Pigouchet's own words: his books may be bought at his shop in the Rue de la Harpe, the same location that Attaingnant would eventually inherit and where he kept his own presses and bookshop! This was not an isolated occurrence, and, contrary to Heartz's statement that Pigouchet left the commercial side of printing to publishers like Vostre,[16] may be seen in the four other prints that Pigouchet produced on his own.[17] In these prints, Pigouchet began to call himself a "libraire de l'université de Paris," meaning that he was an authorised bookseller for university faculty and students.[18] In prints dated 1498, Pigouchet names himself "libraire juré de l'université de Paris," showing that he had been accepted as an officer of the Université, as one of its twenty-four *libraire juré,* and had been sworn before the Rector of the University.[19] This was a title that he held until 1515.[20] His advertisement of his status as a *libraire* and the inclusion of the location of his shop on prints that he printed for himself and other publishers demonstrate the

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[15] LacombeCat, 21. The 1488 edition also identified his shop as being in the Rue de la Harpe, and Pigouchet as "imprimeur de l'université de Paris." Italics are mine.

[16] HeartzCat, 23. Heartz also notes that both printers use the same address "in the Rue de la Harpe, near St. Come."

[17] These are catalogue numbers 7, 24, 25, and 35 in Lacombe's catalogue (LacombeCat, 7, 21-22, 31-32).

[18] HeartzCat, 15.

[19] The title also appears in the 1504 Book of Hours for Use of Rome that Pigouchet printed on his own. This edition does not appear in the catalogues consulted and listed in the Bibliography. It came up as a result of a search of the RELICS website.

[20] RenouardRepertoire, 346.

importance of the titles he held, and suggest an active self-advertising campaign, both for his presses *and* his shop in the Rue de la Harpe.

The early years of the sixteenth century were productive ones for Pigouchet, as evidenced by the over eighty editions that he produced. But the pace of production slowed after 1510, with only about ten books that survive dated from the second decade of the sixteenth century. His partnership with Vostre seems to have dwindled after 1502,[21] though he did print several editions for Vostre up until 1510.[22] The first decade of the sixteenth century also saw a number of non-Book of Hours books from Pigouchet's presses, mostly for other booksellers, including several Pragmatic Sanctions by Charles VII (1502, 1503, 1510), for a total of fifteen non-Book of Hours prints.[23] Pigouchet's last known print was a Book of Hours for Use of Langres, printed for the Parisian bookseller Guillaume Godard.[24] Heartz gave it a date of 1514, though this date can now be changed to 1516,[25] which indicates that Pigouchet continued to print for other booksellers for some years later than was known to Heartz, despite having resigned his title as *libraire juré* in 1515. This would also suggest that Attaingnant did not take over his father-in-law's business until 1516 at the earliest.

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[21] ReidDiss, 11. Reid suggests that Pigouchet and Vostre stopped collaborating in 1502, based on the lack of editions by the two men listed in Brunet's catalogue.

[22] I have found several editions listed in RELICS that date after 1502, with the last edition appearing in 1510 for the use of Angers (Bohatta number 19 and 21 in BohattaBib). There is also a book dated 1520 that lists Vostre as publisher and Pigouchet as printer, though the fact that Pigouchet is mentioned as deceased in a document dated 1519 presents issues with the date of this print.

[23] These prints are listed by year in InventaireChrono vol 1. In addition to these, Pigouchet also printed a number of literary works in the last decade of the fifteenth century, including one elaborately decorated edition of Christine de Pizan's *Livre d'epitre d'Othea à Hector*. See BreckenridgeDiss for a detailed analysis of this print and contemporary versions of Pizan's book. We can also add *Les principes en Français* to the list (HeartzCat, 39). Gallica, the free digital library sponsored by the Bibliothèque national de France, has several of these documents available for online viewing or download.

[24] This is the last reliably dated print. See note 21 above. On Godard see BrunetManuel and RenouardImprimeurs.

[25] InventaireChrono, vol 2, 376.

Pigouchet's Books of Hours, especially those printed for Simon Vostre, are generally described as "the most celebrated of *Horae*"[26] and Pigouchet himself as the most important *printer* of Books of Hours in France in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the Golden Age of the printed French Book of Hours.[27] According to Reid

> the work of Pigouchet and Vostre is notable for its popularity which extended beyond the borders of France and caused it to be imitated by other printers, for its elaborateness, its excellence of technique and composition, and for the charm of its ornament, particularly the genre scenes which are the mark of Pigouchet's style.[28]

Pigouchet's books were also among the most geographically diverse, with editions for more than twenty cities in France,[29] in addition to more than thirty editions for the Use of Rome, and a number of editions for the Use of Salisbury, for sale in England.[30] The main and best features of these Hours were the illuminations and miniatures that Pigouchet crafted and the "charming vignettes and hunting scenes" that bordered each page,[31] all generally esteemed as comparable to the hand-painted miniatures of the manuscript Book of Hours.[32] The texts were printed in gothic font, using calligraphy-inspired type, and printed on vellum, not paper. They were marketed for wealthy merchants and nobles, and

[26] PollardPrintedBooks, 188.
[27] DuffEarlyBooks, 85; IvinsPigouchet, 35. Both authors comment on the excellence of Pigouchet's books. Ivins's praise of the high quality of the printed French Book of Hours from this era is echoed by many authors, as is the decline of the quality of the French Book of Hours from the 1500s onward.
[28] ReidDiss, 14. This refers to the many borders that Pigouchet included in his books.
[29] Amiens, Autun, Besançon, Cambrai, Châlon-sur-Marne, Chartres, Clermond-Ferrand, Cluni, Coutance, Evreux, Langres, Liège, Lisieux, Lyons, Mâcon, Nantes, Noyon, Paris, Poitiers, Rouen, Reims, Rennes, Tours, Troyes, and Verdun.
[30] For a detailed discussion of a single representative book produced by Pigouchet and Vostre, see ReidDiss. The English-market books are discussed in DuffyStripping and DuffyMarking. Duffy states that Pigouchet (and Vostre) printed 6 editions for sale in England (DuffyStripping, 227-228).
[31] PollardPrintedBooks, 191.
[32] IvinsPigouchet, 35.

were products that would not have been out of place in the bookshop in the Rue de la Harpe, or in the shop of the *libraire du roi* located in the *grande salle du Palais*.[33] But these were not specialty items like the print-manuscript hybrids of Vérard or Kerver:[34] rather, they were designed for daily use by the people who bought them.[35] The fact that Pigouchet produced such a large number of editions for so many different regions speaks to the popularity of his books and to the popularity of the Book of Hours in general.

From Pigouchet to Attaingnant, From Horae to Polyphony

We have established that Pigouchet was still printing his books until at least 1516,[36] but the exact time when he stopped printing and Attaingnant took over remains unclear. Nor do we know what books Attaingnant produced before he printed the Breviary for Use of Noyon in 1525.[37] It is plausible that Attaingnant was an apprentice of Pigouchet's,[38] and we do know that he inherited the press and shop as part of the dowry that came through his marriage to Pigouchet's daughter Claude.[39] Furthermore, Pigouchet's death is noted in the marriage contract of his daughter Collette, dated March

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[33] This location is advertised on the books printed under Pigouchet's and Eustace's names.

[34] Both Vérard and Kerver produced Books of Hours as special items in which the text was printed but the illuminations and miniatures were hand painted, in some cases by the Master of Philippe de Gueldre, a favorite painter of the French nobility. For one such example, see the Horae for the Use of Paris which Kerver printed for Eustace, which sold at Christie's Fine Art Auction in 2000 for over one-hundred thousand dollars (ChristiesHorae).< http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/horae-use-of-paris-in-latin-and-1837837-details.aspx?from=searchresults&intObjectID=1837837&sid=04e399c1-a0e2-451d-92f4-36f6c56ca8fe> Books by Pigouchet that have sold at Christie's have typically sold for amounts between $7,000-$40,000.

[35] The "user friendly" quality of the books is discussed below in the overview of a Book of Hours printed by Pigouchet.

[36] RELICS lists two Books of Hours after this date: one from 1520 for Simon Vostre, and another from 1518 for a London bookseller, but the latter does not contain a clear attribution to Pigouchet.

[37] Heartz Catalogue #1.

[38] HeartzCat, 29.

[39] HeartzCat, 23. The exact date of Attaingnant's marriage to Claude Pigouchet is unknown, though Heartz suggests it was between 1514 and 1520 (HeartzCat, 36-37).

12, 1519.[40] Heartz suggested that Attaingnant spent the years after he took over the shop and before he printed his Breviary perfecting his music printing techniques and printing small commissions, such as "dominos"—devotional paintings—and other small items.[41] In 1514, Attaingnant, identified as a *libraire,* not a printer, rented out a press to the printer Jean de la Roche.[42] The address of that press is missing from the document, however, but Heartz hypothesised that it was on the Rue de la Harpe.[43] Although we now know that Pigouchet was still active until at least 1516, it may very well be that he had turned over the running of one of the presses to the young Attaingnant, in preparation for the day when he would inherit the entire shop. It would certainly have been logical and practical in the wake of Pigouchet's retirement for Attaingnant to continue printing the types of books that Pigouchet produced in his last years, including Books of Hours, as the press was set up for this kind of work and Pigouchet had established contacts throughout the city. Indeed, Attaingnant seems to have relied on Pigouchet's connections for his first surviving print.[44] The Breviary of 1525 was a commission from the cathedral of Noyon, a city for whom Pigouchet had produced at least one Book of Hours.[45] It is also possible that Attaingnant's connections to the court sprang from Pigouchet's earlier activities. As mentioned above, Pigouchet printed several editions of Books of Hours for Guillaume Eustace, the "King's bookseller." Eustace, who held the title of King's bookseller from

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[40] HeartzCat, 172. The contract is transcribed by Heartz, from Ernest Coyecque, *Recueil d'actes notiés relatifs a l'histoire de Paris et de ses environs au xvi^esiecle* (Paris, 1905), Vol 1, no. 79. Page 36 in HeartzCat incorrectly gives the date as 1518.

[41] HeartzCat, 36.

[42] HeartzCat, 36. The contract is transcribed on page 171, as document 2.

[43] HeartzCat, 36.

[44] HeartzCat, 29.

[45] HeartzCat, 29. The book was printed for Simon Vostre and dated 1498. Heartz also notes that the college from which Pigouchet and Attaingnant rented the space for their shop and home had ties to Noyon, and to Attaingnant's home town of Arras (HeartzCat, 34).

1492 or 1493 until June of 1528,[46] kept his shop in the *grande salle du Palais*, where he could sell to the nobility.[47] It is conceivable that on the occasions where Eustace and Pigouchet met, Attaingnant was also present, especially in the later years of Pigouchet's career as Attaingnant became more active.

Like his father-in-law then, Attaingnant was a bookseller as well as a printer, as is evident in the contract of 1514 (which lists Attaingnant as a *libraire*) and by the fact that not all the copies of the Noyon breviary were sent to Noyon.[48] And like Pigouchet, Attaingnant printed more than one kind of book (listed in Table 7.1 below).

Table 7.1: Books Printed by Attaingnant and for Sale in His Shop (excluding books of polyphony) (with date and Heartz catalogue number)

Other Books (non-liturgical, non-polyphony)	Liturgical Books (without music)	Liturgical Books (with music)	Music Books (non-polyphony)
Hec siguras omnes scientias et artes (Philosophia), 1534 (H 58)	Breviary, Use of Noyon, 1525 (H 1)	Manuale, Use of Noyon, 1546 (139)	*Epithoma musice instrumentalis*, by Oronce Finé, 1530 (H 21)[49]
Geographic Primer, 1534 (H 59)	Breviary, Use of Noyon, 1546 (H 138)	Missal, Use of Noyon, 1541 (H 98)	*Briefve introduction en la musique*, by Jean le Gendre, 1545 (H 130)
Libros naturalis historiae, 1551 (H 167)			

The 1525 Breviary is one of four liturgical books that Attaingnant printed for Noyon, in addition to five other identified non-polyphonic prints: two didactic broadsides (*Philosophia* in 1534, and a geographic primer in 1534), an *epithoma musice* or treatise

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[46] RenouardImprimeurs, 129.
[47] This is the location given on the books that Pigouchet printed for Eustace: "Guillaume eustace libraire tenant sa boutique en la gra[n]de salle du palais au tiers pillier" (1508). Renouard lists the location of several additional shops as well (RenouardImprimeurs, 129).
[48] HeartzCat, 38. Part of the press run was retained by Attaingnant for sale in his shop.
[49] Finé was appointed Royal Professor of Mathematics at the University of Paris in 1530 (HeartzCat, 8).

on music and mathematics and lute playing (1530), and an introduction to music (1545), both presumably aimed at amateurs and students, as well as a book of natural history (1551). In addition to these books, Attaingnant also kept blank music paper for sale in his shop.[50] To these would also have been added more liturgical books that have since been lost, as well as Books of Hours.[51]

As was the case in the decades before Attaingnant took over the printing press and shop in the Rue de la Harpe, I propose that the patrons going in and out of the shop during Attaingnant's ownership came for different types of books, and formed a diverse clientele. These were not all singers, or all buyers of polyphony, but would have been drawn in as much for music as for liturgical books or didactic books.[52] We may even add the consumer base that Attaingnant must have inherited from Pigouchet along with the shop: while no copies of Books of Hours issued under Attaingnant's name survive, extant inventories show that he was still selling Books of Hours in his shop. We therefore have four consumer groups that formed Attaingnant's market: the students and scholars, clerics involved with the liturgy, purchasers of Books of Hours, and of course, both professional and amateur musicians, in addition to the various other patrons who would have come in for other types of prints, or just out of curiosity.

The Motet Series, seen in this context, would have appealed to any and all of these market groups, its gothic script probably suggesting its connection with the

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[50] HeartzCat, 42. The different books are all listed in HeartzCat.
[51] HeartzCat, 39. Heartz found inventories that mention missals, manuals, and breviaries, as well as Books of Hours for use of Noyon and Paris.
[52] The shop's location near the university (Pigouchet refers to it as in the university) and its connection to the university in Pigouchet's time would have made it an attractive venue for students.

liturgical books and Books of Hours.[53] The prominent placement of the titles of all motets

on the title pages would surely have drawn in these and other buyers. As we shall see in

the analysis of the text sources for the Series that follows below, many, indeed most of

the texts of the motets would have been familiar to the purchasers of both liturgical books

and Book of Hours, and the music itself was diverse enough to appeal to everyone from

the professional cathedral choir to amateurs, or even young children learning to sing.

THE PROCESS OF TRACING THE TEXTS

The 281 motets in Attaingnant's Series set 213 different texts, and are of many

different genres: prayers, Lessons, Antiphons, Responsories, Psalms, and Magnificats all

appear in the Series. My initial approach was to try to identify the complete and exact

texts of the motets in a single book (i.e. a single Antiphon in an Antiphonal), to find a

one-to-one match for the texts. I quickly saw that while this worked for some of the

motets, many of the motets set texts that could not be traced to a single book, and that

even in the instances where I found a text as a single Antiphon or Responsory, I also

found it as another genre of text in a different book, or as parts of different texts in

different books. In the end, I chose to sort the texts into four groups by kind of source:

liturgical books, Books of Hours, the Bible, and other books. I designed a standard search

pattern from the different resources I had for each kind of source, which I then used for

each motet text. My searches combined printed books and online databases, primary

sources and secondary sources, all listed in the Text Sources Bibliography. All of the

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[53] The printed Books of Hours produced by Pigouchet and other printers (like Vérard, Eustace, etc.) for the
nobility or wealthy merchants all use a gothic font, as did Attaingnant's liturgical books. In contrast, the
earlier motet books printed by Attaingnant and his books of chansons do not use a gothic font.

results of my text searches are tabulated in the Text Sources table in Appendix G. This is ordered alphabetically by title of the motet, and features separate columns for liturgical books, Books of Hours, the Bible, and other books. I have also included a Comments column where I note inconsistencies between the "found" text and that of the motet, if a text is set more than once in the Series, and other pertinent information concerning the text of the motet.

The amount of information available online has changed dramatically in the last ten years, and even more over the three years that I spent tracking down the texts of Attaingnant's Series. Databases such as the Bibliothèque nationale de France's *Gallica* have made hundreds of liturgical books and Books of Hours available in digital facsimile, and others, like *CANTUS:* A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant, have been re-designed in the last years and provide powerful search engines that make it possible to search over 300,000 chant records online. No comparable database has yet been created for Books of Hours; however, the CHD Institute for Studies of Illuminated Manuscripts in Denmark contains inventories of almost one hundred manuscript and printed Books of Hours from 1300-1530, with links to images of the books from various libraries. The site also has a "checklist" of Antiphons and Responsories featured in Books of Hours, and an in-depth guide to the texts of each of the Hours. There is no search feature on this site (you either browse or use a Google or Bing search with "chd"), however, the site is currently under reconstruction, and will hopefully add a search tool in the near future. In contrast, searchable online Bible sites are quite plentiful today, and much more reliable than they were several years ago. I relied on the new site DBRO.org, the *Douay-Rheims*

Bible Online, in the last stages of my text analysis. This site also underwent

reconstruction as I was consulting it, and now offers parallel Latin and English texts.[54]

One of the pitfalls that I encountered using online search tools, and to some extent

printed sources, is the variable spelling of Latin words: "caelorum" vs. "celorum,"

"justus" vs. "iustus" and so forth, which can result in zero returns in online searches.[55]

Another issue concerns automated transcriptions. EEBO (*Early English Books Online*)

offers searchable transcriptions of many Books of Hours, however, because the first letter

of a prayer or Antiphon is often a decorated initial or in a different font, the system often

omits these letters, and abbreviations also lead to garbled words. For these searches, I

found it necessary to search for the third and fourth words of a text instead of the opening

word. Even then, I sometimes came across a text days later when searching for another

text that had one or two words in common.

In the end, for all online searches, if I did not find a text by looking for the first

few sentences, I parsed the texts down to a few words and made my way through the text

that way. This was tedious, but it did lead to the identification of more than one text in its

entirety that I had not found by looking for the opening lines. As one example, the motet

Surge Petre by Jacquet of Mantua (motet 13.13) presented several challenges. I started by

searching for it in my online liturgical databases, CANTUS and La Trobe University's

Medieval Music Database (MMDB). I searched for the words "surge petre" in CANTUS,

which returned two hits, the first matching the opening line of text for the motet. Clicking

the link brought me to a page with 121 hits for this text in manuscripts. I selected one that

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[54] This site is more accurate than others that I used initially, especially for searches of a single word or phrase.
[55] This is a problem for the Hypertext Book of Hours site, for example.

had an image link in the far right column, to verify the genre of the text and see how much of the text was included. The image link brought me to the appropriate folio of the digitised manuscript. On the image (folio 46v of an Antiphonal), I found the first half of the *prima pars* (bars 1-58) as a Responsory for the feast of St. Peter and Paul.[56] I then returned to CANTUS and repeated the process with the next section of text "tu es petrus." This returned ten hits. I discarded those with additional text not in the motet and selected the hit with the next few words of my motet text, which was the first Responsory listed. This led me to a list of 152 manuscripts. I saw the same MS that I had used for the first line of text and followed the link to the digitised manuscript. It brought me to folio 46r, where I found the rest of the first *pars* as a single Responsory. In this search, I noticed that the opening text of the *secunda pars* was at the top of folio 46r. I then scrolled back and forth around folio 46 and ended up finding all of the text for this motet on a few folios of this Antiphonal. I took note of where all the parts of the text were located in the manuscript and the name of the source and moved on to my next database, MMDB. I always checked for texts in both liturgical databases because I discovered early on that each database contains information not included in the other. So, I searched for "surge petre" in MMDB, and it returned no hits. I then moved on to the next few words of text, "et indue" and it provided two results, both starting with the words "Surge, Petre, et indue." I had not included punctuation, so the search had yielded no results! I then searched for "surge, petre," just to see if it would produce a result, and it did. I then

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[56] The bar numbers refer to the modern transcription, MotEd.

searched for the rest of the text and found it in various parts, as I had in CANTUS.[57] I

then searched for the text in Books of Hours by combining "chd" and the first few words

in a Google search. This produced no hits, so I moved on to the next few words. In the

end, I located the text "Tu es petrus" (bars 58-85, the end of the *prima pars*) as a

Versicle, and the second half of the *secunda pars* as an Antiphon, both in the Suffrages of

St. Peter in the Spitz Hours, though several words of the motet text were not included in

the Antiphon. I then moved on to my Bible search in DRBO and searched bit by bit for

the text. I found the second half of the *prima pars* in the Gospel according to Matthew,

chapter 16, lines 18-19. This was one of the more tedious and involved searches, but it

did result in a complete identification of the text in a single liturgical book, and showed

that parts of the text were also found in Books of Hours and the Bible, as noted in the

Text Sources table in Appendix G.

I tried to identify each text first in a primary source (printed or virtual). When I

had exhausted all possibilities, I turned to secondary sources, such as Hesbert's *Corpus

Antiphonale Officium* (CAO), *Analecta Hymnica* (AH), and finally the *Liber Usualis*

(LU). When all else failed, I tried a general online search, and, thanks to the ever-growing

number of digitized books now available, I was able to locate a few texts this way. For

example, I was able to identify the text of Richafort's motet *Christe totius* (2.07) as a pre-

existing text using a Google search. I searched for "Christe totius dominatur," which

resulted in many hits for the motet, but at the bottom of the first page of results were two

items that did not refer to the motet, and that had a name attached to the text. I followed

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[57] I sometimes had to browse through the list of feasts on MMDB if a search yielded no results. This
allowed me to locate some of the texts, and shows the limits of the database: not all texts are searchable.

the first, a document in the Bodleian Library that eventually gave me the name "Sisgoreus, Georgius." I returned to the search results and followed the last link on the page, to a website of Sisgoreus's works. I browsed through and found the complete text as a poem to Christ, though the text here is "*Christus* totius" not *Christe*.

In all my text searches, I tried to find as close a match to the text of the motet as possible, but I also wanted to note when a text appeared in more than one kind of source (i.e. liturgical books *and* Books of Hours). For texts that I marked as "found" in the Text Sources table (Appendix G), I accepted small differences between the texts, such as differences between plural and singular pronouns, a few additional words in the source text, but made note of instances where the source text was missing parts of the motet text. I also noted significant differences, like a change in keywords (i.e. Gombert's *Conceptio tua*, motet 7.02, has the first word "conceptio," but liturgical books say "nativitas"), or the absence of a key word (i.e. no name appears in motet 2.22, Lhéritier's *Virgo Christi egregia*, but in Books of Hours, the names of St. Apollonia or St. George are given). In these cases, the text is marked as complete in the Text Sources table, but a note is included in the Comments column explaining the difference.

As we shall see, many of the texts can be found at least in part in both liturgical books *and* Books of Hours, a result of the history of the Book of Hours. Books of Hours contain only a fraction of the texts found in the full liturgy, which led me to find certain texts in Books of Hours and the liturgy, and more texts only in the liturgy than only in Books of Hours.[58] Books of Hours contain a small number of texts (mostly prayers)

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[58] This is especially significant for the Gospel readings that are found in Books of Hours, which are taken from specific passages in particular Gospels.

which are not found as part of the regular prescribed liturgy, as illustrated in the following Venn diagram in Figure 7.1 below.

Figure 7.1: Relationship of Texts from the Liturgy and Books of Hours

Texts in the Liturgy

Texts in Lit. and BoH

Texts in BoH
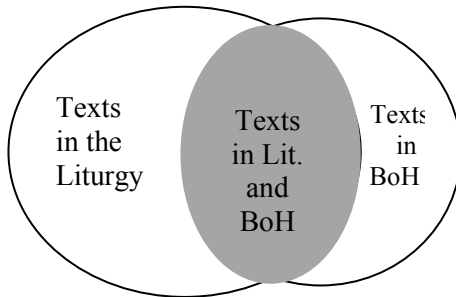
A few texts also come from secular sources, and a handful of texts are occasional texts, written in response to specific contemporary events.

This study does not claim any specific Book of Hours, Antiphonal, or Bible as *the* source for any one motet. Rather, it is my intention to demonstrate that motets, specifically those found in Attaingnant's Series, set texts that were found in several kinds of sources, and to determine what connections (if any) we can draw between Attaingnant's Series and the other books the printer would have sold to his clientele, and the make-up and interests of that market.

The Book of Hours: An Overview

The Book of Hours was a devotional prayer book intended for use by the laity that first appeared in the thirteenth century. It was an adapted form of the Breviary and the Office of the Blessed Virgin, and quickly became the most popular type of book, both in

manuscript form and, by the end of the fifteenth century, in printed form as well.[59] With

anywhere from 400 to 1400 editions printed from the late fifteenth century and through

the sixteenth century, it is no wonder that the Book of Hours is generally referred to as

the "bestseller" of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. [60] The popularity of the Book of

Hours was three-fold: it provided the laity with a simple and easy devotional "tool" with

which to imitate the practices of monastic life; it offered them "an intimate conversation

with one of the most important people in his or her life: the Virgin Mary";[61] and it could

feature sumptuous illustrations and was therefore a work of art, something to display and

treasure.[62]

Books of Hours varied by region and price, but the basic content of every book

was essentially the same. It was divided into eight sections, with each section typically

accompanied by illustrations that reflected the prayers and topics, and served as objects

for meditation.[63] The following overview of the Book of Hours uses Pigouchet's Book of

Hours for Use of Poitiers, which he printed in 1498 for Simon Vostre, as a point of

reference for the structure of the book.[64]

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[59] WieckTime, 27. On the book trade in general see ChartierOrder, ChartierCult, FebvreLivre, and GrendlerBooks.

[60] ReidDiss, 9. No two scholars agree on the total number of prints that were produced.

[61] WieckTime, 27.

[62] Pigouchet's books typically feature a full page illustration at the start of each section and at the start of each of the eight Hours of the Virgin as well.

[63] DuffyStripping, 211.

[64] I chose this book because it is one of the few books printed for a French usage that is readily available in facsimile. This book is available online through Gallica: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k529913.r=.langEN> I have also looked at dozens more facsimiles and inventories of Books of Hours that inform the observations I make in the following pages. These other books are listed in the Text Sources Bibliography. The division of the sections and the order could vary depending on the region (some books combine the two prayers for the Virgin with the Litanies, etc.).

The Eight Sections of a Book of Hours:

1. The Calendar
2. The Four Gospel Readings and the Passion
3. Two prayers to the Virgin
4. The Hours of the Virgin
5. The Hours of the Cross and Hours of the Holy Spirit
6. The Penitential Psalms and Litany of the Saints
7. The Office of the Dead
8. Suffrages

The Calendar, sometimes preceded by an Almanac and Anatomic Man,[65] provided the reader with the means of identifying the precise day of Easter, and gave all of the feast days for the year, month by month.[66]

The first texts that one read daily in a Book of Hours were four readings (taken from the four Gospels) which tell the story of Christ, from incarnation to Ascension, followed by the Passion. The story of the divinity and incarnation of Christ are taken from the Gospel According to John, the Annunciation of Mary came from the Gospel of Luke, the Nativity of Christ from the Gospel of Matthew, the Baptism and Resurrection were taken from Mark, and the Passion from John.[67]

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[65] The "Anatomic Man" represented the influences of the spheres in the human body (ReidDiss, 24). For more on this and the Almanac, see ReidDiss.

[66] WieckTime, 157. Wieck provides a helpful breakdown of the use of the calendar.

[67] One distinction between the liturgy and Books of Hours is the story of the Passion. As we can see in our tabulation of text sources, the Passion according to John (from Book 10) is found in Books of Hours, but the Passion according to Matthew is not. This is because of the arrangement of the Gospel readings in a Book of Hours. Gospel texts were also Lessons in the Mass (starting with the phrase "In illo tempore"). However, the readings for each Mass were not fixed, in the manner of Antiphons or Psalms. There is therefore an enormous amount of variety, unlike the readings that were copied or printed into Books of Hours. For this reason, I have noted when a Gospel text appears in Books of Hours, but have not pointed out when it may have appeared in liturgical books.

The next section of the Book of Hours consisted of two prayers to the Virgin.[68] These two prayers, "Obsecro te" and "O intemerata," were a feature of all Books of Hours. These were typically followed by the Hours of the Virgin. The Hours (from which the Latin Books of Hours took their title *Horae*) were the core of the Book of Hours. They were divided into eight parts, following the eight canonic hours: Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline. The text for each Hour was built around a group of Lessons or prayers (Lessons at Matins, prayer for the other hours) with which one would also have a group of Psalms and Antiphons, Responsories, as well as Hymns, Chapters, and Canticles (including the Canticle of Mary, the Magnificat). In each of the eight Hours, one would also recite the "Ave Maria" and the Lord's Prayer, "Pater noster," as well as the Lesser Doxology "Gloria Patri, et Filio: et Spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper: et in saecula saeculorum, Amen. Alleluia."

The Hours of the Virgin were followed by the shorter Hours of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit. In many of the books printed by Pigouchet, these Hours are inserted after the corresponding Hour in the Hours of the Virgin, so that the reader would not have to turn back and forth from one set of Hours to the other as they read their books.[69]

After the eight Hours came the Seven Penitential Psalms (written out completely), each followed by the doxology, and then the Litany of the Saints. The final two standard texts were the Office of the Dead and the Suffrages of the Saints. The Office of the Dead consisted of only three Hours (Vespers, Matins, and Lauds), but was still one of the

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[68] These are sometimes placed with the suffrages, as in the Book of Hours for the use of Rome that Pigouchet printed for Vostre, though they are typically at the start of the book.
[69] Some of Pigouchet's Books of Hours advertise this feature on the title page: "sans rien requerir" became a catch phrase by which the reader could tell if the book was written out in the manner one would recite the text (DrigsdahlCross).

longest sections of the Book of Hours.[70] The texts consisted of Antiphons, Psalms,

prayers, and Lessons (as well as the Magnificat), like the Hours of the Virgin, but

replaced the doxology after each Psalm with the "Requiem eternam."[71] The Suffrages

opened with prayers to the Trinity, then the Virgin (sometimes here including the two

prayers to the Virgin, as well as the "Stabat mater" and the "Missus est Gabriel"),

followed by suffrages to individual saints that combined an Antiphon, a Versicle and

Response, and a prayer.[72] The total number of saints named varied according to the

region for which the Book of Hours was printed and could include upwards of twenty

saints.[73]

Following these standard texts, many Books of Hours also feature "accessory

texts," texts that were not standard, but that could be added to the Book of Hours.[74] These

included the "Stabat mater" prayer, the Seven Prayers of St. Gregory, the Psalter of St.

Jerome (an abbreviated form of the full Psalter that one could recite in one day and

receive the same benefits as reading the entire Psalter),[75] as well as the Office of the

Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the long Hours of the Passion, and the shorter

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[70] WieckTime, 166.

[71] "Requiem eternam dona eis Domine: et lux perpetua luceat eis."

[72] The Versicle and Response are distinct from the respond and verse that form the Responsory. Both are found in Books of Hours, but the Responsory is much longer and has a distinct form (discussed below), while the versicle and response are usually only a few words each. Both are abbreviated R and V in Books of Hours.

[73] The most common included St. John the Evangelist, St. John the Baptist, St. Michael, Sts. Peter and Paul, St. Jacob, St. Stephen, St. Sebastian, St. Laurentio, St. Anna, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Katherine, St. Margaret, St. Barbara and St. Appolonia. The patron saint for the region in use could also be included, such as St. Geneviève for the Use of Paris.

[74] All the Pigouchet books that I examined contain one or more accessory texts, as do the Vérard books that I consulted.

[75] DrigsdahlPsalter.

Hours of St. Katherine and Hours of St. Barbara. The Pigouchet book for the Use of Poitiers also features a number of prayers in French.[76]

The texts of a Book of Hours, although following the standard sections mentioned above, varied from diocese to diocese, from one religious order to another, and from owner to owner.[77] The "use" of a Book of Hours is generally reflected in the Calendar, the Hours of the Virgin, the Litany of the Saints, and the Office of the Dead.[78] The texts that changed the most from one use to another (for example, from the Use of Rome to that of Sarum, or of Paris) were the Lessons, Antiphons, Capitula, and Psalms featured in the Hours of the Virgin.[79]

The texts of a Book of Hours, especially the Hours of the Virgin, were meant to be read each and every day, and readers of these books were intimately familiar with the texts.[80] This was especially true of those texts that one recited more than once a day, like the "Ave Maria" or the text "Dignare me laudare te," which doubled as an Antiphon and a Versicle and Response, and was read daily in one form or the other at Matins, Lauds, and Prime. As we shall see in the analysis of the text sources that follows, a person walking into Attaingnant's shop who was in the habit of reading his or her Book of Hours would surely have recognised these texts on the title pages of the Motet Series.

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[76] Another Pigouchet book for use of Rome also features several French prayers, and the books that he printed for sale in England frequently feature additional prayers in English.
[77] DuffyMarking, 132. Books of Hours also varied in quality, from lavishly illuminated to plain text versions, depending on price.
[78] WieckTime, 149. Only some of these texts change from region to region, many stay the same.
[79] WieckTime, 149.
[80] While this was the intended use, we actually have very little information on the actual reading habits of Book of Hours owners.

Liturgical Books

One of the differences between Books of Hours and liturgical books is that liturgical books often include notated chant to go along with the text. Several main books for the liturgy proved fruitful in trying to locate the texts of the motets in Attaingnant's Series: Antiphonals, Breviaries, and Missals. Antiphonals (or Antiphonaries, or Antiphoners) contain the chant to be sung during the Office. These are usually divided according to the Temporal and Sanctoral Cycles, and ordered following the liturgical calendar.[81]

Breviaries contain texts for the Office, but in addition to the chants included in Antiphonals, Breviaries include Lessons, Psalms, and prayers; in short, all the texts required for the Divine Office.[82] The Breviary that I used most frequently is a thirteenth-century notated Breviary for Use of Paris, but not all Breviaries include notated music to go along with the texts.

The Missal contains all texts and instructions for the performance of the Mass: the sacrament, the lessons and epistles, the ordinal containing the directions for performance of the rites, as well as the Mass Proper included in the Gradual, which contained the chants for the singers.[83] Other liturgical books were more specific: a Sequentiary contained only Sequences, a Hymnal only Hymns, and so on.

All of these liturgical books, like the Books of Hours, could be found for a variety of Uses (of Rome, of Paris, etc.) and therefore contain some texts that are different. There were also differences between books designed for monastic use and those designed for

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[81] GroveAntiphoner.
[82] GroveBreviary.
[83] GroveMissal.

the clergy.[84] All of the liturgical books and Books of Hours that I consulted are listed in the Text Sources Bibliography.

THE TEXTS OF THE MOTETS IN ATTAINGNANT'S SERIES

Text Genres in Attaingnant's Series

One of the results of my study of the texts of the motets in Attaingnant's Series was the identification of the various genres that were set by the composers, and the emergence of several prominent genres in the Series. Eight principal genres emerge that appear with varying degrees of frequency: Marian Antiphons, Antiphons, Magnificats, Responsories (with their verses), Sequences, Hymns, Psalms, Gospel texts, and prayers. With one exception, all of these genres were genres of plainchant, the texts having associated melodies or recitation tones within the liturgy. Only prayers were not typically associated with music.[85] Many of the texts appear in different kinds of sources (for examples, *Dignare me* set by Gascongne, Verdelot, and Maistre Gosse, is found in both liturgical books and Books of Hours), and they can sometimes be labeled as different genres within the different kinds of sources (I found the text *Dignare me* as an Antiphon in liturgical books, and as a both an Antiphon and Responsory in Books of Hours). Most texts, however, are labeled as the same genre in all sources. Table 7.2 below lists the different genres set most frequently in the Series.[86] The double lines separate the three

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[84] GroveAntiphoner.
[85] The exception is the Lord's Prayer, *Pater noster*.
[86] This list does not include the three settings of Lamentations, or the two settings of the Passion in Book 10, or Gospel texts, since these are essentially passages from the Bible. I have also excluded 33 motets from consideration here, because they are labeled as different genres in different kinds of sources. Each entry in the Text Sources table (Appendix G) lists all genres under which I found the text of the motet.

genres that get their own books in Attaingnant's Series: Magnificats, Great Marian

Antiphons, and Psalms.

Table 7.2: Most Frequently Set Genres in Attaingnant's Series

Genre	Total in Attaingnant's Series
Antiphon (excluding Great Marian Antiphons)	32
Responsory (with Verse)	26
Hymn	8
Sequence	10
Prayer	16
Magnificat	26
Great Marian Antiphon	21
Psalm	23

Subgenres of the Motet in Attaingnant's Series

In 1539, Oliver Strunk identified several distinctive "motet types" in the motet

repertoire of the sixteenth century, types that were based on different liturgical genres.[87]

He identified four distinct "motet types" in the works of Palestrina: motets that set

Sequences, the Great Marian Antiphons, Responsories, and Psalms and Canticles. Strunk

noted that Palestrina used different compositional techniques for each of these "motet

types," which resulted in distinct subgenres of the motet. The situation is somewhat

different when we look at Attaingnant's Series, since we are not dealing with the output

of a single composer. We do find the different "motet types" that Strunk identified in the

fourteen books, and we also find that Attaingnant's Series contains discreet groupings of

three subgenres of the motet, two of which coincide with the different subgenres that

Strunk identified. Books 9 and 12 both contain a single subgenre: settings of Psalms and

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[87] StrunkMotetTypes.

Great Marian Antiphons.[88] To Strunk's list we can add the Magnificat settings of Books 5 and 6, which demonstrate a largely standardised approach to text selection and composition, and were printed by Attaingnant in a way that marked their distinctiveness.

Magnificat Settings

Attaingnant's Series is the only collection of printed motets to include Magnificats, with a total of 26 settings on all eight tones, ordered according to tone. Attaingnant clearly thought of these as motets (he even named them as such in Book 7), but modern scholars generally do not consider Magnificat settings as "motets."[89] I include a discussion here of the Magnificat settings in Attaingnant's Series as a subgenre of the motet, but I have excluded them from my discussion of the texts of the Series that follows later in this chapter.[90]

Polyphonic settings of the Magnificat (called the Canticle of Mary in Books of Hours and liturgical books) typically followed the same procedure, whereby composers would set only parts of the text of the Canticle in polyphony, requiring additional chant to make the piece complete and suitable for liturgical use.[91] Traditionally, these settings would be performed in *alternatim*, with the odd numbered lines performed in chant, and the even numbered lines in polyphony.[92]

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[88] The two most common "types" that Strunk discussed, the Responsory and Sequence, are not treated by Attaingnant as separate subgenres (i.e. they are not printed in separate books).
[89] Magnificats are not included as motets in the Motet Online Database for instance, or in Thomas's dissertation (ThomasDiss), or Cumming's study of the fifteenth-century motet (CummingMot).
[90] For this reason, the total number of motets in the discussion below is reduced from 281 to 255.
[91] GroveMagnificat. This is the procedure followed in Chorbuch MS 20 as well.
[92] GroveMagnificat.

The Magnificats printed by Attaingnant in Books 5 and 6 follow this alternating pattern, and all but two set the even numbered verses in polyphony, including the second line of the doxology.[93] Despite this standardised text, the twenty-six settings found in Attaingnant's Series are diverse, ranging from three to eight voices and employing different styles.[94] Most Magnificats begin with the full number of voices (4 or 5) and reduce the texture to duos and trios for different verses (verse 8 is typically set as a duo).[95]

The Magnificats had a clear liturgical function, and the structure and almost universal approach to setting the text (same verses set polyphonically, complete text with doxology, varied textures, use of chant, and clearly marked sections) distinguish them from the other pieces of the Series. Why then would Attaingnant have included these pieces in his Series? The fact that the text of the Magnificat was found in Books of Hours means that these pieces could be devotional as well as liturgical, thus making them appealing to more than one market group. It also points to a desire on the printer's part to include all sacred polyphony outside of the Mass in his Series, to create an encyclopedia of sacred music.

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[93] The exceptions are motet 5.13 by Sermisy at the end of Book 5 that omits verses 2 and 4 (starts at "Fecit potentiam"), and Mouton's setting on the sixth tone (6.07), which sets all verses of the Magnificat in polyphony.

[94] For example, Sermisy's three-voice Magnificat at the end of Book 5 (5.13) is quite short, filling only two pages in the Superius partbook; it features imitative polyphony with frequent points of imitation that involve only two voices. In contrast, Le Brun's Magnificat (5.04) features multiple compositional techniques including imitative counterpoint, long note *cantus firmus*, and two-voice canon. It opens for four voices and goes back and forth between trio and duo textures, and ends with a *tour de force* section for eight voices built on all eight Magnificat tones at once.

[95] Only two motets do not vary the number of voices: Sermisy's abridged setting (5.13) and Jean de Billon's setting (6.13) are both for three voices throughout. The symmetrical placement of these two similar settings at parallel points in the two books seems to me to indicate a deliberate gesture on Attaingnant's part to provide simpler settings of the Magnificat that would have been appealing to smaller institutions with less skilled (or smaller) choirs, and amateur groups performing private devotions.

Great Marian Antiphon Settings

The contents of Book 12, like Books 5 and 6, are settings of a single genre. Like the Magnificats, they are a special subgenre of the motet, but unlike the Magnificats, the contents of Book 12 (two settings of *Ave regina celorum*, eight settings of *Regina celi*, and seven settings of *Salve regina*) are motets.

These three Antiphons are different from regular Antiphons: they feature longer texts and the chants are significantly more ornate and have a wider melodic range than the average Antiphons that were sung (or read) after a Psalm. The settings of the Marian Antiphons in Book 12 are quite varied: they range from four-voice settings to a colossal twelve-voice setting of *Regina celi* by Gombert (12.08). All settings in Book 12 paraphrase the corresponding chant to some degree, but the division of texts is less standardised and rigid than in the Magnificat settings.

Noticeably absent from Book 12 are settings of the fourth Great Marian Antiphon *Alma redemptoris mater*, although two settings appear in earlier books in the Series.[96] The reason for this stems from the liturgical and devotional practices of the day. The Great Marian Antiphons functioned very differently in the Use of Paris in the sixteenth century than they do now. Although the Use of Rome at the time prescribed the singing of one of the four Marian Antiphons daily after Compline, in Paris their use was less uniform.[97] *Salve regina*, *Regina celi* and *Ave regina celorum* were part of the liturgy of the Office, but were sung on specific days of the week: *Salve regina* and *Ave regina*

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[96] These are Lhéritier's motet (1.06) and De Silva's motet (3.13). Both motets paraphrase the chant in the Superius (and at times in imitation in the other voices).

[97] WrightNotreDame, 108-109. In the use of Rome, the four Antiphons were distributed according to the liturgical season for which they were best suited: *Alma redemptoris* for Advent, *Ave regina celorum* from Purification to Easter, *Regina celi* from Easter to Trinity, and *Salve regina* from Trinity to Advent. This practice also became the norm for Books of Hours in the second half of the sixteenth century.

celorum as the *salut* after Compline on Sundays and Saturdays, respectively, and *Regina*

celi was sung daily after Lauds.[98] In Books of Hours dated before 1550, these three

Antiphons, along with *Alma redemptoris*, appeared at different hours; the *Salve regina*

and *Regina celi* had a fixed use after Compline, and substituted for other Antiphons

during Lent. *Alma redemptoris*, however, had no assigned place within the liturgy of the

Office in Paris in 1534.[99] Attaingnant's selection for Book 12, specifically the omission

of *Alma redemptoris*, may thus be seen as reflecting the current and local liturgical (and

devotional) practices of the day.

Psalm Motets

The presence of twenty-eight motets that set a single Psalm text in Attaingnant's

Series is significant: it reflects a marked increase in the inclusion of motets that set Psalm

text in printed books of the 1530s, and marks the first time that a single printed book was

devoted to this kind of motet.[100] Most of the settings of Psalm texts in Attaingnant's

Series are motets whose texts may be found in a single Psalm or a group of Psalms.[101] I

include both complete Psalm settings and incomplete settings (following Nowacki's

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[98] WrightNotreDame, 115. *Ave regina celorum* was also sung daily as part of the Mass (WrightNotreDame, 116).

[99] WrightNotreDame, 109; 340. The Antiphon was used during the year for different feasts at Notre Dame, but had no fixed place in the Office comparable to the other three Antiphons.

[100] Petrucci printed 1 setting in *Motetti C*, 14 settings in all of *Motetti de la Corona*; Antico printed 7 in his series, and Moderne included 14 in the first three books of his *Motteti del fiore* series. (NowackiPsalmMotet, 169-171). On the Psalm motet before 1520, see SteeleDiss; on the Psalm motet from 1500-1535, see NowackiPsalmMotet. These Attaingnant pieces are motets and distinct from "falso bordone" settings of Psalms, which had appeared in manuscripts by themselves (NowackiPsalmMotet, 182).

[101] A number of motets also set composites of Psalm texts. These are noted in the Text Sources table in Appendix G.

approach), since cutting settings that are not complete Psalm texts would exclude some of the settings in Book 9, which Attaingnant clearly calls "Psalms."

The settings of Psalm texts in the Series range from "Quasi Psalm motets" with incomplete Psalm texts to "Psalm motets,"[102] settings of a complete Psalm, with or without the concluding doxology.[103] Thirteen of these settings are of complete Psalms, and all but two (Manchicourt's *Laudate Dominum*, motet 14.01: Psalm 116, and La Fage's *Super flumina Babilonis*, motet 3.09: Psalm 136) are in Book 9.[104] Tables 7.3a and 7.3b below list all Psalm settings in the Series in two groupings: 3a Psalm motets, and 3b Quasi Psalm motets. Each entry also includes the lines set in the motet and the total number of lines from the Psalm (far right column).

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[102] I follow Nowacki's definition here, which categorises a "true Psalm motet" as any motet that sets the complete text of a Psalm (NowackiPsalmMotet, 184).

[103] Some of the Psalms begin with the rubric "In finem. Psalmus David" (or some variant of this) as the first line. In these cases, the last column will state that a complete Psalm starts at line 2.

[104] The Psalm numbers given here and in the table below follow the Latin Vulgate numbering, used in the online Douay-Rheims Bible (http://drbo.org/).

Table 7.3a: Psalm Motets in Attaingnant's Motet Series

Motet Number	Composer	Motet Title	Psalm Number (Latin Vulgate)	Psalm Line Numbers
9.12	Sermisy	Beatus vir qui non abiit	Ps 1 (complete)	1-6 (of 6)
9.10	Vermont Primus	In domine confido	Ps 10 (complete)	2-8 (of 8)
9.11	Lupus	Usquequo domine	Ps 12 (complete)	1-6 (of 6)
9.13	Sermisy	Domini est terra	Ps 23 (complete)	1-10 (of 10)
9.02	Guyon	Fundamenta ejus	Ps 86 (complete)	1-7 (of 7)
9.15	Sermisy	Deus in adjutorium	Ps 69 (complete)	2-6 (of 6)
9.04	Maistre Gosse	Laudate dominum omnes gentes	Ps 116 (complete)	1-2 (of 2)
14.01	Manchicourt	Laudate Dominum	Ps 116	1-2 (of 2)
9.09	Jacotin	Credidi propter	Ps 115 (complete) + doxology	1-10 (of 10)
9.03	Gascongne	Letatus sum	Ps 121 (complete) + Da Pacem	1-9 (of 9)
9.16	Lhéritier	Qui confidunt in domino	Ps 124 (complete) + doxology	1-5 (of 5)
9.05	Lupus	In convertendo	Ps 125 (complete) + doxology	1-7 (of 7)
9.18	Le Heurteur	Nisi dominus edificaverit	Ps 126 (complete)	1-5 (of 5)
3.09	La Fage	Super flumina Babilonis	Ps 136 (complete)	1-9 (of 9)

Table 7.3b: Quasi Psalm Motets in Attaingnant's Series

Motet Number	Composer	Motet Title	Psalm Number (Latin Vulgate)	Psalm Line Numbers
9.01	Briant	Dilexi quoniam	Ps 114 + Requiem	1, 3-5, 7 (of 9)
9.08	Jacotin	Proba me domine	Ps 25	2-3, 7, 11 (of 12)
9.07	Hellinck	In te domine speravi	Ps 30	2-6 (of 26)
11.01	Gascongne	Quare tristis es	Ps 41	10-12 (of 12)
1.20	Vermont Primus	Benedicat nos deus noster	Ps 66	2, 7-8 (of 8)
3.16	Sermisy	Deus misereatur	Ps 66	2-8 (of 8)
10.09	Verdelot	Ne proiicias nos	Ps 70	9 (of 24)
10.10	Moulu	Ne proiicias nos	Ps 70	9 (of 24)
4.12	Verdelot	Adjuva nos	Ps 78	9 (of 13)
9.17	Jacotin	Inclina domine	Ps 85	1-5, 11-10, 13, 15-17 (of 17)
9.14	Sermisy	Benedic anima mea	Ps 102	1-5 (of 22)
4.06	Le Heurteur	Exaltare super celos deus	Ps 107	6-7, 13 (of 14)
11.07	Conseil	Adjuva me domine	Ps 118	112, 117, 124-125, 153 (of 176)
9.06	Mouton	Confitemini domino	Ps 117	1, 5-6, 8, 17-18 (of 29)

Table 7.3a makes it quite evident that the Psalm motets (complete Psalm settings) all set Psalms that are quite short (10 lines or less). Three of the Psalm motets in Book 9 include the Lesser Doxology at the end of the piece (9.05: Lupus's *In convertendo*, 9.09: Jacotin's *Credidi propter*, and 9.16: Lhéritier's *Qui confidunt in domino*). The doxology was a prominent addendum to Psalms in both the liturgy *and* Books of Hours, appearing in both following the reading of several different genres of texts. Since all but one of the Psalms featured in Book 9 of Attaingnant's Series are found in Books of Hours,[105] a statement that cannot be made for all other settings of Psalm featured in the Series, including the complete Psalm setting of *Super flumina Babilonis* by La Fage in Book 3(motet 3.09),[106] these pieces can be seen as both liturgical and devotional.

Despite Attaingnant's statement in the title of Book 9 that the contents are "daviticos Psalmos," nearly one half of the motets in the book (8 of 18 or 44%) do not set a complete Psalm,[107] and two of the motets feature non-Psalm texts added at the end of the text.[108] We may conclude that Attaingnant's basis for calling these motets Psalms was not conditional on the completeness of the text, nor was it necessary for the motet text to consist solely of a Psalm text and the doxology.

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[105] The one exception is the setting of Psalm 69 by Sermisy (motet 9.15). Psalm 69 does not appear in Books of Hours that I consulted, however the opening line "Deus in adjutorium meum intende, Domine adjuvandum me festina" is frequently included in Books of Hours, at the start of each Hour of the Virgin as a Versicle and Response following the "Ave Maria."

[106] Motet 1.03, 3.02, 4.06, 8.01 (*cantus firmus* from Psalm), 10.14 and 14.10 set complete or partial Psalm texts that are not featured in Books of Hours I have consulted, or in any of the databases with inventoried Books of Hours listed in the bibliography.

[107] Motets 9.01, 9.06-9.09, 9.14-9.15, and 9.17 set only portions of a Psalm.

[108] "Da pacem," a Magnificat Antiphon, appears at the end of Gascongne's motet *Letatus sum* (9.03), and Briant's motet *Dilexi quoniam* that opens Book 9 concludes with the text of the Introit for All Saints and the Requiem Mass, "Requiem eternam," which typically replaced the doxology after Psalms in the Office for the Dead in Books of Hours.

Other Genres set in the Motets

Antiphons

Antiphons, found in abundance in both liturgical books and Books of Hours, are the most common genres of texts set in the Series. With the exception of the Great Marian Antiphons discussed above, Antiphons are typically short and have relatively simple melodies. In liturgical books and Books of Hours, they were sung or said with the Psalms during every office of the day.[109] The brevity of this text genre has implications for the form of the motet, often resulting in short pieces. For example, Mouton's motet *Gloriosi principes terre* sets a complete Antiphon, but the text is only sixteen words: "Gloriosi principes terre quomodo in vita sua dilexerunt se ita et in morte non sunt separati," and the motet itself fills three staves (at the most) in each partbook. This motet also shows the different techniques that composers could use to stretch out the short Antiphon texts, such as repetition of texts and use of melismas (in the Secundus Tenor), and staggered entries and long rhythms (in the Superius, which comes in after ten breves and sings mostly in breves and semi breves; it is thus able to state all but the last four words without repetition).[110]

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[109] Matins, Lauds, and Vespers usually have two Antiphons for each Psalm in Books of Hours.

[110] This motet also features a foreign *cantus firmus* on another Antiphon. Both texts are noted in the Text Sources table in Appendix G. There are in fact a total of thirteen motets that feature foreign *cantus firmi*: 3.03, 3.08, 4.11, 4.12, 4.23, 7.01, 8.01, 8.07, 8.10, 8.16, 8.18, 11.19, and 12.12. The source for each *cantus firmus* text is noted in the Text Sources table, and a list of these motets along with the text and source is included in Appendix C.

Responsories

Motets that set the texts of Responsories were a relatively new genre of text

setting in the 1530s,[111] although it would eventually grow into a "motet type" with its

own conventions.[112] The Responsory as a genre has a distinct textual form, composed of

a respond and a verse. In practice, a portion of the text (the second half of the respond,

called the *repetendum*) returns after the verse, resulting in an ABCB form (respond,

repetendum, verse, *repetendum*). The settings of Responsories in Attaingnant's Series

almost always include the accompanying verse as well, and many mark the Responsory

form through repetition or section breaks.

The settings in Attaingnant's Series do not follow a single convention; some are

short, some are longer, and while many feature the repeating form, not all of them do, nor

do all set the text in two *partes*. For example, Verdelot's motet *Gabriel archangelus*

apparuit (motet 1.12) follows the ABCB form with both text and music repetition, but

does so in a single *pars*. The motet *Sancta et immaculata* by Hesdin is set in two *partes*

and follows the repetition scheme of the Responsory in the text, but does not feature

music repetition when the text of the *repetendum* returns. Of the 27 motets in

Attaingnant's Series that set a text found only as a Responsory, 22 (81%) follow the form

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[111] GroveResponsory. The use of polyphonic Responsories was new for the continent, though not in England. I found very few Responsories in the earlier series: only two in Petrucci's *Motetti de la Corona* (GehrenbeckDiss, 253), and one each in the first two books of Petrucci's Venetian series (DrakeDiss, 63; 74; 95). Of the texts set in Attaingnant's Series and in the series of earlier printers, four set the texts of Responsories, and only two of these appear in more than one series (*Homo quidam fecit* motet 1.25, and *Si bona suscepime* motet 11.10 were also set in Petrucci's series). In contrast, five of the texts set in Attaingnant's and Moderne's series are Responsories. I discuss the shared texts of these series later in this chapter.
[112] StrunkMotetTypes, 158-159.

of the text, and 17 (62%) feature musical repetition as well.[113] That Attaingnant did not

include a book of Responsory settings in his Series (despite having a sufficient number of

settings to fill at least one book), may point to the newness of the subgenre.[114]

Prayers

Sixteen of the motets in the Series set texts found as prayers, with ten of these

found only in Books of Hours. Prayers often had no music associated with them, varied

in length, and could be in prose or verse. The Lord's Prayer (set in motets 2.01, 3.14, and

7.22) is an example of a long prayer in prose. The prayer to St. Anne set in the

anonymous motet 4.16, *Ave mater matris dei,* is an example of a prayer in verse of

moderate length, which the composer extended though text repetition.[115]

Hymns and Sequences

Hymns and Sequences are two genres which, like the Responsory, had distinct

textual forms that could influence the form of the motet. Hymns were a strophic, rhyming

metrical poem, with a repeated melody for each strophe. They could be quite long, with

five strophes or more, and could result in lengthy motets. For example, the motet *Gloria*

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[113] This is also a feature that appears in a number of motets that do not set Responsories, but which appear to have been composed to mimic that form. Several motets that do not set an identified Responsory feature a musical equivalent to the text form despite setting other genres, or being unidentified texts (this is noted in the comments column in the Text Sources table in Appendix G). The use of the ABCB form in non-Responsory settings was quite common in the sixteenth century (GroveResponsory).

[114] The settings appear more or less at random throughout the Series (Books 1-4, 8, 10-11, and13-14), with the largest concentration appearing in Book 11. Book 11 also contains four settings that feature repetition of earlier music and text at the end of the piece, though not all of these are strictly speaking ABCB form (more like ABA form). As we saw in Chapter 6, Book 11 is unique in the Series in terms of subject and lack of rubrics. The presence of so many Responsory and ABA motets adds to its uniqueness.

[115] The text is only twenty words long, but with repetition, the Superius part fills almost five staves. Several motets set very short prayers, no more than two lines, in simple polyphony. These are discussed below in "*Simple Settings*."

laus by Divitis sets the first four strophes of the Hymn of the same name in four *partes*.[116]

Though not the longest motet in the Series, at least in terms of individual notes, we do see

that the form of the text could affect the form of the motet.

Sequences, sometimes called *prosae*, were typically long chants in double versicle

form: a, bb, cc...xx, y.[117] This lent itself to several different possibilities when setting the

text polyphonically, including *alternatim* settings (in imitation of the liturgical practice),

or using the variation-chain technique (in which each pair of lines is based on a single

line of chant, resulting in two variations of the same melody for each versicle).[118] One

example of a Sequence is the text *Hac clara die*, set twice in Attaingnant's Series (1.05

by Richafort, and 8.03 by Willaert).[119]

Although Sequences are distinct in form from Hymns, they were not always

distinguished from Hymns in liturgical sources and often appeared in books of Hymns.

Indeed, some Sequences, such as *Verbum bonum* set by Willaert (motet 8.08), are quite

similar to Hymns, with strophic form, and metrical strophes with set rhyme schemes

instead of paired versicles.[120] I have noted which Sequences are also labeled as Hymns in

the Text Sources table in Appendix G.

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[116] The complete Hymn is actually six strophes long. This is the only motet in the Series that is set in four *partes*.

[117] The single lines at the start and end of the Sequence (a and y) are not always present.

[118] StrunkMotetTypes, 156. This is one of Strunk's "motet types," and Strunk notes that the variation-chain setting was favoured by Josquin and Willaert.

[119] The Willaert setting uses the variation-chain technique, but the Richafort does not use one of the standard techniques for setting Sequences.

[120] This Sequence contains six strophes of four lines (lines 1-3 of 8 syllables, line 4 of 7 syllables) with the following rhyme scheme: aaab, cccb, dddb, etc. Willaert set the text in two *partes*, each with three strophes.

In the process of identifying the motet texts, I discovered that many of the texts were present in more than one of my primary kinds of sources (for example, in liturgical books and the Bible, the Bible and Books of Hours), and I found that an identified motet text could be present as more than one genre of text. I also found that while I was able to identify the majority of texts as a single genre (one Antiphon or one prayer), a significant number of motets set texts that combined different genres (like two whole Antiphons), or were built from fragments of unconnected texts (one line from one Antiphon, another line from a Responsory). This greatly affected the participation of the motet texts in my three primary kinds of sources, because motet texts that combined portions of different texts could be identified at least in part in any or all of the kinds of sources. I will deal mostly with single item texts (i.e. one Antiphon, not a combination of two Antiphons), but included all findings in the Text Sources table in Appendix G.

As expected, most of the motets set a single liturgical text or a combination of liturgical texts. Figure 7.2 demonstrates that 185 of the 255 motets (72% of the Series) were found in liturgical books.[121]

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[121] This total and those that follow exclude the 26 Magnificat settings.

Figure 7.2: Total Percentage of Texts Found in Liturgical Books

Motets with texts not found in liturgical books 28%

Motets with texts found in liturgical books 72%
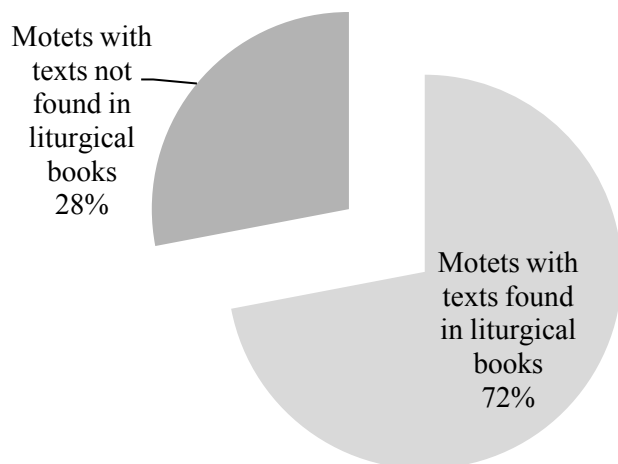
However, we also find that almost half of the motets (123 of 255) set texts present as a single item or as combinations of texts in Books of Hours, and that 16% (43 of 255) of the motet texts are found in the Bible.[122] We also find a large amount of overlap between the complete texts that are present in both liturgical books and in Books of Hours, a fact that becomes more evident when we consider only those motets that set a single item.[123]

178 motets set a single item text. The individual tally for texts found only in liturgical books *or* Books of Hours shows that a higher percentage of texts were found only in the liturgy, a result that was expected at the outset. There are, in fact, more than twice as many texts from liturgical books (51 motets, 33 individual texts) as there are

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[122] For text found in the Bible and other kinds of sources, the sixteenth-century Catholic motet-print buyer would most likely have come to know these texts first through the liturgy or devotional books, not through the Bible.

[123] Given the large proportion of motets that this comprises (178 motets of 255 in the Series), the results are considered as representative of the Series as a whole. It should also be noted that of the 77 motets that this excludes from consideration, 29 set texts that were not found as complete in any of our four kinds of sources.

uniquely Book of Hours texts (15 motets, 13 individual texts).[124] The numbers decrease

even more when we look at texts found uniquely in the Bible, which total only 9 motet

texts. These three tallies (illustrated in Figure 7.3 below) clearly show that texts found in

a single kind of source are the exception rather than the rule for the motets printed by

Attaingnant.

Figure 7.3: Proportions of Motets with Texts Found Exclusively in Liturgical Books,
Books of Hours *or* the Bible in Relation to All Other Single Item Texts
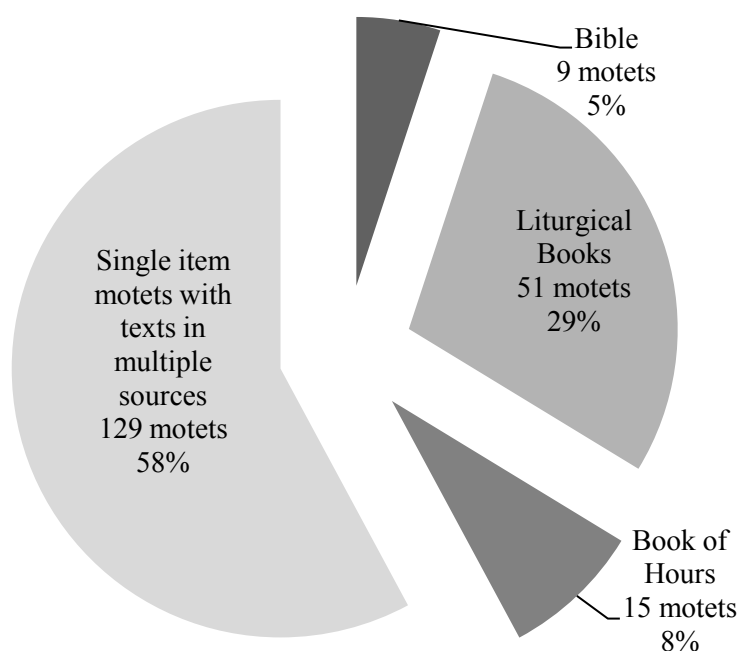
The most common texts are those that I found in two kinds of sources. Texts

found in the Bible and other kinds of sources increase the total of "Bible" texts, but only

by a small amount when we consider the total repertoire of single item texts in the Series

(from 9 motets to 43 motets). Texts that appear in all three kinds of sources are equally

scarce, but presented a problem initially that concerns the settings of Psalm texts. Only

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[124] The number of motets is greater than the number of texts because some texts are set in more than one motet. Most of the texts that appear solely in Books of Hours are single item texts such as prayers or Gospel readings.

texts drawn from a single Psalm are included in the tabulation of single item texts (as opposed to two or more Psalms cobbled together). I also made a distinction between motets that combine an additional closing text (one *not* included in the Bible, including the doxology) and those that set only the Psalm text as it is found in the Book of Psalms. Overall, we find only a handful of motet texts (26 individual entries) which can be found in all three kinds of sources.

The greatest overlap by far between the different kinds of sources occurs between liturgical books and Books of Hours. Sixty-nine (38%) of the motets that set a single item text can be found in both liturgical books and Books of Hours. Viewed in proportion to the total number of motets in the Series, that accounts for roughly 27% of the repertoire. Even more significant are the results we get when we ignore the overlap between the kinds of sources and compare the total number of single item texts found in Books of Hours, to all of the single item texts found in liturgical books. In all, we find an almost equal proportion of texts in Books of Hours and in liturgical books (see Figure 7.4 below).

Figure 7.4: All Single Item Texts Found in Liturgical Books and Books of Hours (regardless of overlap between kinds of sources, with the number of motets with texts found in each kind of source)
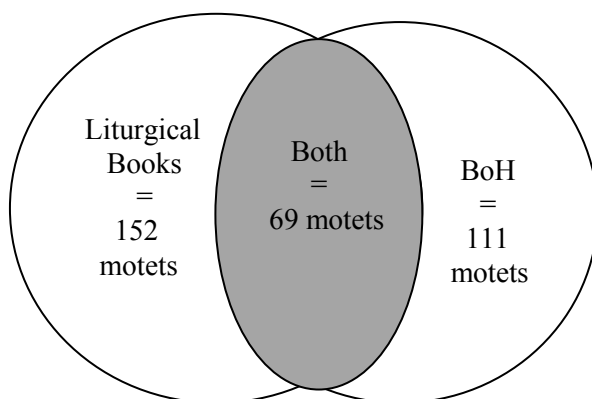
Our study of the sources of the motet texts in Attaingnant's Series offers us a new perspective on the motet, at least as far as those printed in Attaingnant's Series are concerned. We found, as has been observed in studies of other printed motet repertoires,[125] that many of these texts had connections to the liturgy, and that they would have been familiar to choir singers certainly, and to a lesser degree to the average churchgoer. But the high number of motets with texts found in Books of Hours (a total of 43%), places greater emphasis on the devotional aspect of the Series than has hitherto been acknowledged.[126] This is especially true when we consider the prominence that Books of Hours gave to these texts in the daily lives of Attaingnant's potential buyers. While some texts found in liturgical books would have been sung only once a year, the texts that appear in Books of Hours would have been intimately familiar to the readers/singers, because they were texts that were read or recited (in principle) on a daily basis, or at least several times a week.[127] Readers of Books of Hours would therefore have recognised and been familiar with many of the motet texts set in Attaingnant's Series. Only professional singers of the liturgy would have known more of the texts, and these singers might have been less familiar with the texts than the Book of Hours readers. Combined with what we learned earlier in this chapter about the sorts of books that Attaingnant produced and sold, it would seem that with this motet series the printer was appealing to two of the most important components of his consumer base simultaneously, in a single product.

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[125] See for example Gehrenbeck's study of Petrucci's *Motetti de la Corona* (GehrenbeckDiss), or Duchamp's study of Moderne's *Motteti del fiore* (DuchampDiss).

[126] Again, this number excludes the Magnificat settings.

[127] Texts for Matins were divided into three Nocturns, one of which was recited on Sundays, Mondays and Thursdays, one on Tuesdays and Fridays, and one on Wednesdays and Saturdays. In theory then, a text included in one of the three Nocturns would only be recited two or three times a week.

"Other," Unidentified, and Occasional Texts

While the majority of texts can be found in standard liturgical books or Books of Hours, a handful of the motets in Attaingnant's Series set texts found in other kinds of sources, and a few may have been written specifically as motet texts. A total of eleven motets set texts that were not found in standard liturgical books, Books of Hours, or the Bible, and have no references to specific persons or events; four of these were printed or copied into literary books as secular or religious poems, and a fifth was part of a specialised liturgy. They are listed in Table 7.4 below.

Table 7.4: "Other Books" and Unidentified Motet Texts

Motet	Title (Composer)	Text Source
2.07	Christe totius dominator (Richafort)	Latin poem by Juraj Šižgorić (1420 - 1509).
4.23	Virgo salutiferi (Josquin)	Latin poem *Ad gloriosam virginem* written by Ercole Strozzi (1473-1508).[128]
13.03	Virgo salutiferi (Jodon)	
8.05	Cum rides michi basium negasti (Lhéritier)	Latin poem *Ad Batillam* by Giovanni Giovanno Pontano (1426-1503).[129]
14.04	Ave stella matutina mundi princeps et regina (Manchicourt)	Carmelite Antiphon, attributed to St. Simon Stock (13th Century).[130]
1.14	Salve mater salvatoris mater ([Gascongne])	Unidentified.
1.18	Salve Barbara dignissima (Verdelot)	Unidentified.
3.21	Ave Maria gemma virginum (Mouton)	Unidentified.
8.16	Cede fragor strepitusque omnis ([anon])	Unidentified.
8.18	Sancta Maria regina celorum (Willaert)	Unidentified.
11.03	Vide domine afllictionem (La Fage)	Unidentified.

Five texts in the Series were not found in any kind of source.[131] Two of these

texts, the anonymous *Salve mater salvatoris* (1.14), and Willaert's *Sancta Maria regina*

(8.18) are Marian texts which, while not found in either liturgical books or Books of

Hours, have commonalities with other Marian texts.[132] *Salve Barbara dignissima* (1.18)

is a text in praise of St. Barbara. I did not find it in any of the accessory texts for St.

Barbara in Books of Hours that I consulted, or in liturgical books in relation to St.

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[128] NJE, 25: 188. The poem was printed in *Strozzi Poetae pater et filius* by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1513. Both motets set the same text, which differs from the published poem. Either both composers used an alternate version of the text, or, more probably, Jodon used Josquin's reading for his own motet. There is no musical congruence between the two settings and Jodon's is a less complex four-voice settings, whereas Josquin's five-voice settings is more intricate and includes a foreign *cantus firmus* on the Antiphon *Ave Maria*.

[129] PontanoBaiae, 46. This is an edition of the complete book *Baiae*, with translations by Rodney Dennis. The text is a poem that first appeared in a posthumous print in 1502 and was subsequently set to music by several composers, including Orlando di Lasso

[130] This Antiphon is distinct from the Antiphon of the same title that one finds in standard liturgical books. Since this text was not found in standard liturgical sources (beyond the first few lines), it falls into the "other books" category.

[131] Motet 1.18 *Salve Barbara dignissima* has some overlap with a pre-existing text.

[132] Motet 8.18 has a *cantus firmus* that sets a text found in three kinds of sources, as does motet 8.16.

Barbara's feast, but I did find that the motet text has some overlap with the Antiphon "Gaude virgo mater Christi," and may be an original text built around the well-known Marian text.[133] I have not been able to identify the source for the text of the two remaining motets, *Cede fragor* (8.16), and *Vide domine* (11.03) in any degree of completeness. The text of the motet *Christus totius* (2.07) by Richafort is identified here (for the first time) as a pre-existing text.[134] It was written by Juraj Šižgorić, a Croatian poet of great importance in fifteenth-century Šibenik humanist society.[135] Counted among the most famous Croatian poets, his poem appeared in his book *Georgii Sisgorei Elegiarum et carminum libri tres,* printed in Venice in 1477.[136] *Carmen ad Christum* is a sacred poem or song and was set word for word by Richafort.[137] This is the only setting of this text that I have identified, and the motet itself appeared first in Attaingnant's Series and was eventually reprinted by Le Roy & Ballard in a single-composer print of Richafort's motets in 1556.[138]

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[133] This Antiphon is also known as the Hymn to the Five Joys of Mary, found in *Analecta Hymnica* (AH, 31: 176).

[134] Brobeck identifies it as a hymn for the Blessed Virgin Mary, but does not provide a reference for this identification, nor have I found it (or parts of it) as such in any of the sources that I consulted.

[135] KardicCroatianRen. On Šižgorić, see (in Croatian) Marin Franičević, *Izabrana djela: Povijest hrvatske renesansne književnosti* (Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1986) 361-366. Few works in English give more than a passing reference to this author, although the series *World and Its People* has a volume that focuses on the Western Balkans and includes a passage on Šižgorić (WorldBalkans, 1654).

[136] SizgoricLibri3. This is an electronic version of the complete volume, published by Neven Jovanović. Šižgorić's book was the first printed book by a Croatian author.
<http://mudrac.ffzg.hr/~njovanov/sizgoric/0805sisgor.xml>, number 3.4 "Carmen ad Christus."

[137] One important difference is the first word: "Christe" in Richafort's motet, "Christus" in Šižgorić's poem.

[138] RISM 1556: *Modulorum quatuor quinque & sex vocum, liber primus*.

Eight of the motets in the Series contain references to specific events or to members of the French nobility.[139] These are listed in Table 7.5 below, along with the individual or event to which they refer.

Table 7.5: Occasional Motets in Attaingnant's Series

Motet Number	Title (composer)	Person or Event
1.13	Caro mea vere (Gascongne)	France (peace)
2.08	Christus vincit Christus regnat (Gascongne)	François I (Coronation)
8.20	Anthoni pater (Lasson)	Antoine, Duke of Lorraine[140]
11.05	Non nobis domine (Gascongne [Mouton])	François I (Coronation)[141]
11.12	Quousque non reverteris (Sermisy)	François I
11.15	Deus regnorum et christianissimi (Gascongne)	François I
11.18	Gaude francorum regia corona (Févin)	French King
11.26	Bone Jesu dulcissime (Gascongne)	King

Only five of these motets (1.13, 2.08, 8.20, 11.05, and 11.15) contain passages or sections of texts that can be found in one of our three main kinds of sources, but they were customised for these settings. The remaining three occasional motets (11.12, 11.18, and 11.26) appear to be completely original texts. The inclusion of these occasional texts suggests some kind of link to the French royal court. Most of the motets make reference to events that occurred decades before Attaingnant printed his Series, and they stand out against the overall character of the texts in the Series. We might speculate that they were

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[139] The reader will note that five of these occasional motets that refer to the French crown or nobility are found in Book 11. The subject of this book (and all others in the Series) is discussed in the previous chapter in relation to Attaingnant's use of rubrics and organisational approaches. For a more detailed discussion of some of these motets, see DunningStaat, BrobeckDiss, and BrobeckPatronage.

[140] Interestingly, Attaingnant assigned it the rubric "De sancto Anthonio," making the piece more generally useable.

[141] Originally by attributed to Mouton by Petrucci (in *Motetti de la Corona* where it referred to the daughter of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne), however, Attaingnant attributes the motet to Gascongne. Attaingnant attributed a total of five of these occasional motets to Gascongne. For a discussion of this motet, see GehrenbeckDiss, 1060-1065.

included because of their texts: that Attaingnant was making a gesture towards the crown, or perhaps on behalf of the crown, by including these motets for wide distribution.

Simple Settings

Attaingnant's Series represents a variety of styles and composers from different periods and regions,[142] but we saw in our discussion of the subgenres of the motets that they also represent different levels of difficulty.[143] Most of the motets in the Series are for four voices and in two *partes*, and are characterised by imitative polyphony. A few are "tour de force" pieces, like Gombert's setting of *Regina celi* (12.08), or the two 8 on 4 canon motets by Mouton (3.06 and 3.21).[144] A handful of pieces, however, are very simple settings of common and simple texts, which stand out against the overall style of the Series. They are homorhythmic settings or simple 4 on 1 canons. These eight motets are listed in Table 7.6 below.

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[142] Brobeck came to this conclusion through his survey of the motets of the more well-known composers of the Series (BrobeckDiss).

[143] For example, the Magnificat by Hesdin (5.08) is much more complex than that by Sermisy (5.13).

[144] Thirty-four motets in the Series use canons; of those, twenty-eight have a canon in two voices (read off of one voice) and three are 4 on 1 or 4 on 2 canons. The remaining three motets are the two 8 on 4 canons by Mouton, and one 6 on 3 canon by Verdelot. In all instances, Attaingnant prominently indicates that these motets contain canons, either in the *tabula*, at the head of the motet itself, or in both locations. In many instances, Attaingnant printed instructions for singers, writing out the pitch interval (*In subdiapenthe,* etc.) and using *signa* to indicate when the second singer should join in.

Table 7.6: Simple Settings in Attaingnant's Series

Motet Title	Composer	Motet Number
Bone Jesu dulcissime	Gascongne	11.26
Da pacem	Sermisy	7.21
Ave Maria	Sermisy	3.05
Dignare me	Verdelot	3.04
Dignare me	Maitre Gosse	7.23
Sancta Maria	Maitre Gosse	7.24
Salve mater pietatis	[Hesdin]	3.19
Pater noster	Mornable	7.22
Sancta Maria	[Sermisy]	13.18

These simple settings all set very short and simple texts and may very well have served didactic functions.[145] I would suggest that all of these simple settings would have been practical for the teaching of polyphony to beginners and novice singers, with the slightly more complex settings at the end of Book 7 (by Sermisy, Maistre Gosse and Mornable) perhaps functioning as stepping stones between the basic settings like *Bone Jesu dulcissime* and the canon motets, and the wealth of four-voice motets provided in the rest of the Series. In providing these simple settings Attaingnant was varying the complexity of his collection, appealing to professional choirs and amateur groups and private consumers at the same time.

THE TEXTS OF ATTAINGNANT'S SERIES
  IN THE CONTEXT OF THE EARLY PRINTED MOTET SERIES

The presence of settings of Responsory and Psalm texts in Attaingnant's Series highlights some of the differences between the Series and some of the earlier printed motet series. In two important ways, however, the texts in Attaingnant's Series were

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[145] Kate Van Orden suggested such a function for canonic settings of short prayers, including the *Sancta Maria mater dei, Pater noster,* and *Ave Maria,* drawing a parallel between didactic prayers placed at the end of primers and canon settings inserted at the end of printed polyphonic books (VanOrdenSing, 238-239). She refers directly to Attaingnant's placement of the different "Sancta Maria mater dei" settings.

related to the texts found in the series of Petrucci, Antico, and Moderne: a high number of Marian texts, and the inclusion of multiple settings of the same text.

Marian Texts

At a glance, the Marian tone of the Series is evident, with one book (Book 12) which advertises in its title that the contents are exclusively settings of Marian texts, and the titles of the motets themselves advertised on each title page.[146] From our tabulation of the text sources for each motet, we learn that a total of 75 motets are specifically about Mary.[147] Appendix A2 lists all Marian motets, ordered alphabetically. Figure 7.5 below represents the proportions of Marian texts per book.[148]

Figure 7.5: Percentage of Marian Texts per Book in Attaingnant's Series

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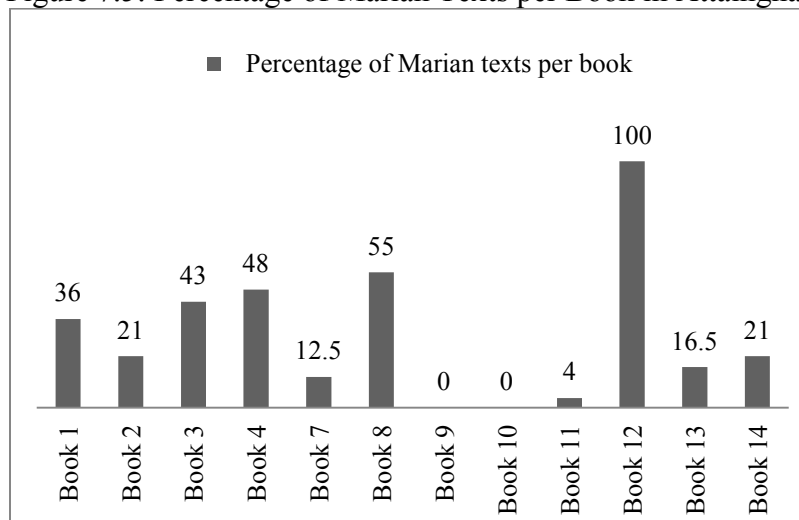
[146] We saw in Chapter 6 that the most frequently used rubrics are Marian and that motets with texts on Marian subjects are the most common of the Series.

[147] This does not include the Magnificat settings or texts for the Nativity of Christ, since the latter focus more on the birth of Christ than on Mary herself. Even though many of these texts do also appear in liturgical books under feasts for Mary, they are more frequently associated with feasts for Christ.

[148] The values in the table were rounded up or down to the closest half (i.e. 42.89 was rounded up to 43%).

Interestingly, the only "free" books in the second half of the Series, Books 11 and 13,

have a very small percentage of Marian motets.[149] The fact that Book 11 seems to be an

undeclared book of prayers to God accounts for the absence of Marian motets there, and

the absence of a significant number of Marian texted motets in Book 13 may be a

reflection of changing tastes.[150]

We saw in Chapter 3 that Petrucci's Venetian motet series contains a large

proportion of Marian motets,[151] so much so that Drake characterised the first book,

Motetti A, as a veritable "collection of Marian motets."[152] We also saw that the number of

Marian texts dropped off significantly in Petrucci's second series, and remained relatively

stable in the series of Antico and Moderne. For twenty years then, Marian texts figured

much less prominently in printed books of motets. This trend continued with

Attaingnant's Series. Figure 7.6 provides a graphic representation of the *percentage* of

motets with Marian texts in each of the five motets series.

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[149] The drop in number of Marian texts in uniform anthologies parallels the lower percentage of Marian texts in Petrucci's Motetti B, also a uniform anthology of sorts.

[150] As we noted in Chapter 5, most of the motets in Book 13 are by contemporary composers, or virtually unknown composers. The correlation between the increase in number of contemporary composers and decrease in Marian motets might indicate a move towards other subjects on the part of French (Parisian?) composers in the 1520s and 1530s. The fact that more than one fifth of the motets in Book 14 refer to Mary must be due *at least* in part to Manchicourt himself, who stated in his dedication that he chose to give these motets to Attaingnant. As was noted in Chapter 5, Manchicourt had no direct ties to Paris, and we might see the higher number of Marian texts in his book as a result of his different location. Note also that Manchicourt's Book 13 motet is about the Holy Sacrament.

[151] The Marian motets in Petrucci's Venetian series are discussed in detail in HatterThesis.

[152] DrakeDiss, 83.

Figure 7.6: Percentage of Marian Motets in the Series of Petrucci, Antico, Moderne, and Attaingnant
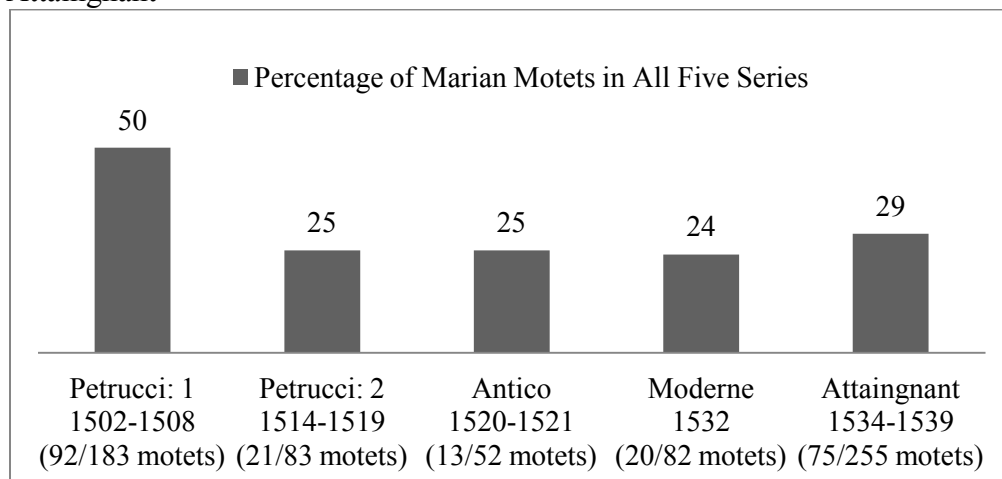
There is a slight increase in Marian texts in Attaingnant's Series from what we saw in the books of Antico and Moderne, but it is clear that the printed motet series from 1514-1532 featured much more diversity of subjects than Petrucci's Venetian series, and that Attaingnant echoed that trend in his own series. That Attaingnant included so many Marian texts was a result of what repertoire was available to him of course, but the prominence of the placement of the Marian motets in his Series seems to have sprung from a conscious desire to promote these texts, despite the apparent decline in the production of Marian motets at the time.[153] Their prominent place in the Series would have caught the eye of the many practitioners of Marian devotions who passed through the printer's shop, and of those who were in search of new Marian motets.

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[153] Not only did Attaingnant devote a complete book to these texts, but he also drew attention to the subjects of the motets inside the books with the rubric "De beata Maria." Attaingnant's attention to the subject of his motets is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

Another interesting feature of the Marian motets is the number of *textual*

concordances between Attaingnant's Series and those of his predecessors. In fact, the

overall number of textual concordances is significantly high, a trait that was also evident

among the first four printed motet series of the sixteenth century.[154] Table 7.7 below lists

texts that appear both in Attaingnant's Series and those of Petrucci, Antico, or Moderne.

Table 7.7: Texts in Attaingnant's Series That Also Appeared in the Series of Petrucci, Antico, or Moderne (items with an asterisk (*) are texts in the "core repertory of texts;" items in bold are texts which appear in the prints of all four printers)

Title	Attaingnant Number	Number of Settings in Attaingnant	Concordance of Text with Petrucci, Antico, or Moderne[155]
Alma redemptoris*	**1.06; 3.13**	**2**	**P, PC, M**
Aspice domine quia facta*	2.20	1	P, M
Ave domina mea*	4.04	1	P, A
Ave Maria gratia plena	4.25	1	M
Ave sanctissima Maria*	1.19; 2.24; 3.20	3	P, M
Ave stella matutina*	14.04	1	P, A
Beata dei genitrix*	13.09	1	P, PC
Benedic anima mea	9.14	1	PC
Benedicta es celorum	2.14	1	PC
Christum regem	4.13	1	PC
Clare sanctorum senatus	1.0; 14.02	2	PC
Cognoscimus domine	4.21	1	A
Contremuerunt omnia	4.14	1	PC
Da pacem domine	7.21	1	P
Descendi in ortum*	8.17	1	P, PC
Dignare me laudare	3.04; 7.23	2	M
Gabriel archangelus	1.12	1	M
Gaude francorum	11.18	1	PC
Gloria laus	1.04; 10.12	2	P
Hi sancti quorum	3.07	1	M

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[154] This was discussed in Chapter 3.
[155] P=Petrucci's Venetian series; PC= Petrucci's *Corona* series; A=Antico; M=Moderne.

Table 7.7 (cont.): Texts in Attaingnant's Series That Also Appeared in the Series of Petrucci, Antico, or Moderne

Title	Attaingnant Number	Number of Settings in Attaingnant	Concordance of Text with Petrucci, Antico, or Moderne[156]
Homo quidam fecit*	1.25	1	P, PC
In convertendo	9.05	1	M
In domine confido	9.10	1	M
In te domine speravi	9.07	1	M
Inviolata integra*	**4.27**	**1**	**P, PC, A, M**
Jerusalem luge	8.13	1	M
Letatus sum in his	9.03	1	PC
Laudate dominum*	9.04;14.01	2	PC, A
Maria virgo semper letare	1.10	1	P, PC
Miseremini mei*	1.22	1	PC, A
Nigra sum	8.01	1	M
Nisi dominus edificaverit	9.18	1	M
Noe psallite	2.12	1	PC
Non nobis domine	11.05	1	PC
Pater noster*	2.01; 3.14; 7.22	3	A, M
Peccantem me quotidie	3.11; 14.07	2	M
Postquam consumati sunt	1.23	1	PC
Proba me Domine	14.14	1	M
Qui confidunt in domino	9.16	1	M
Recordare domine	4.11; 11.08	2	M
Regina celi	12.04-12.11; 14.02	9	P
Rex autem David	11.23	1	A
Salvator mundi salva nos	13.14	1	A
Salve regina*	**12.03; 12.12 - 12.17**	**7**	**P, A, M**
Sancta Maria sucurre	2.06	1	A
Si bona suscepimus*	11.10	1	P, M
Sufficiebat nobis	4.23	1	PC
Super flumina Babilonis	3.09	1	M
Surge propera	4.26	1	P
Tanto tempore	4.19	1	M
Tempus meum	13.02	1	PC
Veni in ortum	4.18	1	M
Verbum bonum*	8.08	1	PC, A

[156] P=Petrucci's Venetian series; PC= Petrucci's *Corona* series; A=Antico; M=Moderne.

Table 7.7 (cont.): Texts in Attaingnant's Series That Also Appeared in the Series of Petrucci, Antico, or Moderne

Title	Attaingnant Number	Number of Settings in Attaingnant	Concordance of Text with Petrucci, Antico or Moderne[157]
Vide domine afllictionem	11.03	1	A
Virgo prudentissima*	3.10	1	P, M
Virgo salutiferi	4.24; 13.03	2	PC

Fifty-six of the two hundred and thirteen individual texts (ca. 26%) which Attaingnant included in his Series also appeared in one or more motet series before 1534, a fact that speaks to the popularity of these texts, for composers at least, but also for those who were purchasing the prints.[158] Table 7.7 above also outlines what we might call a "core repertory of texts" between Attaingnant's Series and those of his predecessors. There are seventeen texts that fall into this group (indicated in Table 7.7 by an asterisk (*) after the title). Among these seventeen texts are three texts that appeared once in the printed series of all four printers: *Alma redemptoris*, *Inviolata integra*, and *Salve regina*. All three are Marian texts, and moreover, all three are texts that are prominently featured in the core texts of the Book of Hours, which likely explains their presence in books by all four printers.[159]

Considering the large number of texts that appear in all five series, seventeen texts may not seem very significant. However, the fact that these seventeen texts appeared in printed motet series at least three times over the course of thirty years is important.

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[157] P=Petrucci's Venetian series; PC= Petrucci's *Corona* series; A=Antico; M=Moderne.

[158] Many more motets have titles similar to those in the earlier series, but are not actually the same texts.

[159] *Alma redemptoris* and *Salve regina* are also found in liturgical books. These two are also Great Marian Antiphons.

Printers were concerned with offering their markets something new.[160] Yet Petrucci, Antico, Moderne, and Attaingnant all included texts that had appeared in the earlier series, or in Petrucci's case, in earlier books of his series. We can conclude from all this, and the fact that many motets have similar titles, if not the same texts,[161] that texts played an important part in the marketing of motet prints, and that there was a small number of texts that formed a "core repertory" between the first five printed motet series of the sixteenth century.

Multiple Text Settings in Attaingnant's Series

The idea of a "core repertory of texts" can also be seen in the works of a single printer, as we saw in Chapter 3.[162] Twenty-six of the 213 different texts featured in Attaingnant's Series (ca. 12%), appear in more than one setting and may be seen as the most popular texts. Almost all of the texts that appear more than once do so in separate books.[163] Table 7.8 below lists the texts that appear more than once in Attaingnant's Series.[164]

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[160] As we saw in Chapter 3, Moderne did not reprint any motets and Petrucci reprinted a single motet in his *Corona* series.

[161] One case in point is the groupe of motets that appear under the title "Ave Maria gratia plena," which often have different texts after the first few words. See Chapter 3.

[162] Chapter 3 discussed the multiple settings of texts within a single book or in the series of Petrucci, Antico, and Moderne.

[163] All seven exceptions occur in books devoted to a specific theme: the three Great Marian Antiphons that appear in multiple settings are all collected within Book 12, except for one setting of *Ave regina celorum* that Attaingnant printed in Book 2; and the twenty-six settings of the Magnificat all appear in Books 5 and 6. The other texts appear twice in one book: *In pace* and *Ne proiicias nos* are both found in Book 10, which contains multiple settings of related texts (Lessons, Passions, etc.) for the season of Holy Week and Easter.

[164] I accepted some differences between texts and accepted texts that have the same first part but different second parts (this is noted in the table).

Table 7.8: Multiple Settings of the Same Text in Attaingnant's Series (items in bold indicate settings in the same book, an asterisk (*) after the title indicates a motet text that had not been printed before 1534)

Text Title	Number of Motets in Number of Text Versions[165]	Attaingnant Motet Number
Magnificat	26 / 1	**5.01-5.13, 6.01-6.13**
Regina celi	9 / 1	**12.04-12.11;** 14.02
Salve regina	7 / 1	**12.03, 12.12-12.17**
Ave Maria gratia plena	4 / 2	2.09, 3.05, 8.02
		4.25 (not the same)
Congratulamini mihi*	4 / 2	2.05 (different secunda pars), 3.12, 14.03
		7.06 (not the same)
Ave regina celorum	3 / 1	2.18, **12.01, 12.02**
Ave sanctissima Maria	3 / 1	1.19, 2.24, 3.20
Ave virgo gloriosa stella*	3 / 1	1.17, 3.03, 14.08
Pater noster	3 / 1	2.01, 3.14, 7.22
Sancta Maria mater dei*	3 / 2	7.24, 13.18
		4.29 (not the same)
Alma redemptoris	2 / 1	1.06, 3.13
Caro mea vere*	2 / 1	1.13, 13.12
Clare sanctorum senatus	2 / 1	1.01, 4.02
Dignare me laudare te	2 / 1	3.04, 7.23
Exsurge quare obdormis*	2 / 1	8.12, 11.04
Gloria laus	2 / 1	1.04, 10.12
Hac clara die*	2 / 1	1.05, 8.03
In pace	2 / 1	**10.07, 10.08**
Laudate dominum omnes	2 / 1	9.04, 14.01
Laudem dicite*	2 / 1	7.08, 14.06 (prima pars only)
Ne proiicias nos*	2 / 1	**10.09, 10.10**
Ne reminiscaris*	2 / 1	11.17, 14.13
Nesciens mater*	2 / 1	3.06, 4.09
Peccantem me	2 / 1	3.11, 14.07
Recordare domine	2 / 1	4.11, 11.08
Virgo salutiferi	2 / 1	4.24, 13.03

Of the twenty-six texts that were set in multiple versions in Attaingnant's Series,

ten had not previously been printed before 1534 (indicated by * in Table 7.8). Most of the

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[165] Several texts feature the same title but different texts. For example, there are four motets titled "Ave Maria gratia plena" in the Series, but there are two different versions of that text: 4 motets / 2 versions.

duplicates occur at random, usually several books apart from each other, as though Attaingnant was conscious of the fact that he was in a sense repeating himself, and wanted to minimise the effect as much as possible.[166] The texts that were set most frequently in Attaingnant's Series were Marian, such as the four Great Marian Antiphons, all set more than once.[167]

Looking at the number of texts set in multiple settings within the context of the printed motet series before 1539, we see that Attaingnant's Series has more parallels with Petrucci's Venetian series and Moderne's series than with Petrucci's *Corona* series or Antico's series. Figure 7.7 below represents the proportion and number of texts that appear in more than one setting in each of the five series (i.e. 11% of the texts, or 17 of 159 text in Petrucci's Venetian series are set more than once in that series), showing a clear parallel between Petrucci's earliest series, Moderne's series, and Attaingnant's Series.

Figure 7.7: Proportion of Multiple Settings of the Same Text in all Five Series

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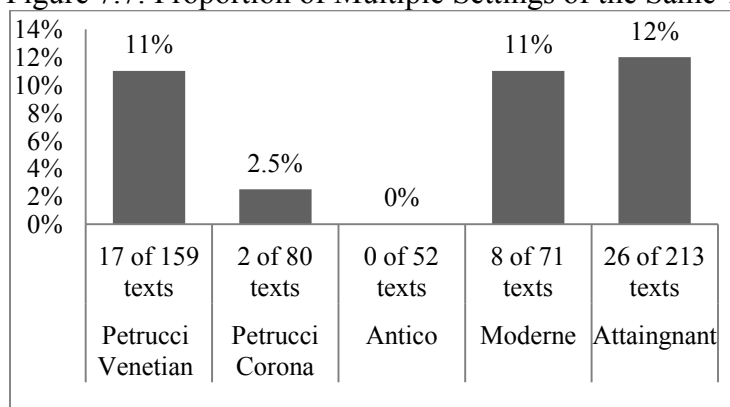
[166] This is in contrast to the approach we saw in the prints of Petrucci and Moderne, who sometimes feature three settings of the same piece in the same book. On one occasion, apart from the deliberate groupings seen in Books 5, 6, 10, and 12, Attaingnant positioned a duplicate text at the end of three books. The simple Marian prayer *Sancta Maria mater dei* appears at the end of Books 4, 7, and 13. This adds another level of organisation to the Series, a standard way of concluding books and of linking the books of the Series together.

[167] We also find the perennial favourites *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Dignare me*, and *Sancta Maria mater dei*.

We may surmise that the inclusion of multiple settings of the same texts was a calculated move on Attaingnant's part, and that he featured more than one setting of a text as a deliberate marketing ploy by which he could offer a book of Marian Antiphons, or multiple settings of texts sung during Holy Week; a means of capitalising on texts with proven currency in the established motet market, but also providing his clientele with new motets

CONCLUSIONS

Attaingnant's Motet Series features motets that set texts found in four kinds of sources (liturgical books, Books of Hours, the Bible, and other books), but with a significant proportion of all texts (46% of the entire series) appearing in both liturgical books *and* Books of Hours, a fact that underscores the high degree of overlap between texts in liturgical books and Books of Hours chosen by composers in the early sixteenth century.[168]

Several distinct groups of motets came to the surface through our analysis of the texts. We saw that the Series contains a high number of Marian motets, and that the proportion of Marian texts was nearly equal to that in three of the earlier printed motet series, with an entire book devoted exclusively to Marian texts, but with the greatest emphasis localised primarily in the first half of the Series. Great Marian Antiphon settings, Magnificat settings and settings of Psalm texts also emerged as special subgenres of the motet. Attaingnant's placement of these three subgenres within their

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[168] This total is not limited to single item texts (such as a single Antiphon, or a single prayer) but includes composite texts (such as two Antiphons, or one prayer and a Responsory).

own books emphasises the distinct place of these settings among the larger genre of the motet printed in the Series. The analysis also showed that the Sequence, a favoured genre of the Josquin generation, was only marginally represented, and that a large number of motets set the texts of Responsories, a genre that was only marginally represented in motet prints before the 1530s.

I found a small collection of occasional motets and secular Latin texts, the former creating an additional tie between the Series and the French nobility. I also found that the Series contains a small offering of simple settings, motets that could have been used to teach children or amateurs how to sing, and which, because of the familiarity and simplicity of their texts, would no doubt have been appealing to anyone wanting to sing their favorite prayers.

Looking at the Series within the context of early sixteenth-century motet series printing, we found that Attaingnant's Series contains multiple text settings in numbers comparable to what we saw in the series of Petrucci and Moderne in Chapter 3, and that among the five motet series printed before 1539, there existed a "core repertory of texts" that each printer included in his series, possibly because of the proven popularity of the texts.

The different texts of the Series point to a multi-use function and an "all inclusive" approach to motet printing, designed to appeal to many different kinds of buyers. We saw at the start of the chapter that Attaingnant inherited his shop and presses from a prolific printer and seller of Books of Hours, and that the shop in the Rue de la Harpe had never sold only one kind of book; Book of Hours had been sold alongside secular texts, while books of polyphony were surrounded by liturgical books and Books

of Hours. The clientele walking in and out of Attaingnant's shop would therefore have come for different types of books, and each would have seen on the title pages of the Motet Series texts with which they were familiar and used to purchasing; all collected within a single, all-encompassing series. The following chapter looks at the function of the Series and the motets it contains in light of what we learned about the texts of the motets, and the information that Attaingnant provided on the pages of his Series.

CHAPTER 8

ATTAINGNANT'S MOTET SERIES AND
THE FUNCTION OF THE MOTET

Questions about the nature and function of the motet in the sixteenth century (in or outside of the liturgy) have occupied modern scholars for several decades. Part of the uncertainty stems from the origins of the motet, and the definition of the motet as a genre. Motets were originally works derived from liturgical polyphony (Notre Dame *organum*) but were not necessarily part of the liturgy, despite the fact that the tenors were found in the liturgy. Also, the classification of pieces as motets is not always clear-cut, resulting in part from the fact that the genre changed over time.[1] We saw in Chapter 2 that Tinctoris's definition of a motet was very general and that according to him, a motet was a polyphonic piece of moderate length setting a (typically) sacred text, a definition that can include any number of works that are very different. Printing initially made the situation clearer because printers labelled the genre on the title pages (a new feature of prints). However, starting in the 1530s, printers used changing vocabulary to identify the content of motet prints, from "motetus" to "modulus" or "cantio," once again presenting difficulties in the classification of motets. As we shall see, Attaingnant's Series can provide valuable insight into these issues and the function of the motet in sixteenth-century France.

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[1] For example, the fourteenth-century motet is very different from the later fifteenth-century motet. For an in-depth study of the transformation of the motet in the fifteenth century, see CummingMot.

Four principal theories about the function of the motet have been proposed, whereby the motet served either 1) a liturgical function, 2) a paraliturgical function, 3) a devotional function, or 4) could serve any of these functions and others as well.

Liturgical Function

One theory proposed that motets with liturgical texts served a prescribed liturgical function, meaning that the motets substituted for the chants whose texts they set, and were, therefore, sung as a part of the liturgy. This view was presented by Jacqueline Mattfeld in her 1961 article "Some Relationships Between Texts and Cantus Firmi in the Liturgical Motets of Josquin des Pres."[2] Defining a liturgical motet as a piece that set "the texts prescribed in the offices of the Mass, the seven canonical hours, and in the numerous votive offices included in the official books of the church,"[3] Mattfeld investigated Josquin's motet repertoire and found that the majority of texts set by Josquin appeared in liturgical books, among which she included Books of Hours. However, her classification of a Book of Hours as a liturgical book is highly problematic as the books were used privately in a devotional context. Although some individuals may have brought their own books to services (for those parts that call for silent prayer), the Book of Hours did not function as a liturgical book the way a Breviary, Antiphonal, or Missal functioned.

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[2] MattMot.
[3] MattMot, 159.

Mattfeld's study led her to conclude "that all of Josquin's sacred motets were intended for performance in ritual or votive services held in the royal chapels or collegiate churches."[4] Concerning the use of chant in motets, Mattfeld did not consider the inclusion of chant melody in the setting as necessary for its performance in the liturgy, though she found that when a text had a defined melody associated with it, Josquin usually incorporated the chant into his setting.[5] Several years later, Willem Elders examined the use of plainchant in the motets of Josquin as a means of determining liturgical function.[6] This liturgical function was adopted by many scholars in the following years and remains in use, including in the definition of the term motet offered in the online version of *The Oxford Companion to Music*.[7] More recently, John Brobeck adopted this view in his discussion of the Attaingnant Motet Series (discussed in detail below).

Paraliturgical Function

A second theory on the function of the motet assigns a paraliturgical function to the genre. It challenged the widely accepted view of the motet as liturgical, proposing instead that motets were sung as adornments to the liturgy, or at ceremonial or social functions, not as part of the prescribed liturgy of the day. Anthony Cummings was among the first scholars to suggest this new interpretation in his 1981 article "Towards an

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[4] MattMot, 177.

[5] MattMot, 178-179. Mattfeld found that in the case of texts that had clear melodies (like Antiphons) Josquin uses the chant in his setting, but in settings of texts with more generic chants (like Psalm tones or gospel tones), Josquin does not use the pre-existing chant as *cantus firmus* material.

[6] EldersPlainchant. Mattfeld also produced an article on the lack of Ambrosian chant in Josquin settings (MattfeldChant).

[7] OxfordComp. This is published online as part of *Oxford Music Online*. Oliver Strunk discussed Palestrina's motets in terms of their liturgical function in 1939 (see StrunkMotetTypes).

Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet."[8] His findings were based on a study of

the music manuscripts from central Italy and the *Diarii sistini*, records from the Sistine

Chapel from 1534-1616. Cummings discovered that the records indicated the use of

motets in non-liturgical contexts, and only a very limited use within the liturgy, within

the Mass at the Offertory, at the Elevation of the Host, and at Communion.[9] This led him

to conclude that motets were probably not sung "during those parts of the liturgy to which

their texts belong."[10] Cummings also noted that there was a distinction between the type

of polyphony prescribed for the liturgy in Florentine manuscripts (such as Vespers

Psalms, Holy Week Responsories, Lamentations of Jeremiah, Magnificats and the Te

Deum) and the motets.[11] Cummings drew on the organisation of the manuscripts of the

Duomo of Florence to show that the two types of polyphony were considered as distinct,

and were preserved in separate sources, or at least in separate sections of a manuscript.[12]

In terms of style, Cummings wrote that in the type of piece prescribed for the liturgy the

"normal complexities of contrapuntal writing are systematically avoided. Imitation,

independent rhythms, and other polyphonic devices are absent, and the works are

characterized by full harmonies and straightforward syllabic declamation."[13] He also

found that the stylistic differences were a result of patronage, that the liturgical

polyphony was composed to meet the liturgical demands of institutions like the Duomo

of Florence, and that the more elaborate genre, the "motet proper," was composed for

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[8] CummingsAMot.
[9] CummingsAMot, 45.
[10] CummingsAMot, 53.
[11] CummingsAMot, 54-56.
[12] CummingsAMot, 57.
[13] CummingsAMot, 57.

private patrons, such as court and Papal chapels.[14] All of this led Cummings to conclude that

> Although the motet in the sixteenth century conventionally employed liturgical texts or combinations of them, its essential character was conditioned as much by extra-liturgical considerations. The genre was marked by a freedom of musical style and function that generally did not characterize more obviously liturgical works. The freedom in choice of text, the sometimes marginal relevance of texts to the liturgical provisions of the feasts that occasioned their performance, the ad libitum nature of performance in general, and the use of complex polyphonic procedures inappropriate to some liturgical contexts, are features requiring that the motet in the sixteenth century be defined as a para-liturgical compositional type.[15]

Cummings's theory was supported by Jeremy Noble several years later at the 1984 Josquin Symposium in Cologne, where Noble examined the function of motets by Josquin des Prez.[16] Surveying diary entries and musical sources, Noble concluded that there were three contexts for the performance of polyphony that set a sacred Latin text, other than the Mass. These were 1) the singing of prescribed items such as Hymns, Psalms, and Magnificats at Vespers, and Passions and Lamentations for Holy Week, where polyphony adhered strictly to the chant and the solemnity of the occasion, and served to enhance the chant melodies; 2) the singing of votive Antiphons and Sequences as "extra-liturgical devotional observances," and 3) the singing of motets, which could be inserted at certain points of the Mass (as stated by Cummings) as adornments or

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[14] CummingsAMot, 59.
[15] CummingsAMot, 59.
[16] NobleMot.

commentaries if the texts were relevant, but which were mostly performed independently of the liturgy, in processions or secular contexts.[17]

For Noble, as for Cummings, the motet was distinct in style from the polyphony sung as a prescribed part of the liturgy, and he further refined the distinction by stating that polyphony that presents the chant in the Superius retained the liturgical function of the chant, while the setting of a chant in the Tenor as a *cantus firmus* had only an emblematic meaning, and would, therefore, fall outside the criteria for liturgical use.[18] The paraliturgical function of the motet supplanted the earlier liturgical view and has been widely accepted in current scholarship.[19]

Devotional Function

A third view of the function of the motet gives it a devotional function, whereby it was sung either in a paraliturgical context as an adornment to the liturgy for votive services, special occasions, or as part of endowments, or independently in private or semi-private venues.[20] The view of the devotional function of the motet within a paraliturgical context was advanced by Howard Mayer Brown in his discussion of the first printed motet anthologies published by Petrucci.[21] Looking at the texts of these motets, Brown found that many of them were common in private devotional books, especially

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[17] NobleMot, 14.
[18] NobleMot, 21.
[19] See for example Timothy Dickey's discussion of Vespers music manuscripts (DickeyDiss, and DickeySienna), and more recently, David Crook's paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society in San Francisco (CrookMotet).
[20] BrownMirror, 764.
[21] BrownMirror.

Books of Hours,[22] and more recently, Julie Cumming found a high proportion of texts

from these anthologies in Books of Hours.[23] Given the dominance of devotional texts set

in these motet prints, Brown concluded that they were essentially musical devotional

books, the equivalent of a Book of Hours.[24] Brown noted that many of these devotional

texts were also the same texts used in votive services performed weekly at side chapels.[25]

He drew a link between the sudden growth of motet production at the turn of the

sixteenth century and the growing concern for salvation among the laity, a concern that

led more and more people to adorn their homes and side chapels with sacred artifacts and

art work, and increased the importance of services at side chapels and of votive services,

particularly those in honour of the Virgin.[26] He concluded that the primary occasion for

the singing of the motet in the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century was at the

regular services performed in these side chapels.[27] In her work on the Marian motets in

Petrucci's Venetian series, Jane Hatter suggested that motets would also have been

performed for devotional services in confraternities or *scuole* in Italy.[28]

No Fixed Function

The fourth view of the motet allows for the functions described above but does

not limit the function of the motet to single context. Instead, it gives the motet a

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[22] BrownMirror, 755. Brown found that at least 80 motets in the Petrucci prints refer to the Virgin.
[23] CummingPublics, 99 f11. Close to 40% of the motets in Petrucci's Venetian prints (1502-1508) are found in late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century Books of Hours.
[24] BrownMirror, 764. Warren Drake reached a similar conclusion in his dissertation on the first two books of motets printed by Petrucci, see DrakeDiss.
[25] BrownMirror, 764.
[26] BrownMirror, 765-766.
[27] BrownMirror, 760.
[28] HatterThesis and HatterMarian. On confraternities, see also BlackConfraternities, GlixonDiss, and GlixonConfraternities.

flexibility of function. Julie Cumming proposed this multi-use theory for the motet based

on her extensive research on the motet in the fifteenth century.[29] Having examined all of

the extant sources from before 1500 that contain motets, as well as theoretical writings on

the genre by Tinctoris and Paolo Cortese, she concluded that the motet was indeed used

in a variety of contexts, and functioned "within the liturgy and outside it."[30] She also

accepts the distinction between liturgical polyphony, which has a prescribed function, and

the motet, which has no prescribed function, but many possible uses. In her study of the

first publics for the printed motet, she concluded that the first motet prints were

intimately connected with the Book of Hours.[31] She suggested that these prints would

also have been performed in private homes, as private devotions or entertainment by

amateur singers, and that these private consumers would have constituted a large part of

the market, more so than those institutions where polyphony was sung by professional

choirs, such as churches, court chapels, and cathedrals.[32]

ATTAINGNANT'S MOTET SERIES AND THE FUNCTION OF THE MOTET

In his 1993 article "Some 'Liturgical Motets' For the French Royal Court: A

Reconsideration of Genre in the Sixteenth-Century Motet," John Brobeck argued for a

liturgical function for some of the motets in the Series.[33] He analysed forty-seven motets

from the first thirteen books of Attaingnant's Motet Series and concluded that many of

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[29] CummJMot.
[30] CummJMot, 61. For Cumming's discussion of the treatises by Tinctoris and Cortese, see CummJMot, 42-43.
[31] CummingPublics.
[32] CummingPublics, 108. Based on surviving records and sources, Cumming concluded that these institutions would have formed a smaller segment of the market than has generally been assumed in modern scholarship (See BrownMirror, 745, for example).
[33] BrobeckLit.

these (specifically the Passion and Lamentation settings included in Book 10) were originally composed for liturgical use by the Royal Chapel, based on the *alternatim* structure and the texts of the pieces, which he connected to the liturgy of the French Royal Chapel. He also argued that these "liturgical motets" constituted "virtually all of the extant polyphony for the Offices composed by the musicians in Francis's chapel (with the notable exception of about a score of Magnificat settings)."[34] He concluded that the *alternatim* style of these pieces and the Magnificat and "O" Antiphon settings indicated a liturgical function and that Attaingnant recognised this fact in the titles of his books. Brobeck noted that Attaingnant used different terminology in his titles, including "motetus," "modulus," and "cantio," and that the term "motet" does not appear in the titles of Books 6, 7, and 10, which Brobeck argued contain high amounts of "liturgical motets." He further stated that

> The printer's search on the title pages of his prints for other descriptive terms thus might be taken as evidence that he essentially was ambivalent about the meaning of the term "motet." In light of the terminological consistency of the Italian sources examined by Cummings, the Parisian printer's apparent reluctance to label liturgical works composed for alternatim performance as motets strongly suggests that he recognized that the term could have both a broad and a restrictive definition.[35]

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[34] BrobeckPatronage, 225.
[35] BrobeckLit, 142.

Brobeck saws the ambiguity of terminology as a result of the similarity between the styles of what he terms "liturgical" and "paraliturgical" motets within the Series.[36] Brobeck argued that the fact that the books are numbered together in a series implies a uniformity of genre (like Attaingnant's Mass and Chanson series), but that there was a distinction within the Series between the "liturgical motets" (such as the Magnificats of Books 5 and 6, and the pieces in Books 7 and 10 whose texts have clear liturgical connections and which are in "sectionalized style" ideal for liturgical *alternatim* performance), versus the more contrapuntal, "paraliturgical" motets by non-court composers (i.e. Willaert, Gombert, etc.). He concludes that Attaingnant was uncomfortable using the term "motet" for Books 7 (Advent and Nativity motets) and 10 (motets for Lent and Easter) because they contain "liturgical polyphony." Brobeck also argued that the use of a single term (i.e. "motet"), would have limited the use of the books, particularly in light of the varying liturgical practices that were found from one parish to another, and that not using the term "motet" allowed for more liturgical uses for the pieces.[37] However, Brobeck's theory was based on only a small number of works. What, then, can a study of Attaingnant's complete motet series tell us about the function of the motet? As we shall see, the organisation of the fourteen books, the individual rubrics, Attaingnant's terminology, and the texts of the 281 motets provide important information about the function of the motet, which leads us to a different conclusion than that which Brobeck reached through his more restricted study of the repertoire.

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[36] BrobeckLit, 142.
[37] BrobeckLit, 154. Brobeck also notes that Attaingnant would have been aware that some buyers would use the prints in different ways. I would argue that Attaingnant not only knew this to be true, but sought to provide music for all possible situations.

In contrast to Brobeck, I suggest that the large-scale organisation implies homogeneity of genre, and the rubrics suggest both ties to the liturgy, and more specifically to Books of Hours. Finally, I see Attaingnant's terminology not as a way to distinguish liturgical works from motets, but instead, as a way to describe the broad range of polyphony that the printer included in his definition of the genre of the motet. The evidence gathered from my study of the complete Motet Series points to a flexible and multi-purpose use for the motet in sixteenth-century France.

Organisation of the Series

The organisation of Attaingnant's Motet Series has implications for its function and for the function of the motet. Attaingnant printed all of his books in a remarkably standardised format designed to be visually unified, and also to work together at the structural level (as we saw in the ordering of the partbook gathering signatures) and in terms of contents. The organisation of the Series and the striking visual aspects do not differentiate the contents based on function, but rather imply that all pieces in the Series fit into one category. This is also evident in the numbering of the books. The printer also provided suggestions for uses for the motets in the title rubrics, specifically in Books 7 (Advent and Nativity motets) and Book 10 (Lent and Easter motets). These title rubrics point to an organisational approach more concerned with grouping motets based on the subjects or genres of the texts (Magnificats, Psalms, Great Marian Antiphons, and motets for Advent and Nativity, and Lent and Easter), especially when we consider that not all

motets in books with title rubrics set complete liturgical texts and that some texts are not

from the liturgy at all.

The title page of Book 7 has an additional significance (besides its rubric

describing the contents as pertaining to Advent and the Nativity), which speaks to the

large scope of the Series, Attaingnant's intention that the books in his Series be used

together, and to the function of the motet. On the title page of Book 7, after the rubric

stating the subject of the motets, Attaingnant added this note

> *Et quia O sapientia cetereque huiusmodi antiphone*
> *propriis carent Magnificat tibi opus erit recursu ad*
> *quintum librum motetor[um]. in quo quatuor secundi*
> *toni Magnificat que pro libito tibi canenda erunt*
> *reperies.*
>
> (And since O sapientia and the other antiphons of this
> kind lack their own Magnificat, this book sends you
> back to the fifth book of motets, in which you will
> find four second-tone Magnificats which can be sung
> at your pleasure).

There are two important pieces of information here. Not only are we told that the

"O" Antiphon motets should or could be sung with Magnificats, but, we are referred back

to the fifth book of motets in this series, the book which contains four second-tone

Magnificats appropriate for the singing of the "O" Antiphons. This clearly implies a

degree of cohesion that was completely unprecedented in motet series printing prior to

these books. Attaingnant apparently expected his market to buy the entire series and to

use the different books together. This may have been intended for those who might sing

the Magnificats together with the Antiphons, such as choirs at local churches and

cathedrals (who could use them in the liturgy), but I would argue that in explaining that

one could find the appropriate Magnificats in Book 5, Attaingnant was also catering to the non-professional, to the amateur singer who would use this book for private observances and devotions and who, in contrast to professional institutions, would not have a wealth of Magnificats from which to choose. In other words, he was anticipating a non-liturgical use for the Series and its motets. The fact that the Magnificat and "O" Antiphon texts were common in Books of Hours also points to the possibility of a private, devotional use for these books and their motets.

Individual Rubrics

In our discussion of the rubrics in Chapter 6, we saw that Attaingnant assigned rubrics to 118 individual motets that described the subjects of the texts, and that these rubrics served several different purposes. They served as a guide for performance, telling the singer when he or she *could* sing these motets, and they were useful as a more general reference tool—a means of identifying the subject of the piece without having to read through the Latin text (as we saw with the Book 7 motet *Sospitate dedit*, whose connection to St. Nicolas is not evident in the title). They also identified a particular subgenre of the motet, like the title rubrics of Books 5, 6, 9, and 12.[38] But they also tell us something about the function of the motets. Rubrics like "De sancta Catherina" and "Contra pestem" tell us about the relevance of the motet for personal prayer for specific issues: we can see that these motets had a place in praying to a patron saint or praying against the plague. This suggests a private function for the motets and series, as well as a possible liturgical function for some of the motets.

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[38] The subgenres of the motet in the Series are discussed in Chapter 7.

The rubrics themselves support a non-liturgical use, or rather, allow for multiple uses. Some have ties only with Books of Hours (like those against the plague), and so many are general and descriptive that they fall much more in line with devotional books than liturgical books (this obviously includes the 29 "De beata Maria" rubrics). Additionally, those that one can find in liturgical books are also usually present in devotional books. The following images (Images 8.1 and 8.2) show a liturgical book and a Book of Hours with rubrics for St. Andrew, followed by the rubric as it appears in Attaingnant's prints (Image 8.3). As we can see, the Book of Hours rubric (Images 8.2) is a closer match for the Attaingnant rubric.

Image 8.1: St. Andrew Rubric, Manuscript Breviary (ca. 1201-1300), Rubric: "Andree"
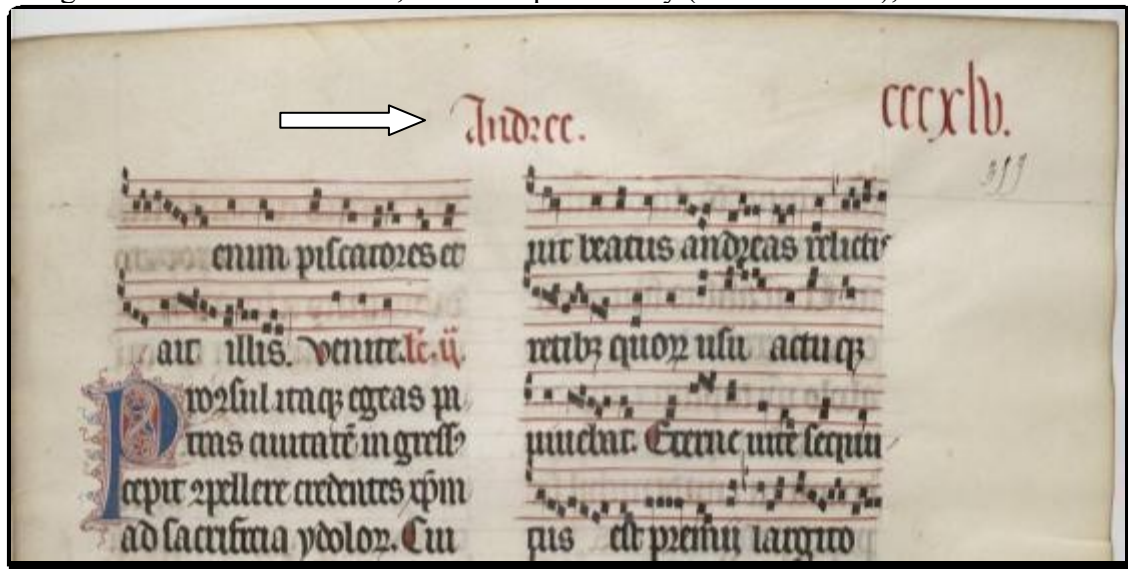
©Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits (Latin 15181), folio 357r
<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447768b/f721.item>

Image 8.2: St. Andrew Rubric, Manuscript-Print Hybrid Book of Hours (ca. 1505), Rubric: "De sancto andrea" (Of St. Andrew)
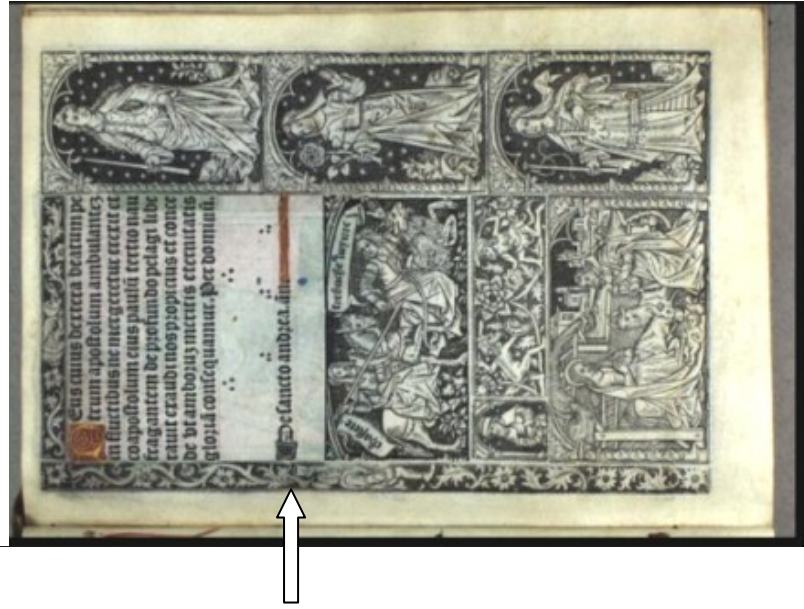
Hore beate virginis Marie ad usum Sarum, Paris: Anthoine Vérard, c. 1505, folio 44-44v ©Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek (CMB Pergament 19 4°) <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/9/eng/44+recto/>

Image 8.3: St. Andrew Rubric in Attaingnant's Series (1534), Rubric: "De sancto andrea"

Book 7, Superius partbook, folio 15r
©Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek (ThULB Jena: 4 Mus.2a(5), Bl.111ʳ)
<http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/hisbest/receive/HisBest_cbu_00019143>
Used with permission. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.

Terminology

The title page of Book 7 gives us another important piece of information, one that pertains to Attaingnant's definition of the term "motet." In the instructions, he refers the reader back to the "quintum librum motetor[um]" ("fifth book of motets"), that is, Book 5 that contains thirteen Magnificat settings. Attaingnant clearly thought of these pieces as motets, in naming them as such here, and in including two books devoted exclusively to this type of setting as part of his numbered motet series. As implied in the instructions of Book 7, Attaingnant's terminology changed a number of times during the course of the Series. He included the term "motetus" for Books 1, 2, 3, and 8, changed to the term "modulus" for Books 4, 7, 11, and 13, and used the phrase "musica cantio" for Book 14.

The inconsistent terminology, which Brobeck saw as evidence of Attaingnant's anxiety about the "liturgical motets," was more likely a reflection of the breadth of the genre, and because Attaingnant himself did not feel the need to employ a single, limiting

term.[39] It may also be a reflection of a move towards a more humanistic attitude,

replacing the medieval term "motetus," derived from the vernacular, with the classical

Latin terms "cantio" and "modulus." That this was a concern for printers in the early

sixteenth century is evident from the titles of other motet prints, such as RISM 1520[4],

whose title *Liber selectarum cantionum quas vulgo mutetas appellant* identifies the

contents as "cantiones, called *motets* in the (French) vernacular." Susato's two prints

from the mid sixteenth century also demonstrate a move towards a less "common"

terminology, as seen in the 1540s print *Sacrarum cantionum* ("sacred songs"),[40] and in

the 1550's series, which calls the motets "ecclesiasticarum cantionum... vulgo moteta

vocant" ("sacred songs commonly called motets" or "songs of the church commonly

called motets").[41] We also see other terms, such as "modulus," as synonyms for

"motetus," as in Parisian printer Du Chemin's 1551 print *Primus liber septem decim*

continet quatuor, & quinque vocum modulos (quae Moteta vulgo dicunter).[42]

Considering what we learned from the rubrics and organisation of the Series, I

believe that Attaingnant used different terms at different times because he was describing

the texts and subjects of the books: there was no need for "motetus" or "modulus" in

Books 5, 6, 9, 10, or 12, because he described the subgenres and subjects of the texts

(Magnificats, Psalms, Passions, Lamentations, Great Marian Antiphons). The fact that

Attaingnant did use the term "modulus" for Book 7, a term that he and other printers used

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[39] BrobeckLit, 154-155. Brobeck also suggests this as a possible explanation for the mixed terminology.
[40] RISM 1546[6], 1546[7], 1547[5], and 1547[6].
[41] RISM 1553[8]-1553[15], 1554[9], 1555[8]-1555[9], 1557[3]-1557[4]. On the *Liber selectarum* see PickerLiber, SchlagelLiber, and DunningStaat.
[42] RISM 1551[1]. Le Roy and Ballard also use the term "modulos" in their motet prints (see RISM 1553[7]) which contain some of the same texts as the motets in Attaingnant's Series.

interchangeably for "motet" in later years (notably in Paris), indicates that, far from

feeling anxiety about limiting the liturgical uses of the motets in his Series, he was in fact

describing in as clear a manner as possible the polyphonic nature of the pieces, despite

their connection to the liturgy. Had Attaingnant truly felt uncomfortable about labeling

the Magnificats or Lamentation settings (called Lessons in Book 10) as motets, which he

does implicitly by including them in the Series, he could have printed them as

independent books, as Petrucci had less than three decades before.[43] Instead, he

deliberately combined all of these pieces into a single series, thereby classifying them all

under a single genre: the motet.[44]

Additionally, the pieces that Brobeck sees as liturgical account for only a fraction

of the motets in the Series (47 motets out of 281, or 16%), and while the composers may

have created them for liturgical occasions, and Attaingnant himself may have thought of

them as primarily liturgical, or at least as appropriate in a liturgical context, that this was

the principal function of the Series as a whole seems unlikely. The inclusion of motets to

individual saints and to Mary in Book 7 suggests a more personalised, devotional

approach, especially when we consider that the texts of some of these "liturgical motets,"

including the "O" Antiphons and Magnificats, are quite common in Books of Hours, and

that some of the Book 7 motet texts survive only in Books of Hours of the time.[45]

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[43] Petrucci printed two books of Lamentations in 1506 and a book of Magnificats in 1507 (now lost).
[44] Attaingnant printed several other series (Masses, chansons, dances), none of which imply that the contents fall under different types of genres. In this light, it is unlikely that the books of his Motet Series contain more than one genre, though there are three prominent subgenres within the Series (discussed in Chapter 7).
[45] The text for the St. Catherine motet *Gaude virgo Catherina* (7.19), is preserved only in Books of Hours, as far as I can tell.

The issue of the function of the motet is complicated when we consider that these motets were printed. Printing enlarged the market for the motet: even if a motet was composed for a liturgical situation (such as Sermisy's Passion setting in Book 10), what was its function when it was printed and sold to hundreds of people? If a motet book was purchased, not for use by a professional choir, but for use in the private home, how do we understand its function? We saw in Chapter 5 that the actual owners of Attaingnant's Series came from different groups. The circumstances under which Attaingnant sold his books and the sources of the texts of the motets provide valuable information about Attaingnant's definition of the different motet types (i.e. "psalmus," or "salutatio"), and the overall function of this extensive motet repertoire.

The Motet Texts

The sources of the texts reflect the all-inclusive approach that seems to permeate the Series. The motets set texts of many different liturgical genres (Antiphons, Psalms, Hymns, etc.), devotional texts drawn exclusively from Books of Hours (mostly prayers), sacred and secular Latin poems, and a handful of occasional motets; in other words, virtually the whole range of Latin texts outside of the Mass. There are also three subgenres of the motets printed in the Series in their own books: Magnificat settings, settings of Great Marian Antiphons, and settings of Psalm texts. While the Magnificat settings that Attaingnant includes could conceivably substitute for the chant, we saw that Attaingnant's classification of a polyphonic Psalm in Book 9 was not limited to pieces

that set complete Psalms; in other words, the pieces that Attaingnant labeled as Psalms could not all be used within the liturgy as Psalms.[46]

The fact that so many of the texts were found in both liturgical books and Books of Hours underscores an important feature of the texts of these motets that bears repeating: readers of Books of Hours would have been intimately familiar with these texts. Other churchgoers would have heard them once a year as part of a specific liturgical feast. In both cases, texts that appear in both liturgical books and Books of Hours would have been familiar texts, texts that the buyer of the Motet Series would have come to know either from the liturgy or from Book of Hours, or both. This is true of the Magnificat as well, for while Anthony Cummings noted that Magnificat settings were a "liturgical" type in Florentine manuscripts, and the presence of twenty-six Magnificat settings in Attaingnant's Series would seem to point to a liturgical function (as Brobeck argues), the fact that the text was a standard part of all Books of Hours expands the function of these settings to include the devotional as well as the liturgical.

While we might imagine that some of the motets could have substituted for chant within the liturgy (if circumstances allowed for the substitution of polyphony for chant), overlap between liturgical books and Books of Hours broadens the function of the texts beyond the merely liturgical. We must also consider the different categories of texts that emerged from the analysis of the motet texts. Motets that set a single item text might have substituted for the corresponding liturgical item because they preserve the liturgical text.

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[46] This also points to the descriptive nature of Attaingnant's rubrics: Attaingnant would surely have known that not all of the motets in Book 9 were whole Psalms, and therefore not suitable for liturgical use as Psalms. Only one of the Book 9 motets sets a text that could have substituted for another genre (motet 9.04 sets a Tract).

Motets that set a combination or compilation text, however, could not. The combination

or compilation omits, adds, or re-orders the sacred text, negating the possibility of

substituting this kind of motet for a liturgical item. However, it would have made it

appropriate for supplementary music within the liturgy, a situation suggested by

Attaingnant himself with the rubric "In die Pentecostes" for Gascongne's motet *Spiritus*

ubi vult (2.21), which sets a compilation from numerous different texts (some not

identified), most of them for different days in Pentecost.[47] Of the 281 motets in the

Series, 152 (ca. 54%), set a single item text found in the liturgy,[48] and only 51 of these

motets (ca.18%) set texts that were found exclusively in liturgical books.

CONCLUSIONS

In addition to his classification of a group of motets as "liturgical motets,"

Brobeck suggests that Attaingnant chose his pieces from the court repertoire based first

on their level of difficulty and scope, rather than on the function or genre of the texts.[49]

Our investigation of the rubrics, however, indicates that function and/or text were of

paramount importance to Attaingnant. Several of the books are, in fact, dominated by a

single subgenre, such as Magnificats, Psalm Motets, or settings of Great Marian

Antiphons. The careful assignment of rubrics to individual motets in the Series also

places great emphasis on the subject of the texts and possible uses for the motets. If the

level of difficulty and scope of the piece had been Attaingnant's first concern, then surely

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[47] The text is also a compilation of unrelated Biblical passages. Motet 2.21 is included in the Text Sources table in Appendix G.

[48] Some of these are also found in Books of Hours, and can be found as combination or compilation texts as well.

[49] BrobeckLit, 156.

he could have limited himself to a single style of motet (like the "syntactic" style Brobeck describes as a court favourite).[50]

The first three of the four views on the function of the motet discussed in this chapter, each present some difficulties when applied to a varied repertoire from an extended period of time. However, the fourth view, that of a flexible function for the motet, is useful because it can conceivably account for all motets in Attaingnant's Motet Series. The function is not based on the practices of a single location or a limited repertoire, and can, therefore, be used as the starting point for a discussion of a large or diverse group of motets. This makes it particularly appealing for the discussion of the Attaingnant motets, especially since the Attaingnant Series appears to be significantly more unified than many Italian motet prints in terms of organisation and texts, and in the composers represented in the prints (almost all of French or Franco-Flemish birth), but also includes a wider range of pieces than had previously been seen in motet printing (notably the inclusion of Magnificats, which was unprecedented), which may explain part of its popularity, for it found its way to different regions within France, as well as Germany, Spain, Portugal, and Italy.[51]

The organisation, rubrics, and texts of Attaingnant's motets therefore point to many different possible uses for the motets: liturgical, private devotional, recreational (secular texts), or ceremonial (occasional texts). In the end, the best description of the Series seems to be a series designed as an "encyclopedia" of sacred music, one which included a wide range of motet texts and many different subgenres of the motet, but with

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[50] BrobeckClaudin, 67-68. See also BrobeckDiss, 54-178, and 119-121.
[51] This is based on information about the surviving copies and from catalogue records, as we saw in Chapter 5.

the majority of the music serving multiple functions; a series that provided music for

almost every occasion, and for many different kinds of singers.

CONCLUSION

ATTAINGNANT'S MOTET SERIES AS AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SACRED MUSIC

Daniel Heartz described Attaingnant's workshop as a "clearinghouse" for ideas, a place where learned men would gather and exchange knowledge, and where artistic innovation was born from these interactions.[1] But Attaingnant was more than a printer, he was a publisher and a bookseller as well, with a storefront in the bustling Latin Quarter, and his shop was a place where markets converged, where liturgical books were sold side by side with Books of Hours, didactic texts, texts on natural history, and of course, books of polyphony containing everything from Masses to chansons, from organ tablatures to dance music. This diverse selection of books brought different kinds of customers into one location and exposed them to many different kinds of books: a student looking for a didactic text about music would see a Breviary or a Book of Hours, and would see Attaingnant's Motet Series on the shelf. A customer coming into the store to purchase a Book of Hours at Pigouchet's old shop would come across Attaingnant's Motet Series and see on its title pages the titles of texts with which they were intimately familiar. While looking for a Missal or Breviary, another visitor to the shop might glance at the Series and see assembled there polyphonic versions of many of the chants they sang as part of the liturgy. These three "clients" represent three distinct markets that would have passed in and out of Attaingnant's shop, clients who would have found something of interest in the pages of Attaingnant's Motet Series. Other potential buyers might have

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[1] HeartzCat, 104. This idea has been prominent in the history of printing. See EisensteinAgent and EsensteinRevolution.

included collectors, theorists, and the average book buyer or amateur musician looking to purchase a new book of music.[2]

Attaingnant's Motet Series would have appealed to these groups on several levels. We saw in Chapter 3 that Petrucci, Antico, and Moderne produced their own series, and that while each was unique, a few aspects of the layout and format had become conventional by the 1530s. Attaingnant drew on these features, notably the oblong-quarto format, the inclusion of a *tabula*, and the concept of a series itself. He standardised the layout, unifying his Series in a way that surpassed the efforts of his predecessors, and resulted in the first truly cohesive motet series. The consistency of layout and presentation from Book 1 to Book 14, and the way that Attaingnant designed the books to work together and complement each other, made it more than just fourteen books that were printed one after another. This type of publication would have appealed to collectors of books, and would have encouraged the buyer to purchase the next book, and the next after that.

The tremendous amount of extra-musical information included in the books, such as the detailed *tabulae* on the title pages of all books, the rubrics, and the performance instructions are additional features that set this Series apart. While appealing to the non-musician as a novelty and "learned" aspect of the print, the rubrics and instructions also made the books easy to use, guiding the singer through page turns, and providing a standard system for the quick and easy identification of the pieces in all partbooks. I argue in Chapter 6 that the rubrics functioned both as reference tools, and as a quick means of identifying the subject of the texts or books, and that they also suggested

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[2] CummingPublics, 106.

possible performance occasions for the general populace who might not be familiar with when these texts were traditionally sung.

The study of the texts of the motets from Chapter 7 reveals several important facts about the Motet Series and Renaissance music. Many of the texts are present in liturgical books and Books of Hours. The strong connection of the Series to Books of Hours would have encouraged buyers of devotional books to purchase these motet books as well. The text study also reveals that Attaingnant's organisation was partially based on the genres of the motet texts, and that he grouped subgenres of the motets into separate books. All of these features broadened the appeal of the Series.

My study of the texts further situates Attaingnant's Series within the context of the early printed motet series by demonstrating that it parallels the degree to which Marian texts are featured in Petrucci's *Corona* series, and those of Antico and Moderne. The Series also resembles Petrucci's Venetian series and Moderne's three books in the high percentage of texts that appear in multiple settings, another feature that points to the importance of the texts in the organisation of the prints. Finally, I demonstrate that while Attaingnant's emphasis was on new music, he also included a small number of texts that had appeared in the earlier printed motet series, texts that formed a core repertory of motet texts in the early sixteenth century.

The rubrics, combined with the sources of the texts of the motets, shed new light on the uses for the Series, and on the function of the motet. In Chapter 8, I show that the rubrics themselves have connections to both liturgical books and Books of Hours, and that they function in a descriptive way, bringing the Series close to Books of Hours in

terms of use and appearance. They also point to non-liturgical uses for the motets: the rubrics like *De sancta Catherina* and *De beata Maria* have devotional connections. We also see that the texts themselves point to more than one function for the motets, with only a small proportion of texts found exclusively in liturgical books. Another feature of the texts that has an impact on the function of the motet is the state of the texts, whether the motets set a complete text found in the liturgy, or if they set combinations of different texts. My study reveals that most texts could be found as a complete or combination text. If motets were in fact used as part of the liturgy, only a motet that set a complete, single item (one Antiphon, one whole Responsory) could be substituted for the chant.

Attaingnant's varying use of terminology and definition of motet subgenres points to a flexible definition and use for the motet, especially the Book 9 "Psalms" that could not all have been appropriate for performance within the liturgy as Psalms. The fact that Attaingnant grouped so many different kinds of texts (liturgical, devotional, secular, occasional) in one series suggests a multi-function use, a broader definition than simply liturgical or not, devotional or not.

The methodology used for my dissertation can easily be adapted for further research. My methods for researching the texts of the Series, combining printed and online databases, could be used for similar studies of other motet repertoires. My study of the physical and organisational aspects of the Series could also be used as a model for researching other types of series, such as Attaingnant's numbered chanson series. Both approaches (organisation and format, and text sources) could be used to study other motet repertoires that have not yet received due attention, like Susato's extensive series of the

1550s. Given its parallels to Attaingnant's Series, such a study would provide further insight into the printed motet series and possibly Attaingnant's influence as well. I also believe that a re-examination of other motet prints (such as Petrucci's *Corona* series), using the wealth of resources now available to researchers could prove instructive, especially when we consider that the texts of these series have not been examined, except in connection to the liturgy.[3] The Appendices included at the end of this dissertation, especially Appendices D, E, and F will also be of use for future research, as invaluable reference tools for anyone looking for more information on the motets, composers, or texts of Attaingnant's Motet Series.

The different sources in which the texts are found, the relationship of the rubrics to both liturgical books and Books of Hours, the information about actual owners of the Series and what we can infer from concordant sources, all point to a varied market. The make-up of the Series itself suggests that Attaingnant knew that his buyers would have different tastes and that they would be seeking different kinds of sacred music. We see this in the inclusion of both simple settings of short prayers and *tour de force* pieces, the inclusion of motets by court composers and non-court composers, from the most famous (such as Josquin and Mouton) to the least known (such as Jodon and Margot), and in the inclusion of different subgenres (such as Magnificats), within the boundaries of the motet, that had never before been printed as part of a motet series. All of this points to the

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[3] Petrucci's Venetian series is the one exception of which I am aware. Julie Cumming looked at the degree to which its texts were present in Books of Hours (CummingPublics), and Jane Hatter looked at the Marian contents of the books (HatterThesis). Drake and Brown also looked at the connection of Petrucci's Venetian series to Books of Hours (DrakeDiss, BrownMirror). I also demonstrated in my text study that the tools now available, especially online, can help the research of previously unidentified texts.

creation of an encyclopedia of sacred music, a collection that represented the whole range of sacred polyphony outside the Mass.

The planning and attention to detail that went into the creation of this Series suggests a long period of gestation, and indeed, the royal privilege of 1531 mentions the fact that Attaingnant was planning to print books of motets. Given that Attaingnant was first and foremost a businessman, we must suppose that he saw a demand for this kind of product, and that he designed it based on what he thought would appeal to the most people. I do not by any means suggest that Attaingnant's *only* objective was to sell as many copies as possible. On the contrary, the emphasis on French royal court composers in his Series discussed in Chapter 5 suggests he may have been attempting to preserve and transmit the court repertoire. Almost two thirds of the motets had not previously been printed or copied into manuscripts, a fact that suggests that many motets came directly from the composers. This is certainly possible, even likely, for the motets by composers employed at the court or other institutions in Paris, and especially for the "Attaingnant Composers." These men must have had local ties that prompted the inclusion of their works in the Series, either because their proximity to Attaingnant made the acquisition of their motets easy, or because, as suggested in Chapter 5, Attaingnant was deliberately seeking to represent the full range of the motet by Parisian or "French" composers.[4]

What could have prompted the creation of such a colossal series? The answer may lie in the broader political situation in France at the time. We saw in Chapter 1 that King

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[4] Chapter 5 showed that most of the composers for whom we have biographical information had some tie to France, having been born there (or of Franco-Flemish descent) or having worked there. The few Attaingnant Composers for whom we have no biographical documents all have French or Franco-Flemish names.

François I was determined to expand the influence and prestige of his court. Though his musical ability may not have been comparable to that of Henry VIII of England, or Emperor Charles V, he was certainly aware of the political uses of music. He expanded the musical establishment at the court, and ensured that his court would be a grand musical centre. In 1537, he appointed Attaingnant the first Royal Printer of Music, a continuation of his previous endeavors to extend the presence of the King into the arts and letters. By allowing people outside the court to partake of the King's music, by allowing the public to participate, to share the King's musical experience, Attaingnant was perhaps acting to extend the reach of François I's influence beyond his court and beyond Paris. The fact that Attaingnant's prints contain a large proportion of works by court composers, and that this Series in particular features many works by court composers and those employed at other institutions that the King frequented, certainly links this Series to the court and to François I. Additionally, Attaingnant's ties to the court are implicit at the time of printing, when Attaingnant's prints were protected by royal privilege, and he was the only printer of music in Paris. His ties to the court were made explicit three years later when the King appointed him Royal Printer of Music. Perhaps underneath the liturgical and devotional elements of the texts and behind the idea of the encyclopedia of sacred music, the point of the Series is this: here's how we do it in Paris. Here are the motets *we* sing at these times, that the King hears on these occasions. And now you can sing them at these times also, *cum gratia christianissimi Francorum regis*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A note about the images reproduced in Chapters 4, 6, 7, and 8: All images are freely available online, with the exception of Image 6.3 (the Regnault Book of Hours), which is accessible through *Early English Book Online* by subscription only.

Manuscript Sources of Polyphony

AmiensBM 162	Amiens. Bibliothèque Municipale. MS 162.
BarcBC 681	Barcelona. Biblioteca Central. MS 681.
BarcBC 681	Barcelona. Biblioteca Central. MS 681 (= PedC386).
BarcOC 7	Barcelona. Biblioteca de L'Orfeó Català. MS 7.
BasU F X 5-9	Basel. Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. MSF.X. 5-9.
BergBC 1209	Bergamot. Biblioteca Civica. MS 1209 D.
BerlDS 40024	Berlin (East). Deutsche Staatsbibliothek. MS Mus. 40024.
BerlGS 7/KönsSU 1740	Berlin (West). Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz. MS XX.HA StUB Königsberg Nr. 7 {previously KönsSU 1740, GöttSA 7}.
BerlPS 40013	Berlin. Former Preussische Staatsbibliothek. MS Mus. 40013 (olim Z 13; missing since 1945).
BerlPS 40031	Berlin. Former Preussische Staatsbibliothek. MS Mus. 40031 (olim Z 31; missing since 1945).
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BolC Q 19 (Rusconi codex)	Bologna. Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. MS Q19 ("Rusconi Codex").
BolC Q 20	Bologna. Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. MS Q20.
BolC Q 23	Bologna. Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. MS Q23.
BolC Q 27/1	Bologna. Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. MS Q27 (I°).
BolR 142	Bologna. Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. MS R142.
BratisK 11	Bratislava. Štátný Ústredný Archív SSR, Knižnica Bratislavskej Kapituly. MS 11.
BrusBR 228	Brussels. Bibliothèque Royal. MS 228.
BrusC 27088	Brussels. Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique. MS 27088.
BrusC 27766	Brussels. Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique. MS 27766.
BrusSG 9424	Brussels. Algemeen Rijksarchief, Archief van St. Goedele. No. 9424 (olim 30).
BudOS 22	Budapest. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Széchényi Library). MS Bártfa 22.
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CambraiBM 125-8	Cambrai. Bibliothèque Municipale. MSS 125-128 (olim 124).

CambriP 1760	Cambridge. Magdalene College, Pepys Library. MS 1760.
CasAC D(F)	Casale Monferrato. Archivio e Biblioteca Capitolare, Duomo. MS D(F).
CasAC N(H)	Casale Monferrato. Archivio e Biblioteca Capitolare, Duomo. MS N(H).
CasAC P(E)	Casale Monferrato. Archivio e Biblioteca Capitolare, Duomo. MS P(E).
ChiN M91/1	Chicago. Newberry Library. Case MS.-VM 1578.M91 (See also SuttonO 4).
ChiN M91/2	Chicago. Newberry Library. Case MS.-VM 1578.M91 (See also SuttonO 4).
Chorbuch MS 20	Jena. Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. Chorbuch MS 20.
CivMA 59	Cividale del Friuli. Museo Archeologico Nazionale. MS LIX.
CoimU 48	Coimbra. Biblioteca Geral da Universidade. MS. Mus. 48.
CopKB 1848	Copenhagen. Det Kongelige Bibliotek. MS Ny Kongelige Samling 1848, 2°.
CopKB 1872	Copenhagen. Det Kongelige Bibliotek. MS Gamle kongelige Samling 1872, 4°.
CopKB 1873	Copenhagen. Det Kongelige Bibliotek. MS Gamle kongelige Samling 1873, 4°.
DresSL 1/D/ 3	Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS Mus. 1/D/3 (olim B. 1270).
DresSL 1/D/505	Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS Mus. 1/D/505 (olim Annaberg. Bibliothek der St. Annenkirche. MS 1248).

DresSL Grimma 52	Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS Grimma 52 (1-2).
DresSL Grimma 59	Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS Grimma 59 (1-2) (olim LIX, Q308 and Q306).
DresSL Grimma 59a	Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS Grimma 59a.
DresSL Löbau 8/70	Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MSS Löbau 8 and Löbau 70.
DresSL Pirna VII	Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS Pirna VII.
EdinU 64	Edinburgh. University Library. MS 64 (olim Db.I.7) ("Dunkeld Antiphonary").
ErlU 473/1	Erlangen. Universitätsbibliothek. MS 473/1 (olim 792).
ErlU 473/3	Erlangen. Universitätsbibliothek. MS 473/3 (olim 791).
FlorBN II.I.232	Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS II.I.232 (olim Magliabechi XIX. 58).
FlorBN Magl. 117	Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS Magliabechi XIX. 117.
FlorBN Magl. 125bis	Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS Magliabechi XIX.125bis.
FlorD 11	Florence. Duomo, Archivio Musicale dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore. MS 11.
FLorD 27	Florence. Duomo, Archivio Musicale dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore. MS 27.
FlorD 4	Florence. Duomo, Archivio Musicale dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore. MS 4.
FlorL 666	Florence. Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana. MS Acquisti e doni 666.

GothaF A98	Gotha. Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Schloss Friedenstein (formerly Landesbibliothek). MS Chart. A. 98 ("Gothaer Chorbuch").
HalleU 1147	Halle an der Saale. Universitätsbibliothek. MS Ed. 1147.
HerdF 9821	Herdringen. Schloss Fürstenberg, Bibliothek. MS 9821 (olim Paderborn, Erzbischöflische Akademische Bibliothek).
HradKM 17	Hradec Králové. Krajske Muzeum, Literárni Archiv (Regional Museum, Literary Archive). MS II A 17 (a-c) (olim 8660a-b, 8717).
HradKM 21	Hradec Králové. Krajske Muzeum, Literárni Archiv (Regional Museum, Literary Archive). MS II A 21 (olim 8707).
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HradKM 26	Hradec Králové. Krajske Muzeum, Literárni Archiv (Regional Museum, Literary Archive). MS II A 26 (a-b) (olim 8710, 8711).
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KlagL 4/3	Klagenfurt. Kärntner Landesarchiv. MS GV 4/3.
KrakPAN 1716	Kraków. Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk. MS 1716.
LeidGA 1439	Leiden (Leyden). Gemeentearchief. Archieven van de Kerken. MS 1439 (olim B; 423; 761; 862; 1004).
LeidGA 1441	Leiden (Leyden). Gemeentearchief. Archieven van de Kerken. MS 1441 (olim D; 425; 763; 864; 1006).
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LeipU 49/50	Leipzig. Universitätsbibliothek. MS Thomaskirche 49 (1-4) (olim III, A. *a*17-20) and MS Thomaskirche 50 (olim III, A. *a*21).
LeipU 51	Leipzig. Universitätsbibliothek. MS Thomaskirche 51 (1-2) (olim III, A. α 22-23).
LeuvU 163	Leuven (Louvain). Former Bibliothèque de l'Université. MS 163 (destroyed in 1914).
LonBL 11582	London. British Library. Add. 11582.

LonBL 19583	London. British Library, Reference Division. Department of Manuscripts. MS Additional 19583.
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LonBLR 8 G. vii	London. British Library, Reference Division. Department of Manuscripts. MS Royal 8.G.vii.
LonBM 3471	London. British Museum. Add. MS 3471.
LonBM 5043	London. British Museum. Add. 5043.
LonRC 1070	London. Royal College of Music. MS 1070 (olim Sacred Harmonic Society S.H. 1721).
LonRC 2037	London. Royal College of Music. MS 2037 (olim Sacred Harmonic Society S.H. 1743).
LucBS 775	Lucca. Biblioteca Statale. MS 775.
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LüneR 150	Lüneburg. Ratsbücherei. MS Mus. ant. pract. K. N.150.
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MadM 6832	Madrid. Private Library of Don Bartolomé March Servera.
MilD 3	Milan. Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione Musicale. Librone 3 (olim 2267).
MilD 4	Milan. Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione Musicale. Librone 4 (olim 2266).

ModD 3	Modena. Duomo, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare. MS Mus III.
ModD 4	Modena. Duomo, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare. MS Mus IV.
ModD 9	Modena. Duomo, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare. MS Mus IX.
ModE C.313	Modena. Biblioteca Estense e Unïversitaria. MS C.313.
ModE C.314	Modena. Biblioteca Estense e Unïversitaria. MS C.314 (1-7).
ModE F.2.29	Modena. Biblioteca Estense e Unïversitaria. MS a.F.2.29 (Lat. 1232).
ModE N.1.2	Modena. Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria. MS *a.*N.1.2 (Lat. 452; olim V.H.2).
MontsM 772	Montserrat. Biblioteca del Monasterio. MS 772.
MunBS 13	Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Musiksammlung, Musica MS 13 (olim H.C. 8; = MaiM 126).
MunBS 1536	Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Musiksammlung, Musica MS 1536 (olim Lat. 16527b; = MaiM 132).
MunBS 16	Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Musiksammlung, Musica MS 16 (olim H.C. 56).
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MunBS 267	Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Musiksammlung, Musica MS 267.

MunBS 3154	Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Musiksammlung, Musica MS 3154 (= MaiM 42) ("Chorbuch des Nikolaus Leopold").
MunBS 34	Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Musiksammlung, Musica MS 34 (=MaiM 88).
MunBS 41	Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Musiksammlung, Musica MS 41 (olim H.C. 58;= MaiM 127).
MunU 322-5	Munich. Universitätsbibliothek der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität. MSS 8° 322-325 (olim Cim. 44a).
MunU 326	Munich. Universitätsbibliothek der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität. MS 8º 326 (olim Cim. 44b).
MunU 327	Munich. Universitätsbibliothek der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität. MS 8˚ 327 (olim Cim. 44b).
MunU 401	Munich. Universitätsbibliothek der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität. MS 4˚ Art. 401 (1-4) (olim Cim. 44i).
NurGN 83795	Nuremberg. Bibliothek des Germanishen Nationalmuseums. MS 83795 (olim M 369M).
OxfBS 26	Oxford. Bodleian Library. MS Archivum Seldenianum B. 26 (=MadanSC 3340).
PadBC A17	Padua. Biblioteca Capitolare. MS A 17.
PadBC D27	Padua. Biblioteca Capitolare. MS D 27.
PadBC D27	Padua. Biblioteca Capitolare. MS D 27.
ParisBN 32	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Rés. Mus. Vmd. 32.

ParisBNC 851	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale, Département de la Musique. Fonds du Conservatoire. MS Rés. Vma. 851 ("Bourdeney Manuscript").
PiacD (3)	Piacenza. Archivio del Duomo, Fondo Musicale. MS s.s. (3).
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RegB 849-52	Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS A.R. 849-52.
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RegB B211-15	Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS B 211-215.
RegB B220-2	Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS B 220-222.
RegB B223-33	Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS B 223-233.
RegB C 96	Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS C. 96.

RegB C 98	Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS C. 98.
RegB C 99	Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS C. 99. (olim A.R. 772).
ReggioSP s.s.	Reggio Emilia. Archivio della Chiesa di San Prospero. MS s.s.
RegT 2-3	Regensburg. Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek. MS Freie Künste Musik 2-3.
ReinS 101	Rein. Stiftsarchiv. MS 101 ("Grudenegg Codex").
RokyA 22	Rokycany. Archiv Děkanství Rokycanech. MS A V 22 (a-b).
RomeM 23-4	Rome. Palazzo Massimo. MSS VI.C.6.23-24.
RomeSC 792-5	Rome. Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Santa Cecilia. MS G792-795.
RomeSL IV/9	Rome. San Lorenzo in Damaso. Registri amministrativi e Corali della Capella Musicale. Armadio IV, Vol. 9.
RomeV 35-40	Rome. Biblioteca Vallicelliana. MS S^I 35-40 (olim Ink. 107bis; S. Borromeo E.II.55-60).
RosU 71/1	Rostock. Bibliothek der Wilhelm-Pierck-Universität. MS Mus. Saec. XVI-71/1 (1-4).
s HerAB 72C	s Hertogenbosch. Archief van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. MS 72C.
s HerAB 73	s Hertogenbosch. Archief van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. MS 73.

SaraP 17	Saragossa (Zaragoza). Iglesia Metropolitana de la Virgen del Pilar, Archivo Musical. Armario C-3, MS 17.
SevBC 1	Seville. Catedral Metropolitana, Biblioteca del Coro. MS 1.
SGallS 463 (Tschudi Liederbuch)	Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek. MS 463 ("Tschudi Liederbuch").
SGallS 464	Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek. MS 464.
SilosA 21	Santo Domingo de Silos. Abadía Benedictino, Archivo. MS C 21.
SionA 87-4	Sion (Sitten). Archives du Chapitre. MS 87-4.
StockKB 229	Stockholm. Kungliga Biblioteket. MS Holm. S 229:1-2.
StuttL 26	Stuttgart. Württembergische Landesbibliothek. MS Musica folio I 26.
StuttL 32	Stuttgart. Württembergische Landesbibliothek. MS Musica folio I 32.
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StuttL 41	Stuttgart. Württembergische Landesbibliothek. MS Musica folio I 41.
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ToleBC 10	Toledo. Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral Metropolitana. MS B.10.
ToleBC 13	Toledo. Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral Metropolitana. MS B.13.
ToleBC 17	Toledo. Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral Metropolitana. MS B.17.

ToleBC 18	Toledo. Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral Metropolitana. MS B. 18.
ToleBC 21	Toledo. Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral Metropolitana. MS B.21.
ToleF 23	Toledo. Catedral, Obra y Fabrica. MS Reservado 23.
TrentC 91	Trent. Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buon Consiglio. MS 91.
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TrevBC 34	Treviso. Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo. MS 34 (destroyed in 1944).
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TrevBC 4	Treviso. Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo. MS 4 (olim F; destroyed in 1944).
TrevBC 5	Treviso. Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo. MS 5 (olim H; destroyed in 1944).
TrevBC 7	Treviso. Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo. MS 7 (olim K).
TrevBC 8	Treviso. Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo. MS 8 (olim L).
UlmS 236	Ulm. Münster Bibliothek, Von Schermar'sche Familienstiftung. MS 236(a-d).
UlmS 237	Ulm. Münster Bibliothek, Von Schermar'sche Familienstiftung. MS 237(a-d).
UppsU 76b	Uppsala. Universitetsbiblioteket. MS Vokalmusik i Handskrift 76b.
UppsU 76c	Uppsala. Universitetsbiblioteket. MS Vokalmusik i Handskrift 76c.

VallaC 15	Valladolid. Catedral Metropolitana. Archivo de Música. MS 15.
VallaC 16	Valladolid. Catedral Metropolitana. Archivo de Música. MS 16.
VallaP s.s.	Valladolid. Parroquia de Santiago. MS [s.s.].
VatG XII.4	Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Cappella Giulia XII 4.
VatP 1976-9	Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MSS Palatini Latini 1976-1979.
VatP 1980-1	Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MSS Palatini Latini 1980-1981.
VatS 16	Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Cappella Sistina 16.
VatS 24	Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Cappella Sistina 24.
VatS 26	Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Cappella Sistina 26.
VatS 38	Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Cappella Sistina 38.
VatS 42	Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Cappella Sistina 42.
VatS 46	Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Cappella Sistina 46.
VatS 63	Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Cappella Sistina 63.
VatS 76	Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Cappella Sistina 76.
VatVM 571	Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Vaticani Musicali 571.

VerA 218	Verona. Società Accademia Filarmonica. MS CCXVIII.
VerBC 759	Verona. Biblioteca Capitolare. MS DCCLIX.
VerBC 760	Verona. Biblioteca Capitolare. MS DCCLX.
VienNB Mus 15500	Vienna. Österreichishe Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung. MS Mus. 15500.
VienNB Mus 15941	Vienna. Österreichishe Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung. MS Mus. 15941 (olim A.N.35.H18).
WarSM 564	Warsaw. (Destroyed in 1944; photographs at Warsaw and at Harvard Isham).
WeimB B	Weimar. Bibliothek der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchengemeinde. MS B.
WittenL 1048	Wittenberg. Staatliche Lutherhalle. S 403/1048.
WrocS 1	Wroclaw (Breslau). Former Stadtbibliothek. MS Mus. 1 (missing since World War II).
WrocS 12	Wroclaw (Breslau). Former Stadtbibliothek. MS Mus. 12 (missing since World War II).
WrocS 14	Wroclaw (Breslau). Former Stadtbibliothek. MS Mus. 14 (missing since World War II).
WrocS 2	Wroclaw (Breslau). Former Stadtbibliothek. MS Mus. 2 (missing since World War II).
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WrocS 5	Wroclaw (Breslau). Former Stadtbibliothek. MS Mus. 5 (missing since World War II).
WrocS 6	Wroclaw (Breslau). Former Stadtbibliothek. MS Mus. 6 (missing since World War II).

WrocU 54	Wroclaw (Breslau). Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Oddzial Zbiorów Muzycnych. MS Brieger Musikaliensammlung K. 54 (former Stadtbibliothek).
YorkM 91	York. Minster Library. MS M 91 S.
ZwiR 46/120	Zwickau. Ratsschulbibliothek. MS XLVI, 120.
ZwiR 73/II	Zwickau. Ratsschulbibliothek. MS LXXIII, II.
ZwiR 74/1	Zwickau. Ratsschulbibliothek. MS LXXIV, 1.
ZwiR 81/2	Zwickau. Ratsschulbibliothek. MS LXXXI, 2.

Printed Sources of Polyphony

1501	*Harmonice musices Odhecaton A [3-4 v.]*. Venice, O Petrucci, May 15, 1501.
1502[1]	*Motetti A. Numero trentatre. A [3-4 v.]*. Venice, O. Petrucci, May 9, 1502.
1506[1]	*Lametationum Jeremie prophete liber primus [3-4 v.]*. Venice, O. Petrucci, April 8, 1506.
1506[2]	*Lamentationum liber secundus. Auctores Tronboncinus. Gaspas. Erasmus [4v.]*. Venice, O. Petrucci, May 29, 1506.
1514[1]	*Motetti de la corona. Libro primo [4 v.]*. Venice, O. Petrucci, August 17, 1514.
1516[1]	*Liber quindecim missarum electarum quae per excellentissimos musicos compositae fuerunt [4 v.]*. Rome, A. Antico, May, 1516.
1519[1]	*Motteti de la corona libro secondo [4 v.]*. Venice, O. Petrucci, June 17, 1519.
1519[2]	*Motteti de la corona. Libro tertia [4-6 v.]*. Venice, O. Petrucci, September 7, 1519.

1519[3]	*Motteti de la corona. Libro quarto [4-6 v.]*. Venice, O. Petrucci, October 31, 1519.
1520[2]	*Motetti novi libro tertio [4-5 v.]*. Venice, A. Antico, October 15, 1520.
1520[3]	*Motetti novi e chanzoni franciose a quatro sopra doi*. Venice, A. Antico, October 15, 1520.
1521[4]	*[Motetti libro secondo] [4 v.]*. Venice, A. Antico, 1521].
1521[5]	*Motetti libro quarto [4 v.]*. Venice, A. Antico, August, 1521.
1521[6]	*Motetti e canzone libro primo*. (Rome, A. Antico?) (s. d.).
1521[7]	*[Motetti et carmina gallica]*. (Rome, A. Antico?) (s. d.).
1526[1]	*Motetti de la Corona libro primo*. Rome, G. G. Pasoti et V. Dorico, November, 1526.
1526[2]	*Motetti de la Corona libro secondo [4 v.]*. Rome, G. G. Pasoti (G. Guinta), August, 1526.
1526[5]	*Fior de motetti e Canzoni novi composti da diversi eccellentissimi musici [4 v.]*. (Rome, G. Guinta) (s. d.).
1526[7]	*Messa motteti canzoni novamente stampate libro primo*. Rome, Nicolo de Judici, 1526.
1528[2]	*Motetz nouvellement composez [4-6 v.]*. Paris, P. Attaingnant (s.d.).
1529[1]	*XII. Motetz musicaulx a quatre et cinq voix composez par les autheurs cy dessoubz escriptz. Nagueres imprimées*. Paris, P. Attaingnant, October, 1529.
1531[5]	*Treze motetz musicaulx avec ung prelude, le tout reduict en la tabulature des orges espinettes et manicordions et telz semblables instrumentz*.

Paris, P. Attaingnant, April, 1531.

1532[1]   *Primus liber tres missas continet,...[4 v.]*. Paris, P.
            Attaingnant, 1532.

1532[3]   *Tretius liber tres missas continet,... [4 v.]*. Paris, P.
            Attaingnant, 1532.

1532[9]   *Secundus liber cum quinque vocibus*. Lyons, J.
            Moderne, 1532.

1532[10]   *Primus liber cum quatuor vocibus. Motteti del fiore*.
            Lyons, J. Moderne, 1532.

1538[2]   *Tertius liber mottetorum ad quinque et sex voces…*
            Lyons, J. Moderne, 1538.

1538[3]   *Secundus tomus novi operis musici, sex, quinque et
            quatuor vocum, nunc recens in lucem editus…*
            Nürnberg, H. Grapheus, October, 1538.

1538[5]   *Liber cantus (vocum quatuor) triginta novem motetos
            habet…* Ferrara, J. de Buglhat, et al., March,
            1538.

1538[6]   *Tomus primus psalmorum selectorum à
            praestantissimis musicis in harmonias quatuor
            aut quinque vocum redactorum*. Nürnberg, J.
            Petreius, 1538.

1538[7]   *Modulationes aliquot quatuor vocum selectissimae,
            quas vulgo modetas vocant, à praestantiss.
            Musicis compostiae, iam primum typis excusae*.
            Nürnberg, J. Petreius, September, 1538.

1538[8]   *Symphoniae iucundae atque adeo berves quatuor
            vocum, ab optimis quibusque musicis compositae,
            ac iuxta ordinem tonorum dispositae, quas vulgo
            mutetas appellare solemus, numero quinquaginta
            duo*. Wittenberg, G. Rhaw, 1538.

1539[5]   *Quartus liber mottetorum ad quinque et sex voces…*
            Lyons, J. Moderne, 1539.

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1539[6]	*Secundus liber cum quinque vocibus. Fior de mottetti tratti dalli Mottetti del fiore.* Venice, A. Gardano, 1539.
1539[8]	*Cantiones quinque vocum selectissimae, a primarijs (Germaniae inferioris, Galliae, & Italiae) musices magistris editae. ... Mutetarum liber primus.* Strasbourg, P. Schöffer, August, 1539.
1539[9]	*Tomus secundus psalmorum selectorum quatuor et quinque vocum.* Nürnberg, J. Petreius, 1539.
1539[10]	*Tertius liber cum quatuor vocibus. Motteti del fiore.* Lyons, J. Moderne, 1539.
1539[11]	*Quartus liber cum quatuor vocibus. Motteti del fiore.* Lyons, J. Moderne (s. d.).
1539[12]	*Primus liber cum quatuor vocibus. Fior de mottetti tratti dalli Mottetti del fiore. Primus liber cum quatuor vocibus.* Venice, A. Gardano, 1539.
1539[13]	*Primus liber cum quatuor vocibus. Mottetti del frutto a quatro.* Venice, A. Gardano, 1539.
1540[2]	*Missarum musicalium quatuor vocum cum sius motetis. Liber tertius.* Paris, P. Attaingnant et H. Jullet, 1540.
1540[6]	*Selectissimarum mutetarum partim quinque partim quatuor vocum tomus primus. D. Georgio Forstero selectore.* Nürnberg, J. Petreius, 1540.
1540[7]	*Selectissimae necnon familiarissimae cantiones, ultra centum vario idiomate vocum, tam multiplicium quam etiam paucar. Fugae quoque, ut vocantur. Besonder ausserlessner kunstlicher lustiger Gesanng mancherlay Sprachen…von acht Stymmen an bis auf zwo:…sinngen und auf Instrument zubrauchen.* Augsburg, M. Kriesstein, 1540.
1541[4]	*Gomberti excellentissimi, et inventione in hac arte facile principis,…musica quatuor vocum (vulgo motecta nuncupatur). Additis etiam nonnullis*

excellentissimi Morales motectis summo ipsius studio concinnatis, opus nunquam alias typis excussum, ac nuper accuratissime in lucem aeditum. Liber primus. Venice, G. Scotto, 1541.

1542[6]

Tomus tertius psalmorum selectorum quatuor et quinque, et quidam plurium vocum. Nürnberg, J. Petreius, 1542.

1542[8]

Tricinia. Tum veterum tum recentiorum in arte musica symphonistarum, latina, germanica, brabantica & gallica, ante hac typis nunquam excusa, observato in disponendo tonorum ordine, quo utentibus sint accomodatiora. Wittenberg, G. Rhaw, 1542.

1542[10]

Adriani Willaert musicorum omnium qui hactenus et nostro, et maiorum evo floruerint, longè, ac sine controversie principis celeberrimi, & in presenti illustrissime Reipublice venetiarum in ede Divi Marci capelle rectorisque eminentissimi, musicorum sex vocum, que vulgo motecta dicuntur, nuper omni studio, omnique indagine in lucem editorum. Liber primus. Venice, A. Gardano, 1542.

1543[3]

Mutetarum divinitatis liber primus quae quinquae absolutae vocibus ex multis praestantissimorum musicorum academiis collectae sunt. Milan, A. Castiglione, November-December, 1543.

1543[4]

Symphonia quatuor modulata vocibus excellentissimi musici Joannis Galli alias chory Ferrariae magistri que vulgo (Motecta Meter Jehan) nominantur, nuper in lucem edita. Venice, G. Scotto, 1534.

1543[5]

Moralis hispani, et multorum eximiae artis virorum musica cum vocibus quatuor, vulgo motecta cognominata: cuius magna pars paribus vocibus cantanda est: reliqua verò plena voce apta est decantari, hactenus non typijs excussa, nunc autem in lucem prodit. Venice, G. Scotto, 1543.

1544[25]   *Das dritt Buch. Ein new künstlich Lauten Buch darin vil trefflicher grosser meisterlichen Kunst Stück vom Psalmen und Muteten...vor der kein nye in Druck kumen aber jtzo durch mich Hansen Newsidler Lutenisten und Burger zu Nürnberg...zusamen gebracht und offentlich aussgangen...* Nürnberg, H. Günther, 1544.

1545[3]   *Cantiones septem, sex et quinque vocum. Longe gravissimae, iuxta ac amoenissimae, in Germania maxime hactenus typis non excusae...* Augsburg, M. Kriesstein, 1545.

1545[4]   *Flos florum Primus liber cum quatuor vocibus. Motteti del fior*. Venice, A. Gardano, 1545.

1546[6]   *Liber primus sacrarum cantionum, quinque vocum, vulgo moteta vocant, ex optimis quibusque huius aetatis musicis selectarum*. Antwerp, T. Susato, 1546.

1546[7]   *Liber secundus sacrarum cantionum, quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant, ex optimis quibusque huius aetatis musicis selectarum*. Antwerp, T. Susato, 1546.

1546[9]   *Moralis hispani et multorum eximiae artis virorum musica cum vocibus quatuor vulgo motecta cognominata*. Venice, A. Gardano, 1546.

1546[23]   *Intabulatura di lautto, libro quarto, de la messa di A. Fevino, sopra Ave Maria. Intabulata & accomodata per sonare sopra il lautto dal Reverendo messer pre Marchiore de Barberijs da Padova…* Venice, G. Scotto, 1546.

1546[25]   *Intabolatura di lautro di recercari canzon francese motetti madrigali padoane e saltarelli composti per lo eccellente msicho et sonator di lato messer Io. Maria da Crema novamente ristampata et del medesmo autore corretta libro primo*. Venice, A. Gardano, 1546.

1547[1]   *Glareani DODEKACHORDON*. Basel, H. Petrus,
           September, 1547.

1547[5]   *Liber tertius sacrarum cantionum, quatuor vocum,
           vulgo Moteta vocant, ex optimis quibusque huius
           aetatis musicis selectarum*. Antwerp, T. Susato,
           1547.

1547[6]   *Liber quartus sacrarum cantionum, quatuor vocum
           vulgo moteta vocant, ex optimis quibusque huius
           aetatis musicis selectarum*. Antwerp, T. Susato,
           1547.

1547[11]   *Vinqtquatriesme livre contenant XXVI chansons
           nouvelles a quatre parties, en deux volumes*.
           Paris, P. Attaingnant, 1547.

1547[25]   *Libro de musica de vihuela intitulado Silva de sirenas.
           En el quel se ballara toda diversidad de musica.
           Compouesto por Enriquez Valderravano…*
           Valladolid, F. Fernandes de Cordova, 1547.

1549[1]   *Lamentationes Hieremiae Prophetae, maxime
           lugubribus et querulis concentibus musicis,
           decoro undiquaque eruditissime observato:
           compositae à clarissimis nostri seculi musicis:
           Thoma Crequilone Caesarei chori magistro.
           Johanne Gardano. Petro de la Rue, flandro.
           Antonio Fevino. Claudio de Sermisy,…et alio
           quodam incerto authore*. Nürnberg, J. von Berg
           & U. Neuber, 1549.

1549[3]   *Il primo libro de motetti a sei voce, da diversi
           eccellentissimi msici composti, et non pi stampati
           novamente posti in luce, et con somma diligentia
           coretti*. Venice, G. Scotto, 1549.

1549[7]   *Primo libro de motetti a cinque voci da diversi
           eccellentissimi musici composti et non piu
           stampati, novamente posti in luce, et con somma
           diligentia coretti. Come a' cantanti sarà
           manifesto*. Venice, G. Scotto, 1549.

1549[8]

Il Terzo libro di motetti a cinque voci di Cipriano de Rore, et de altri excellentissimi musici, novamente ristampato, con una buona gionta de motetti novi. Venice, A. Gardano, 1549.

1549[12]

Electiones diversorum motetorum distincte quatuor vocibus, nunc primum in lucem misse auctore excellenti musico Verdeloto et quorumdam musicantium aliorum meditationes musices dulcissime, summa cum diligentia excusse, ad satisfactionem canentium. Venice, A. Gardano, 1549.

1549[13]

Elettione de motetti a tre voci libro primo de diversi eccellentissimi musici composti, et non piu stampati, novamente posti in luce, et con gran diligenza coretti. Venice, G. Scotto, 1549.

1549[14]

Libro secondo de li motetti a tre voce, da diversi eccellentissimi musici composti, & non piu stampati: novamente missi in luce, & con somma diligentia coretti. Venice, G. Scotto, 1549.

1549[15]

Elletione de motetti non piu stampati a quatro voci di Verdelotto et di altri diversi eccelentissimi posti in luce libro primo. Venice, G. Scotto, 1549.

1551[1]

Primus liber septem decim continet quatuor, & quinque vocum modulos (quae Moteta vulgo dicuntur) à celeberrimis authoribus nunc primum in lucem editos. Ad haec quatuor Virginis Mariae salutationes, nempe Inviolata, Alma redemptoris, Ave regina coelorum, Regina coeli, simul canendae. Paris. N. du Chemin, 1551.

1551[2]

Nicolai Gomberti musici imperatorii motectorum, nuperrime maxima diligentia in lucem aeditorum. Liber primus quatuor vocum. Venice, A. Gardano, 1551.

1552[2]

Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi cum quinque vocibus liber secundus. Venice, A. Gardano, 1552.

1552[30]   *Intabulatura Valentini Bacfarc transilvani coronensis liber primus*. Lyons, J. Moderne, (1552).

1553[2]   *Liber primus collectorum modulorum (qui moteta vulgo dicuntur) quae iam olim à praestantissimis et musicae peritissimis emissa, ac variis voluminibuis dispersa, nunc primum iudicio exacto, hoc libro (qui verè motetorum thesaurus dici potest) in unum redacta...* Paris, N. du Chemin & C. Goudimel, 1553.

1553[4]   *Psalmorum selectorum a praestantissimis huius nostri temporis in arte musica artificibus in harmonias quatuor, quinque, et sex vocum redactorum Tomus primus...* Nürnberg, J. Montanus & U. Neuber, 1553.

1553[5]   *Tomus secundus Psalmorum selectorum, quatuor et plurium vocum*. Nürnberg, J. Montanus & U. Neuber, 1553.

1553[6]   *Tomus tertius Psaolmorum selectorum, quatuor et plurium vocum*. Nürnberg, J. Montanus & U. Neuber, 1553.

1553[7]   *Liber primus sexdecim musicales modulos continens, ex pluribus vocibus compositos...* Paris, A. Le Roy et R. Ballard, January 9-15, 1552.

1553[8]   *Liber primus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quatuor vocum vulgo moteta vocant, tam ex Veteri quam ex Novo Testamento, ab optimis quibusque huius aetatis musicis compositarum. Antea nunquam excusus.* Antwerp, T. Susato, 1553.

1553[9]   *Liber secundus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quatuor vocum vulgo moteta vocant, tam ex Veteri quam ex Novo Testamento, ab optimis quibusque huius aetatis musicis compositarum. Antea nunquam excusus.* Antwerp, T. Susato, 1553.

1553[10]   *Liber tertius ecclesiasticarum cantionum quatuor vocum vulgo moteta vocant, tam ex Veteri quam ex Novo Testamento, ab optimis quibusque huius*

aetatis musicis compositarum antea nunquam excusus. Antwerp, T. Susato, 1553.

1553[11]   *Liber quartus cautionum sacrarum, (vulgo moteta vocant) quinque et sex vocum ex optimis quibusque musicis selectarum*. Louvain, P. Phalèse, 1553.

1553[12]   *Liber quintus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant, tam ex Veteri quam ex Novo Testamento, ab optimis quibusque huius aetatis musicis compositarum. Omnes primi toni. Antea nunquam excusus*. Antwerp, T. Susato, 1553.

1553[13]   *Liber sextus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant, tam ex Veteri quam ex Novo Testamento, ab optimis quibusque huius aetatis musicis compositarum. Omnes primi toni. Antea nunquam excusus*. Antwerp, T. Susato, 1553.

1553[14]   *Liber septimus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant, tam ex Veteri quam ex Novo Testamento, ab optimis quibusque huius aetatis musicis compositarum. Antea nunquam excusus omnes de uno tono*. Antwerp, T. Susato, 1553.

1553[15]   *Liber octavus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant, tam ex Veteri quam ex Novo Testamento, ab optimis quibusque huius aetatis musicis compositarum. Omnes de uno tono. Antea nunquam excusus*. Antwerp, T. Susato, 1553.

1553[16]   *Liber XIIII ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant, tam ex Veteri quam ex Novo Testamento, ab optimis quisbusque huius aetatis musicis compositarum De uno tono antea nunquam excusus*. Antwerp, T. Susato, 1553.

1554[7]   *Moduli undecim festorum solemnium totius anni, cum quatuor & quinque vocibus, à celeberrimis authoribus conditi, nùnc recèns editi...* Paris, N.

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du Chemin, 1554.

1554[9] *Liber nonus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant, tam ex Veteri quam ex Novo Testamento, ab optimis quibusque huius aetatis musicis compositarum. Omnes quasi de uno tono antea nunquam exsusus.* Antwerp, T. Susato, 1554.

1554[11] *Tomus quartus Psalmorum selectorum, quatuor et plurium vocum.* Nürnberg, J. Montanus & U. Neuber, 1554.

1554[32] *Libro de musica para vihuela, intitulado Orphenica lyra. En el qual se contienen muchas y diversas obras. Compuesto por Miquel de Fuenllana...* Seville, Martin de Montesdaca, 1554.

1554[35] *Troisieme livre de tabulature de leut contenant plusieurs chansons, motetz et fantasies, composées par feu messire Albert de Rippe de Mantove, seigneur du Carois, ioueur de leut & varlet de chambre du Roy...* Paris, M. Fezandat, 1554.

1555[7] *Sacrarum cantionum (vulgo hodie moteta vocant) quinque et sex vocum, ad veram harmoniam concentumque ab optimis quibusque musicis in philomusorum gratiam compositarum. Liber tertius.* Antwerp, H. Waelrant & J. Laet, 1555

1555[8] *Liber decimus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant, tam ex Veteri quam ex Novo Testamento, ab optimis quibusque huius aetatis musicis compositarum. Unius toni omnes antea nunquam excusus.* Antwerp, T. Susato. 1555.

1555[9] *Liber undecimus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant, tam ex Veteri quam ex Novo Testamento, ab optimis quibusque huius aetatis musicis compositarum. Unius toni omnes antea nunquam excusus.* Antwerp, T. Susato, 1555.

1555[10]	*Secundus tomus Evangeliorum, quatuor, quinque, sex, et plurium vocum. Continens historias & doctrinam, quae in Ecclesia proponi solet: de Ascensione Christi. De Missione Spiritus Sancti.* Nürnberg, J. Montanus & U. Neuber, 1555.
1555[11]	*Tertius tomus Evangeliorum, quatuor, quinque, sex, et plurium vocum. Continens historias & doctrinam, quae in Ecclesia proponi solet: de Trinitate. De Dedicatione Templi. De Coena Dominica.* Nürnberg, J. Montanus & U. Neuber, 1555.
1555[12]	*Quartus tomus Evangeliorum, quatuor, quinque, sex et plurium vocum. Continens historias & doctrinam, quae in Ecclesia proponi solet: de Baptisato Christo a Ioanne. De Transfiguratione Christi. De Passione et Cruce Christi.* Nürnberg, J. Montanus & U. Neuber, 1555.
1555[13]	*Tertius liber modulorum, quatuor, quinque et sex vocum, (quos vulgus moteta vocat) à quibusvis celeberrimis authoribus excerptus & nunc primum lucem aeditus.* [Geneva], S. du Bosc & G. Guéroult, 1555.
1555[15]	*Moteti de la fama Libro primo a quatro voci, composti da Ioanne Lheritier, musico eccellentiss. Raccolti da molti libri, già stampati et alcuni anchora non piu stampati. Novamente con diligentia coretti et posti in luce a commune utilita di virtuosi...* Venice, G. Scotto, 1555.
1556[10]	*Sextus liber modulorum, quatuor, quinque et sex vocum, (quos vulgus moteta vocat) à quibusvis celeberrimis authoribus excerptus, & nunc primum in lucem aeditus.* [Geneva], S. Du Bosc, 1556.
1557[3]	*Liber duodecimus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant, tam ex Veteri quam ex Novo Testamento, ab optimis quibusque huius aetatis musicis compositarum. De uno tono. Antea nunquam excusus.* Antwerp, T. Susato, 1557.

1557[4]	*Liber XIIII. ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vulgo moteta vocant, tam ex Veteri quam ex Novo Testamento ab optimis quisbusque huius aetatis musicis compositarum. De uno tono. Antea nunquam excusus.* Antwerp, T. Susato, 1557.
1557[7]	*Piissimae ac sacratissimae lamentationes Ieremiae Prophetae, nuper a varijs auctoribus compositae pluribus vocibus distinctae: & nunc primùm in lucem editae.* Paris, A. Le Roy et R. Ballard, 1557.
1558[8]	*Primus liber modulorum, quatuor et quinque vocum, (quos vulgus motteta vocat) à quibusvis celeberrimis authoribus excerptus.* [Geneva], J. Arbillius (s.d.).
1558[19]	*Troisiesme livre de tabulature de leut, contenant plusieurs chansons, fantaisies. motetz, pavanes et gaillardes. Composées par maistre Guillaume Morlaye, joueur de leut, et autres bons autheurs.* Paris, M. Fezandat, 1558.
1558[20]	*Tabulaturbuch auff di Lauten von Moteten frantzösischen-welschen und teütschen geystlichen und weltlichen Liedern, sampt etlichen jren Texten, mit viern fünffen und sechs Stimmen dergleichen vor nie im Truck aussgangen...durch Sebastian Ochsenkhun... zusamen ordinirt und gelesen...* Heidelberg, J. Kohlen, 1557.
1558[21]	*Sixiesme livre de tabulature.* (Not in RISM).
1559[1]	*Secunda pars magni operis musici, continens clarissimorum symphonistarum tam veterum quàm recentiorum, praecipue vero Clementis non Papae, carmine elegantissima. Quinque vocum Jesus Syrach XL. Cap. vinum & musica laetificant cor.* Nürnberg, J. von Berg & U. Neuber, 1559.
1559[2]	*Tertia pars magni operis musici, continens clarissimorum symphonistarum tam veterum*

qu&a2.m recentiorum, praecipue vero Clementis non Papae, Carmina elegantissima. Quatuor vocum... Nürnberg, J. Montanus & U. Neuber, 1559.

1559[4]   *Tertius Primus liber modulorum, quatuor et quinque vocum, (quos vulgus Motteta vocat) à quibusvis celeberrimis authoribus excerptus.* [Geneva], M. Sylvius, [1560?].

1560[2]   *Variarum linguarum tricinia, a praestantissimis musicis, ad voces fere aequales composita...Tomi secundi.* Nürnberg, J. von Berg & U. Neuber, 1560.

1560[27]   *Premier livre de tabulature de luth de M. Jean Paule Paladin, contenant fantasies, motetz, madrigales, chansons françoises, pavanes, & gaillardes: avec une briève instruction de la tablature dudit instrument, de nouveau adjoutée.* Lyons, S. Gorlier, 1560.

1562[2]   *Motetti del frutto a quatro voci. Libro primo. Novamente coretti e stampati.* Venice, G. Scotto, 1562.

1562[11]   *Il primo libro delle villotte alla napoletana de diversi eccellentissimi autori novamente stampato. A tre voci.* Venice, A. Gardano, 1562.

1562[28]   *Cinqiesme livre de tabelature de luth contenant plusieurs motetz, & fantasies. Par maistre Albert de Rippe mantouan.* Paris, A. Le Roy et R. Ballard, 1562.

1564[1]   *Thesaurus musicus continens selectissimas octo, septem, sex, quinque et quatuor vocum Harmonias, tam à veteribus quàm recentioribus symphonistis compositas, & ad omnis generis instrumenta musica accomodatas. Tomi primi continentis cantiones octo vocum...* Nürnberg, J. Montanus & U. Neuber, 1564.

1564[6]	*Mottetti del Fiore a quattro voci, novamente ristampati, et con somma diligentia revisti et corretti. Libro primo.* Venice, F. Rampazetto, 1564.
1564[22]	*Premier livre de tabelature de luth contenant plusieurs fantasies, motetz, chansons françoises, et madrigalz par Vallentin Bacfarc.* Paris, A. Le Roy et R. Ballard, 1564.
1565[2]	*Modulorum ternis vocibus diversis auctoribus decantatorum Volumen primum.* Paris, A. Le Roy et R. Ballard, 1565.
1565[3]	*Modulorum ternis vocibus diversis auctoribus decantatorum Volumen secundum.* Paris, A. Le Roy et R. Ballard, 1565.
1567[1]	*Suavissimae et iucundissimae harmoniae: octo, quinque et quatuor vocum, ex duabus vocibus, a praestantissimis artificibus huius artis compositae, et nunc primum in lucem aeditae... Clemente Stephani buchaviense, & Egranorum incola selectore.* Nürnberg, T. Gerlach, 1567.
1569[6]	*Selectissimarum sacrarum cantionum (quas vulgo Moteta vocant) flores, trium vocum: ex optimis ac praestantissimis quibusque divinae Musices authoribus excerptarum, iam primum summa cura ac diligentia collecti et impressi. Liber tertius.* Louvain, P. Phalèse, 1569.
1574[7]	*Di Orlando di Lassus il secundo libro di madrigali a cinque voci, novamente con ogni diligentia ristampato.* Venice, figlioli di A. Gardano, 1574.
1574[12]	*Thesarus musicus continens selectissima Alberti Ripae, Valentini Baefari et aliorum paestantissimorum carmina ad usum Chelys, vel testudinis accommodata. Quibus adjectae sunt ingeniosae quaedam fantasiae, passomezi, alemandes, galliardae, bransles, atqe id genus caetera, recens in lucem edita.* Louvain, P. Phalèse et J. Bellère, 1574.

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1574[13]

Teütsch Lautenbuch, darinnenn kunstliche Muteten, liebliche italianische, französische, teütsche Stuck, fröliche teütsche Täntz, Passo e mezo, Saltarelle, und drei Fantasien... aussgesetzt... durch Melchior Newsidler... Strasbourg, B. Jobin, 1574.

1577[12]

Zwey Bücher. Einer neüen kunstlichen Tabulatur auff Orgel und Instrument. Deren das erste ausserlesne Moteten und Stuck zu sechs fünff und vier Stimmen auss den künstreichesten und weitberumbtesten Musicis und Componisten diser unser Zeit abgesetzt... collegiret und uberschen durch Bernhart Schmid... Strasbourg, B. Jobin, 1577.

1578[24]

Obras de musica para tecla arpa y vihuela, de Antonio de Cabeçon, musico de la camara y capilla del rey Don Philippe nuestro señor. Recopiladas y puestas en cifra por Hernando de Cabeçon su hijo. Ansi mesmo musico de camara y capilla de su Magestad. Madrid, F. Sanchez, 1578.

1583[24]

Tabulaturbuch auff Orgeln und Instrument darinne auff alle Sontage und hohen Fest durchs gantze Jahre auserlesene, liebliche und künstliche Moteten so mit Evangelijs, Episteln, Introitibus, ...in Druck vorfertiget durch Johannen Rühling von Born...Der erste Theil... Leipzig, J. Beyer, 1583.

1589[17]

Thesaurus motetarum. Newerlessner zwey und zweintzig herrlicher Moteten, rechte Kunst Stück: der aller berhümbsten Componisten in der Ordnung wie sie nach einander gelebt: und jede Moteten zu ihrem gewissen Modo gesetzt. Mit sonderm hohen Fleiss und müh zusamen getragen und in diese breuchige Tabulatur gebracht von Jacobo Paix augustano, organico lavingano. Strasbourgh, B. Jobin, 1589.

C 1707

Recens modulorum editio...liber secundus...{a 4 v}. Paris, P. Attaingnant & H. Jullet, 1542.

G 2974   *Sex missae cum quinque vocibus quarum tres sunt…*
       Jacheti, reliquae…Gomberti. Venice, G. Scotto,
       1542.

G 2977   *Gomberti excellentissimi, et inventione in hac arte*
       facile principis, chori Caroli quinti imperatoris
       magistri, musica quatuor vocum, (vulgo motecta
       nuncupatur) lyris maioribus, ac tibijs imparibus
       accomodata…liber primus. [Venice], G. Scotto
       [1539].

G 2987   *Nicolai Gomberti, Musici imperatorii,*
       Motectorum…Liber secundus. Quatuor vocum.
       Venice, G. Scotto, 1541.

J 6   *Motecta quinque vocum…liber primus ([S, A, T, B:]*
       Del primo libro dei motetti a cinque voci…).
       Venice, G. Scotto, 1539.

J 678   *Josquin Pratensis, musici praestantissimi, moduli…et*
       in 4, 5, et 6 voces distincti. Liber primus. Paris,
       A. Le Roy & R. Ballard, 1555.

L 3089   *Io. Lupi, chori sacre virginis Marie Cameracenis*
       Magistri, musice cantiones (que vulgo motetta
       nuncupatur)…Liber tertius. Paris, P. Attaingnant,
       1542.

M 271   *Modulorum musicalium primus tomus.* Paris, P.
       Attaingnant, 1545.

M 4017   *Selecti aliquot moduli, & in 4, 5, 6, & 8 vocum*
       harmoniam distincti, liber primus. Paris, A. Le
       Roy & R. Ballard, 1555.

R 1300   *Ioannis Richafort modulorum quatuor quinque & sex*
       vocum. Liber primus. Paris: Le Roy et Ballard,
       1556.

S 2818   *Claudii de sermisy, regii sacelli submagistri, nova &*
       prima motettorum editio…libro primus. Paris: P.
       Attaingnant & H. Jullet, 1542.

S 2819	*Moduli, vulgo moteta dicti, quatuor, quinque, & sex vocum, liber primus*. Paris, A. Le Roy & R. Ballard, 1555.
S 2828	*Missae quatuor vocibus concinendae…liber primus*. Venice, G. Vincenti, 1604.
W 1106	*Famosissimi Adriani Willaert, …musica quatuor vocum (quae vulgo motecta muncupatur)… Liber primus, quatuor vocum*. Venice, G. Scotto, 1539.
W 1107	*Adriani Willaert…nunc denuo summa diligentia recognita ac in lucem exeuntia, additis etiam ab authore multis motectis que in priori editione desiderabantur, liber primus*. Venice, A. Gardano, 1545.
W 1108	*Motetti d'Adriano Willaert, Libro secondo a quatro voci...* Venice, B. & O. Scotto, 1539.
W 1109	*Adriani Willaert…musica quatuor vocum (motecta vulgo appellant)…additis etiam…multis motectisque in priori editione desiderabantur, liber secundus*. Venice, A. Gardano, 1545.
W 1110	*Famosissimi Adriani Willaert, musica quinque vocum (quae vulgo motecta nuncupatur)…liber primus*. Venice, G. Scotto, 1539.
W 1111	*Musica quinque vocum (quae vulgo motecta nuncupantur)…liber primus*. Venice, G. Scotto, 1550.

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                        people to eschewe & to auoyde the comen plage of
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APPENDIX A: MARIAN MOTETS

Appendix A1: Marian Texts Set in the Motet Series of Petrucci, Antico, and Moderne

Ordered first by printer, and then alphabetically within that printer's series.

Titles with an (*) appear in the series of more than one printer.

Printer	Motet Title	Series, number	Composer
Petrucci	Stabat mater	MotD 19	Turplin
		MC3.06	Josquin Desprez
	Alma redemptoris*	MotC 18	[Isaac, Heinrich]
		MotD 1	Josquin Desprez
		MotD 22	[Brumel, Antoine]
		MC3.10	Josquin Desprez
	Anima mea liquefacta	MotA 33	Ghiselin, Johannes
	Ave celorum domina	MotC 2	Brumel, Antoine
	Ave decus virginale	MotB 28	Martini, Johannes
	Ave domina sancta Maria	MotA 23	Weerbeke, Gaspar van
		MotB 14	[Anon]
	Ave nobilissima creatura	MC3.03	Josquin Desprez
	Ave Maria*	MotA 2	Josquin Desprez
		MotA 18	Compère, Loyset
		MotA 20	[Crean]
		MotB 25	Regis, Johannes
		MotB 30	Stappen, Crispin van
		MotC 1	Josquin Desprez
		MotV 12	Pipelare, Mattheus
		MotV 16	Regis, Johannes
	Ave mater omnium	MotD 45	Weerbeke, Gaspar van
	Ave pulcherrima regina	MotB 26	Agricola, Alexander
	Ave regina celorum	MotC 20	[Obrecht]
	Ave sanctissima Maria	MotV 17	Diniset
	Ave stella matutina*	MotA 21	Brumel, Antoine
		MotA 32	Weerbeke, Gaspar van
	Ave virginum gemma	MotD 9	Bulkyn
	Ave virgo gloriosa	MotD 2	Brumel, Antoine
	Beata dei genitrix	MotC 7	[Anon]
		MC1.11	Mouton, Jean
	Beata es Maria virgo	MotD 11	Brumel, Antoine
		MotD 33	Obrecht, Jacob
	Benedicta es celorum	MC1.19	Mouton, Jean
	Benedicat nos imperialis	MC1.12	Longueval, Antoine de

Petrucci	Christi mater ave	MotA 31	Weerbeke, Gaspar van
	Clangat plebs	MotV 1	Regis, Johannes
	Conceptus hodiemus Marie	MotD 36	Brumel, Antoine
	Corde et animo	MC2.14	Mouton, Jean
	Da pacem domine/ Dulcis amica dei	MotV 3	Weerbeke, Gaspar van
	Davidica stirpe Maria orta est	MotC 6	[Anon]
	Decantemus in hec die	MotD 14	[Anon]
	Descendi in ortum	MotA 8	[Anon]
	Dulcissima virgo Maria	MC4.12	Févin
	Ecce Maria genuit*	MC1.09	Mouton, Jean
	Exaudi nos filia	MotV 15	Stappen, Crispin van
	Factor orbis	MotV 2	Obrecht, Jacob
	Felix namque*	MC3.15	[Mouton, Jean]
	Filie regum	MotC 29	[Anon]
	Gaudeamus omnes	MotC 37	[Anon]
	Gaude virgo mater Christi	MotB 31	[Anon]
		MotD 15	Josquin Desprez
	Hec est illa dulcis	MotB 29	[Anon]
	Ibo mihi ad montem	MotA 22	Weerbeke, Gaspar van
	Illibata dei virgo nutrix	MotV 4	Josquin Desprez
	In lectulo meo	MotC 42	[Anon]
	Inviolata integra*	MotC 35	[Anon]
		MotD 18	Ghiselin, Johannes
		MotD 29	Basiron, Philippe
		MotV 7	Isaac, Heinrich
		MC4.06 =ML1.15	Josquin Desprez
	Lux solempnis adest	MotV 11	Regis, Johannes
	Maria virgo semper letare	MotD 3	Ghiselin, Johannes
		MC2.20	Mouton/ Gascongne
	Mater digna dei	MotA 34	[Weerbeke, Gaspar van]
	Mater patris, natinata	MotV 14	Obrecht, Jacob
	Missus est angelus	MotC 17	[Josquin]
	Missus est Gabriel	MotC 8	[Josquin Desprez]
		MC4.03	Mouton, Jean
	Mittit ad virginem	MotC 40	[Josquin Desprez]
	Nativitas tua	MotD 23	Brumel, Antoine
		MotD 54	Lapicida, Erasmus
	Non lotis manibus manducare	MotB 1	Stappen, Crispin van
	O admirabile commercium	MotC 23	[Anon]
	O decus ecclesie	MotV 6	Isaac, Heinrich
	O dulcissima pulchra	MotC 39	[Anon]
	O bone et dulcis domine Jesu	MotC 16	Josquin Desprez

Petrucci	O florens rosa	MotA 15	Ghiselin, Johannes
	O genetrix gloriosa	MotA 3	[Compère, Loyset/ Richafort]
	O gloriosa domina	MotD 12	Ghiselin, Johannes
	O Maria virgo	MotD 5	Mouton, Jean
	O potens magni	MotD 30	[Anon]
	O pulcherrima mulierum	MotA 24	Weerbeke, Gaspar van
		MC4.14	Mouton, Jean
	O quam glorifica	MotA 9	Agricola, Alexander
	O quem fulges in etheris	MotD 8	Mouton, Jean
	O stelliferi conditor	MotD 34	[Anon]
	Obsecro te virgo dulcissima	MotD 35	[Anon]
	Propter gravamen	MotA 7	Compère, Loyset
	Quam pulchra es amica	MC3.12	Moulu, Pierre
	Quam pulchra es et quam decora*	MC4.15	Bauldeweyn, Noel
	Regina celi	MotA 13	Brumel, Antoine
		MotD 25	Ghiselin, Johannes
		MotD 53	[Mouton, Jean]
	Rogamus te piisima virgo	Mot C 34	[Isaac, Heinrich]
	Rogamus te virgo Maria	MC2.07	Jacotin
	Salvatoris mater pia	MotC 41	[Anon]
	Salve regina*	MotB 32	[Anon]
		MotD 4	La Rue, Pierre de
	Salve sponsa tui genitrix	MotV 10	Regis, Johannes
	Salve virgo virginum	MotD 32	Aulen, Joannes
	Sancta Maria quesumus	MotB 27	[Martini, Johannes]
	Sile fragor ac	MotA 17	Compère, Loyset
	Stabat mater	MotD 19	Turplin
		MC3.06	Josquin Desprez
	Stella celi	MotA 25	[Anon]
	Surge propera	MotA 4	Pinarol, Jo. de
	Tota pulchra	MotC 5	Craen, Nicolaus
	Verbum bonum	MC2.01	Therache, Pierrequin de
		MC4.02	Willaert, Adrian
		MC4.04	Josquin Desprez
	Victime paschali laudes / D'ung aultre amer, Dic nobis Maria / De tous biens	MotA 11	Josquin Desprez
	Vidi speciosam	MotA 26	Weerbeke, Gaspar van
	Virgo dei trono digna	MotA 30	Tinctoris, Johannes

Petrucci	Virgo Maria	MotA 14	Weerbeke, Gaspar van
	Virgo prudentissima*	MotA 5	Josquin Desprez
		MotD 55	Lapicida, Erasmus
	Virgo salutiferi	MotD 17	[Anon]
		MC3.04	Josquin Desprez
	Virgo precellens	MotC 21	[Anon]
	Vultum tuum	MotD 39	Josquin Desprez
Antico	Ave domina mea	ML3.06	Lhéritier, Jean
	Ave stella matutina	ML2.02	Maistre Jhan
	Ecce Maria genuit	ML1.08	Josquin Desprez
	Felix namque	ML1.10	Mouton, Jean
	In illo tempore postquam	ML4.11	Festa, Sebastiano
	Inviolata integra	ML1.15 = MC4.06	Josquin Desprez
	Maria virgo prescripta	ML3.16	Festa, Costanzo
	Recordare virgo mater	ML2.15	Josquin Desprez
	Quam pulchra et quam decora*	ML4.12	Festa, Costanzo
	Salvator mundi salva nos	ML3.05	[Lhéritier/ Mouton]
	Salve mater salvatoris	ML3.01	Mouton, Jean
	Salve regina	ML4.01	Josquin Desprez
	Sancta Maria sucurre	ML3.04	Lhéritier, Jean
Moderne	Alma redemptoris	MF2.01	De Silva, Andreas
		MF2.11	Jacquet of Mantua
		MF2.20	Lhéritier, Jean
	Ave Maria gratia plena	MF1.05	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de
		MF1.17	Willaert, Adrian
	Ave Maria ancilla	MF2.23	Willaert, Adrian
	Ave sanctissima Maria	MF3.10	Gombert, Nicolas
	Dignare me laudare	MF1.23	Gombert, Nicolas
	Dulcis amica dei	MF3.22	Gombert, Nicolas
	Hodierne lux	MF1.02	Hellinck, Lupus
	Inter natos mulierum	MF3.12	Gombert, Nicolas
	Inviolata integra*	MF1.15	Courtois, Jean
	Letetur omne	MF3.06	Hellinck, Lupus
	Nigra sum	MF1.10	Layolle, Francesco de
		MF2.24	Lhéritier, Jean/Willaert
	O regem celi	MF1.01	De Silva, Andreas
	O virgo benedicta	MF1.11	De Silva, Andreas
	Quam pulchra es et quam decora*	MF3.09	Lupi, Johannes
	Salve regina	MF2.07	Richafort, Jean
	Virgo prudentissima	MF1.20	Domin.

A2: Marian Motets in Attaingnant's Motet Series

Ordered alphabetically, with Magnificat settings added at the end of the table.[1]

Title	Motet Number	Composer
Adorna thalamum	4.07	Vermont Primus
Alma redemptoris	1.06	Lhéritier, Jean
Alma redemptoris	3.13	De Silva, Andreas
Ave domina mea	4.04	La Fage, Jean de
Ave Maria gemma virginum	3.21	Mouton, Jean
Ave Maria gratia dei plena	3.05	Sermisy, Claudin de
Ave Maria gratia plena	2.09	Lhéritier, Jean
Ave Maria gratia plena	4.25	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de
Ave Maria gratia plena	8.02	Richafort, Jean
Ave regina celorum	2.18	Willaert, Adrian
Ave regina celorum	12.01	Sohier, Mathieu
Ave regina celorum	12.02	Georget, Mauricius
Ave sanctissima Maria	1.19	Mouton, Jean
Ave sanctissima Maria	2.24	Verdelot, Philippe
Ave sanctissima Maria	3.20	Verdelot, Philippe
Ave stella matutina mundi princeps et regina	14.04	Manchicourt, Pierre de
Ave virgo gloriosa stella	3.03	Vermont Primus
Ave virgo gloriosa stella sole clarior	14.08	Manchicourt, Pierre de
Ave virgo gratiosa	1.17	Le Bouteiller, Jean
Beata dei genitrix	13.09	Margot, Colin
Beata es virgo Maria	1.08	Lhéritier, Jean
Beata viscera	8.14	Willaert, Adrian
Benedicta es celorum	2.14	Le Bouteiller, Jean
Cede fragor strepitusque omnis	8.16	[anon]
Contremuerunt omnia membra mea	4.14	[Mouton, Jean]
Cum inducerent	8.11	Conseil, Jean
Descendi in ortum	8.17	[Jacquet of Mantua]
Dignare me laudare	1.11	Gascongne, Mathieu
Dignare me laudare	3.04	Verdelot, Philippe
Dignare me laudare	7.23	Maistre Gosse
Fecit potentiam	5.13	Sermisy, Claudin de
Hac clara die	1.05	Richafort, Jean
Hac clara die	8.03	Willaert, Adrian
Homo erat in Jerusalem	8.06	Gombert, Nicolas
Inviolata integra	4.27	[Courtois, Jean]
Maria virgo semper letare	1.10	Gascongne, Mathieu

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[1] The Magnificat settings are included here because the text is Marian.

Nesciens mater	3.06	[Mouton, Jean]
Nesciens mater	4.09	[anon]
Nigra sum	4.24	Conseil, Jean
Nigra sum	8.01	Lhéritier, Jean
O gloriosa dei genitrix	1.21	Gombert, Nicolas
O intemerata et in eternum benedicta	14.09	Manchicourt, Pierre de
O virgo virginum quomodo	7.18	Manchicourt, Pierre de
Regina celi	12.04	Sohier, Mathieu
Regina celi	12.05	Moulu, Pierre
Regina celi	12.06	Willaert, Adrian
Regina celi	12.07	Rousée, Jean
Regina celi	12.08	Gombert, Nicolas
Regina celi	12.09	Vermont Primus
Regina celi	12.10	Bourguignon, François
Regina celi	12.11	De Silva, Andreas
Regina celi letare alleluya	14.02	Manchicourt, Pierre de
Salve mater pietatis	3.19	[anon]
Salve mater salvatoris mater	1.14	[anon]
Salve regina	12.03	Sohier, Mathieu
Salve regina	12.12	Josquin Desprez
Salve regina	12.13	Sermisy, Claudin de
Salve regina	12.14	Conseil, Jean
Salve regina	12.15	Lhéritier, Jean
Salve regina	12.16	Barra, Jehan de (Hotinet)
Salve regina	12.17	Richafort, Jean
Sancta et immaculata	4.28	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de
Sancta Maria mater dei	4.29	Conseil, Jean
Sancta Maria mater dei	7.24	Maistre Gosse
Sancta Maria mater dei	13.18	[Sermisy, Claudin de]
Sancta Maria regina celorum	8.18	Willaert, Adrian
Sancta Maria sucurre	2.06	Verdelot, Philippe
Surge propera	4.26	Werrecore, Matthias Hermann
Tota pulchra	11.20	Sermisy, Claudin de
Veni electa mea	8.04	Richafort, Jean
Veni in ortum	4.18	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de
Veniat dilectus meus	4.03	[anon]
Verbum bonum	8.08	Willaert, Adrian
Virgo carens criminibus	4.05	De Silva, Andreas
Virgo prudentissima	3.10	Penet, Hillaire
Virgo salutiferi	4.23	Josquin Desprez

Virgo salutiferi	13.03	Jodon
Magnificat primi toni	5.01	Cybot
Magnificat primi toni	5.02	Le Heurteur, Guillaume
Magnificat primi toni	5.03	Du Lot, François
Magnificat primi toni	5.04	Le Brung, Jean
Magnificat primi toni	5.05	Mornable, Antoine
Magnificat primi toni	5.06	Févin, Antoine de
Magnificat primi toni	6.13	Billon, Jo. de
Magnificat secundi toni	5.07	Barra, Jehan de (Hotinet)
Magnificat secundi toni	5.08	Barra, Jehan de (Hotinet)
Magnificat secundi toni	5.09	Manchicourt, Pierre de
Magnificat secundi toni	5.10	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de
Magnificat tertii toni	5.11	Penet, Hillaire
Magnificat tertii toni	5.12	Jacotin
Magnificat quarti toni	6.01	Mouton, Jean
Magnificat quarti toni	6.02	Jacotin
Magnificat quarti toni	6.03	Lhéritier, Jean
Magnificat quarti toni	6.04	Le Heurteur, Guillaume
Magnificat quarti toni	6.05	Divitis, Antonius
Magnificat quinti toni	6.06	Du Hamel
Magnificat sexti toni	6.07	Mouton, Jean
Magnificat septimi toni	6.08	Gascongne, Mathieu
Magnificat octavi toni	6.09	Richafort, Jean
Magnificat octavi toni	6.10	Sermisy, Claudin de
Magnificat octavi toni	6.11	Jacotin
Magnificat octavi toni	6.12	Du Hamel

APPENDIX B: *UNICA* IN ATTAINGNANT'S MOTET SERIES

Entries in bold are by composers with confirmed affiliations to the court or Paris, italics indicate a composer from the older generation

Composer	Title	Book and Number
[anon]	Salve mater salvatoris mater	1.14
[anon]	Salve mater pietatis	3.19
[anon]	Clare sanctorum senatus	4.02
[anon]	Veniat dilectus meus	4.03
[anon]	Nesciens mater	4.09
[anon]	Sancti spiritus adsit	4.10
[anon]	O sapiencia	7.10
[anon]	Benedictus es domine deus	8.15
[anon]	Cede fragor strepitusque omnis	8.16
[anon]	Passio domini/John	10.06
[anon]	Feria Sezta in Parasceves	10.02
Barra, Jehan de	***O radix Jesse***	***7.12***
Barra, Jehan de	***O rex gentium***	***7.17***
Barra, Jehan de	***Salve regina***	***12.16***
Bourguignon, François	Regina celi	12.10
Cadéac, Pierre	Fundata est domus domini	13.16
Certon, Pierre	**O adonai et dux dominus**	**7.11**
Conseil, Jean	**Cum inducerent**	**8.11**
Conseil, Jean	**Egredere ab occidente**	**2.10**
Conseil, Jean	**In illa die suscipiam**	**7.05**
Conseil, Jean	**Salve regina**	**12.14**
Conseil, Jean	**Sancta Maria mater dei**	**4.29**
Courtois, Jean	O crux ave sanctissima	4.08
Divitis, Antonius	***Magnificat quarti toni***	***6.05***
Divitis, Antonius	***Gloria laus***	***10.12***
Dulot, Francois	*Magnificat primi toni*	*5.03*
Gascongne, Mathieu	***Deus regnorum et christianissimi***	***11.15***
Gascongne, Mathieu	***Letatus sum in his***	***9.03***
Gascongne, Mathieu	***Spiritus ubi vult***	***2.21***
Georget, Mauricius	Ave regina celorum	12.02
Gombert, Nicolas	Salvator mundi salva nos	13.14
Guyon, Jean	Fundamenta ejus in montibus	9.02
Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de	Andreas Christi	7.20
Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de	Angeli et archangeli throni	3.18

Jacotin	**Magnificat octavi toni**	**6.11**
Jacquet de Mantua	Domine non secundum	10.13
Jodon	**Virgo salutiferi**	**13.03**
Joris, Cornesle	Factus est repente	13.04
Joris, Cornesle	Tempus meum	13.02
La Fage, Jean de	*Ave domina mea*	*4.04*
Le Bouteiller, Jean	Ave virgo gratiosa	1.17
Le Bouteiller, Jean	Benedicta es celorum	2.14
Le Heurteur, Guillaume	Congratulamini mihi	3.12
Le Heurteur, Guillaume	Magnificat primi toni	5.02
Le Heurteur, Guillaume	Magnificat quarti toni	6.04
Le Heurteur, Guillaume	Vidi sub altare dei animas	7.04
Le Roy, Guillaume	O oriens splendor lucis	7.14
Lenfant	**In pace in idipsum**	**10.07**
Lhéritier, Jean	Cum rides michi basium negasti	8.05
Lhéritier, Jean	Salve regina	12.15
Louvet, G.	O rex gloriose	10.11
Lupi, Johannes	Ave verbum incarnatum	13.08
Manchicourt, Pierre de	Regina celi letare alleluya	14.02
Manchicourt, Pierre de	O Emanuel	7.16
Manchicourt, Pierre de	O Thoma didime	7.15
Manchicourt, Pierre de	O virgo virginum quomodo	7.18
Margot, Colin	Beata dei genitrix	13.09
Mornable, Antoine	**Magnificat primi toni**	**5.05**
Mornable, Antoine	**O clavis David et sceptrum**	**7.13**
Moulu, Pierre	**In pace**	**10.08**
Moulu, Pierre	**Ne proiicias nos**	**10.10**
Moulu, Pierre	**Regina celi**	**12.05**
Mouton, Jean	**Ave Maria gemma virginum**	**3.21**
Passereau, Pierre	**Unde veniet auxilium michi**	**11.14**
Richafort, Jean	**Gloria laus**	**1.04**
Rousée, Jean	**Congratulamini mihi**	**7.06**
Rousée, Jean	**Exsurge quare obdormis**	**8.12**
Rousée, Jean	**Lapidaverunt Stephanum et ipse**	**7.07**
Rousée, Jean	**Laudem dicite**	**7.08**
Rousée, Jean	**Regina celi**	**12.07**
Rousée, Jean	**Sospitate dedit**	**7.09**
Sermisy, Claudin de	**Domine rex omnipotens**	**11.06**
Sermisy, Claudin de	**Exsurge quare obdormis**	**11.04**
Sermisy, Claudin de	**Fecit potentiam**	**5.13**

Sermisy, Claudin de	**Magnificat octavi toni**	**6.10**
Sermisy, Claudin de	**Noe magnificatus est rex**	**2.11**
Sermisy, Claudin de	**Passio domini/Matt**	**10.05**
Sermisy, Claudin de	**Resurrexi et adhuc**	**10.14**
Sermisy, Claudin de	**Salve regina**	**12.13**
Sohier, Mathieu	**Ave regina celorum**	**12.01**
Sohier, Mathieu	**Regina celi**	**12.04**
Sohier, Mathieu	**Salve regina**	**12.03**
Verdelot, Philippe	*Ave sanctissima Maria*	*2.24*
Verdelot, Philippe	*Ne proiicias nos*	*10.09*
Vermont Primus	***Adest nanque beati Dionysii***	***3.08***
Vermont Primus	***Adorna thalamum***	***4.07***
Vermont Primus	***Benedicat nos deus noster***	***1.20***
Vermont Primus	***Regina celi***	***12.09***
Vermont Primus	***Virgo flagellatur crucianda***	***7.01***
Werrecore, Matthias Hermann	O crux viride lignum	2.17
Werrecore, Matthias Hermann	Surge propera	4.26
Willaert, Adrian	Hac clara die	8.03

APPENDIX C: MOTETS WITH FOREIGN *CANTUS FIRMI* IN ATTAINGNANT'S SERIES

Motet	Motet Title (composer)	Text of the CF	Source of the CF	Placement of the CF
3.03	Ave Virgo gloriosa (Vermont Primus)	O pia o clemens o dulcis maria.	Salve regina Antiphon (music based on the phrase for "O clemens").	Secundus Tenor
3.08	Adest namque (Vermont Primus)	Gaude prole grecia glorietur gallia patre dionysio.	First line of sequence by Adam of St. Victor (text and music).	Secundus Tenor
4. 11	Recordare Domine (Verdelot)	Parce Domine populo tuo quia pius es et miserecordias exaudi nos in eternum domine.	Obrecht motet *Parce Domine.*	Quinta Pars
4.12	Adjuva nos (Verdelot)	Parce Domine populo tuo quia pius es et miserecordias exaudi nos in eternum domine.	Obrecht motet *Parce Domine.*	Quinta Pars
4.23	Virgo salutiferi (Josquin)	Ave maria gratia plena dominus tecum benedicta tu in mulieribus alleluya.	Ave Maria Antiphon (text and melody).	Superius and Secundus Tenor
7.01	Virgo flagellatur (Vermont Primus)	Virgo sancta Katherina gratia grecia gemma urbe alexandrina coste regis erat filia. Amen.	Antiphon (text and melody).	Secundus Tenor
8.01	Nigra sum (Lhéritier)	Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis dolores inferni invenerunt me.	Psalm 114: 3 (melody is not one of the eight Psalm tones, but is similar in structure).	Sexta Pars
8.07	Saule, quide me (Le Brung)	Sancte Paule ora pro nobis.	Litany of the Saints (text and melody).	Primus Tenor
8.10	Gloriosi principes (Mouton)	Petrus apostolus et paulus doctor gentium ipsi nos docuerunt legem tuam domine.	Antiphon (text and melody).	Primus Tenor and Bassus
8.16	Cede fragor [Anonymous]	Sicut lilium inter spinas sic amica mea inter filias.	Antiphon (text and melody).	Tenor
8.18	Sancta Maria regina (Willaert)	Pulchra es et decora filia ierusalem terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata.	Antiphon (text and melody).	Quinta pars
11.19	Antequam comedam (Mouton)	Je ris et si ay la lerme a l'œil je chante sans avoir plaisir. Je danse au son de desplaisir. Je m'esbas et si nay que deuil.	Josquin chanson.	Secundus Tenor
12.12	Salve Regina (Josquin)	Salve (only "salve" through whole piece).	First word (with melody) of Salve regina Antiphon.	Primus Tenor

APPENDIX D: COMPOSER AND MOTET TABLES

D1: Composer Table

The Composer Table lists all motets in Attaingnant's Motet Series by composer, in alphabetical order. Each entry notes the known affiliation of the composer with institutions in Paris, the number of *unica* by that composer in the Series, the name of the composer as it appears in the Series, the titles of the motets attributed to the composer, and the motet number (book number, and number in the book).

Standardised Name	Affiliation	Number of Attributed Motets	Number of *unica* in the Series	Composer Name in Series	Motet Title	Motet Number
[anon]				[anon]	Salve mater salvatoris mater	1.14
[anon]				[anon]	Salve mater pietatis	3.19
[anon]				[anon]	Clare sanctorum senatus	4.02
[anon]				[anon]	Veniat dilectus meus	4.03
[anon]				[anon]	Nesciens mater	4.09
[anon]				[anon]	Sancti spiritus adsit	4.10
[anon]				[anon]	Ave mater matris dei	4.16
[anon]				[anon]	O sapiencia	7.10
[anon]				[anon]	Benedictus es domine deus	8.15
[anon]				[anon]	Cede fragor strepitusque omnis	8.16
[anon]				[anon]	Feria Sezta in Parasceves	10.02
[anon]				[anon]	Passio domini/John	10.06

Barra, Jehan de (Hotinet)	ND	5	3	Ho. barra	Magnificat secundi toni	5.07
				Ho. barra	Magnificat secundi toni	5.08
				Hotinet	O radix Jesse	7.12
				Hotinet	O rex gentium	7.17
				Hotinet barra	Salve regina	12.16
Billon, Jo. De		1		Jo. de billon	Magnificat primi toni	6.13
Bourguignon, François		1	1	Bourguignon	Regina celi	12.10
Briant, Denis		1		Denis briant	Dilexi quoniam	9.01
Cadéac, Pierre		2	1	B. Cadéac	Fundata est domus domini	13.16
				B. Cadéac	Salus populi ego	13.17
Certon	H, ND, SC	1	1	Certon	O adonai et dux dominus	7.11
Conseil, Jean	SC	9	5	Consilium	Egredere ab occidente	2.10
				Consilium	Pater peccavi	2.19
				Consilium	Tempus est ut revertar	4.20
				Consilium	Nigra sum	4.24
				Consilium	Sancta Maria mater dei	4.29
				Consilium	In illa die suscipiam	7.05
				Consilium	Cum inducerent	8.11
				Consilium	Adjuva me domine	11.07
				Consilium	Salve regina	12.14
Couillart		1		Couillart	Viri Galilei	1.02
Courtois, Jean		1	1	Courtoys	O crux ave sanctissima	4.08
				[Courtois]	Hi sancti quorum	3.07
				[Courtois]	Inviolata integra	4.27
Cybot	SC	1		Cybot	Magnificat primi toni	5.01

De Silva, Andreas		3		A. De silvus	Alma redemptoris	3.13
				A. de silva	Virgo carens criminibus	4.05
				De silva	Regina celi	12.11
Divitis, Antonius	A, F	2	2	Divitis	Magnificat Quarti toni	6.05
				Divitis	Gloria laus	10.12
Du Hamel	SC	2		Du hamel	Magnificat quinti toni	6.06
				Du hamel	Magnificat octavi toni	6.12
Du Lot, François		2	1	F. du lot	Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi	2.02
				f. dulot	Magnificat primi toni	5.03
Févin, Antoine de	L?	3		fevin	Magnificat primi toni	5.06
				Fevin	Feria quinta in Cena Domini	10.01
				Févin	Gaude francorum regia corona	11.18
Gascongne, Mathieu	L,F	13	3	Gascongne	Maria virgo semper letare	1.10
				Gascongne	Dignare me laudare	1.11
				Gascongne	Caro mea vere	1.13
				Gascongne	Christus vincit Christus regnat	2.08
				Gascongne	Spiritus ubi vult	2.21
				Gascongne	Magnificat septimi toni	6.08
				Gascongne	Letatus sum in his	9.03
				Gascongne	Quare tristis es	11.01
				Gascongne	Non nobis domine	11.05
				Gascongne	Deus regnorum et christianissimi	11.15
				Gascongne	Ne reminiscaris domine	11.17
				Gascongne	Rex autem David	11.23
				Gascongne	Bone Jesu dulcissime	11.26
Georget, Mauricius		1	1	Mauricius georget	Ave regina celorum	12.02

Gombert, Nicolas		7	1	Gombert	O gloriosa dei genitrix	1.21
				N. Gombert	Aspice domine quia facta	2.20
				Gombert	Virgo sancta Catherina	4.15
				Gombert	Conceptio tua	7.02
				Gombert	Homo erat in Jerusalem	8.06
				Gombert	Regina celi	12.08
				N. Gombert	Salvator mundi salva nos	13.14
Guyon, Jean		1	1	Guyon	Fundamenta ejus in montibus	9.02
Hellinck, Lupus		2		Lupus	Jerusalem luge	8.13
				Lupus	In te domine speravi	9.07
Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de		9	2	Hesdin	Parasti in dulcedine	3.02
				Hesdin	Argentum et aurem	3.17
				Hesdin	Angeli et archangeli throni	3.18
				Hesdin	Veni in ortum	4.18
				Hesdin	Ave Maria gratia plena	4.25
				Hesdin	Sancta et immaculata	4.28
				Hesdin	Magnificat secundi toni	5.10
				Hesdin	Andreas Christi	7.20
				Hesdin	Epiphaniam domino canamus gloriosam	8.09
Jacotin	F	6	1	Jacotin	Magnificat tertii toni	5.12
				Jacotin	Magnificat quarti toni	6.02
				Jacotin	Magnificat octavi toni	6.11
				Jacotin	Proba me domine	9.08
				Jacotin	Credidi propter	9.09
				Jacotin	Inclina domine	9.17
Jacquet of Mantua		2	1	Jacquet	Domine non secundum	10.13

				Jacquet	Surge Petre	13.13
				[Jacquet]	Descendi in ortum	8.17
Jarsins, G.		1		Jarsins	Respexit Elias	13.15
Jodon	Paris	1	1	Jodon	Virgo salutiferi	13.03
Joris, Cornesle		2	2	Corneille ioris	Tempus meum	13.02
				Corneille ioris	Factus est repente	13.04
Josquin Desprez	L?	2		Josquin des prez	Virgo salutiferi	4.23
				Josquin	Salve regina	12.12
La Fage, Jean de		4	1	La Fage	Super flumina Babilonis	3.09
				De la Fage	Ave domina mea	4.04
				De la fage	Vide domine afllictionem	11.03
				De la fage	Aspice domine de sede	11.16
Lasson, Mathieu		3		M. lasson	Anthoni pater	8.20
				Lasson	In manibus tuis	11.24
				M. lasson	Virtute magna	13.05
Le Bouteiller, Jean		2	2	Bouteiller	Ave virgo gratiosa	1.17
				Bouteiller	Benedicta es celorum	2.14
Le Brung, Jean	F, L	2		Le brun	Magnificat primi toni	5.04
				Le brun	Saule quide me	8.07
Le Heurteur, Guillaume		6	4	G. le heurteur	Congratulamini mihi	3.12
				G. le heurteur	Exaltare super celos deus	4.06
				Heurteur	Magnificat primi toni	5.02
				Heurteur	Magnificat Quarti toni	6.04
				Heurteur	Vidi sub altare dei animas	7.04
				G. le heurteur	Nisi dominus edificaverit	9.18
Le Roy, Guillaume		1	1	G. le roy	O oriens splendor lucis	7.14
Lenfant	F, SC	1	1	Lenfant	In pace in idipsum	10.07

Lhéritier, Jean		11	2	Lhéritier	Alma redemptoris	1.06
				Lhéritier	Angelus domini descendit	1.07
				Lhéritier	Beata es virgo Maria	1.08
				Jo. Lheritier	Ave Maria gratia plena	2.09
				Lheritier	Virgo Christi egregia	2.22
				Jo. lheritier	Magnificat Quarti toni	6.03
				Lhéritier	Nigra sum	8.01
				Lhéritier	Cum rides michi basium negasti	8.05
				Lhéritier	Qui confidunt in domino	9.16
				Lhéritier	Salve regina	12.15
				Lhéritier	Benedicat te dominus	13.06
Longueval, Antoine de	L,A,F	1		Longueval	Benedicite deum celi	11.02
Louvet, G.		1	1	G. Louvet	O rex gloriose	10.11
Lupi, Johannes		2	1	Jo. lupi	Ave verbum incarnatum	13.08
				Jo. lupi	Gaude tu baptista	13.10
Lupus		3		Lupus	Postquam consumati sunt	1.23
				Lupus	In convertendo	9.05
				Lupus	Usquequo domine oblivisceris	9.11
Maistre Gosse	H?	3		Gosse	Dignare me laudare	7.23
				Gosse	Sancta Maria mater dei	7.24
				M. Gosse	Laudate dominum omnes	9.04
Maistre Jhan		2		Jo. de ferrare	Omnia que fecisti	3.15
				M. Jo. de ferrare	Ecce nos relinquimus	8.19
Manchicourt, Pierre de	SC?	24	4	P. manchicourt	Magnificat secundi toni	5.09
				Manchicourt	O Thoma didime	7.15
				Manchicourt	O Emanuel	7.16
				Manchicourt	O virgo virginum quomodo	7.18

					Manchicourt	Caro mea vere	13.12
					P. de Manchicourt	Laudate Dominum omnes gentes	14.01
					P. de Manchicourt	Regina celi letare alleluya	14.02
					P. de Manchicourt	Congratulamini mihi omnes	14.03
					P. de Manchicourt	Ave stella matutina mundi princeps et regina	14.04
					P. de Manchicourt	Ego sum panis vivus qui de celo descendi	14.05
					P. de Manchicourt	Laudem dicite Deo nostro omnes sancti eius	14.06
					P. de Manchicourt	Peccantem me quotidie et non penitentem	14.07
					P. de Manchicourt	Ave virgo gloriosa stella sole clarior	14.08
					P. de Manchicourt	O intemerata et in eternum benedicta	14.09
					P. de Manchicourt	Paratum cor meum Deus cantabo et psallam	14.10
					P. de Manchicourt	Vias tuas Domine demonstra mihi	14.11
					P. de Manchicourt	Domine non secundum peccata nostra	14.12
					P. de Manchicourt	Ne reminiscaris Domine delicta nostra	14.13
					P. de Manchicourt	Proba me Domine et scito cor meum	14.14

				P. de Manchicourt	Ne derelinquas me Domine dominator vite mee	14.15
				P. de Manchicourt	Ecce odor filii mei sicut odor agri pleni	14.16
				P. de Manchicourt	Cantantibus organis decantabat Cecilia virgo	14.17
				P. de Manchicourt	Super montem excelsum ascende	14.18
				P. de Manchicourt	Usquequo, piger, dormies?	14.19
Margot, Colin		1	1	Colin margot	Beata dei genitrix	13.09
Mornable, Antoine	SC	3	2	A. Mornable	Magnificat primi toni	5.05
				Mornable	O clavis David et sceptrum	7.13
				Mornable	Pater noster	7.22
Moulu, Pierre	F?	3	3	Moulu	In pace. Si dedero somnum oculis meis	10.08
				Moulu	Ne proiicias nos	10.10
				Moulu	Regina celi	12.05
Mouton, Jean	L, A, F	12	1	Jo. Mouton	Reges terre congragati	1.03
				Jo. Mouton	Ave sanctissima Maria	1.19
				Jo. Mouton	Homo quidam fecit	1.25
				jo. Mouton	Noe psallite	2.12
				Mouton	Peccantem me quotidie I	3.11
				Mouton	Ave Maria gemma virginum	3.21
				Jo. mouton	Magnificat Quarti toni	6.01
				Jo. mouton	Magnificat sexti toni	6.07

				Mouton	Gaude virgo Catherina	7.19
				Mouton	Gloriosi principes terre quomodo	8.10
				Mouton	Confitemini domino	9.06
				Mouton	Antequam comedam	11.19
				[Mouton]	Nesciens mater	3.06
				[Mouton]	Christum regem regum adoremus	4.13
				[Mouton]	Contremuerunt omnia membra mea	4.14
				[Mouton/ Richafort]	Miseremini mei	1.22
Passereau, Pierre	F (1509 - Duke of Angoulême)	1	1	Passereau	Unde veniet auxilium michi	11.14
Pathie, Rogier	F, E	1		Rogier	O altitudo	13.01
Penet, Hillaire	SC	2		Hylaire penet	Virgo prudentissima	3.10
				Hylaire penet	Magnificat tertii toni	5.11
Piéton, Loyset		1		Pieton	O beata infantia	3.01
Richafort, Jean	A, F	11	1	Richafort	Gloria laus	1.04
				Richafort	Hac clara die	1.05
				Richafort	Christe totius dominator	2.07
				Richafort	O quam dulcis et beata	2.15
				Richafort	O presul egregie	2.16
				Richafort	Cognoscimus domine	4.21
				Richafort	Sufficiebat nobis paupertas	4.22
				Richafort	Magnificat octavi toni	6.09
				Richafort	Ave Maria gratia plena	8.02

				Richafort	Veni electa mea	8.04
				Richafort	Salve regina	12.17
				[Richafort]	Pater noster	3.14
				[Richafort/ Mouton]	Miseremini mei	1.22
Rousée, Jean	H	6	6	Rousée	Congratulamini mihi	7.06
				Rousée	Lapidaverunt Stephanum et ipse	7.07
				Rousée	Laudem dicite	7.08
				Rousée	Sospitate dedit	7.09
				Rousée	Exsurge quare obdormis	8.12
				Rousée	Regina celi	12.07
Sermisy, Claudin de	A, F, SC	25	8	Claudin	Clare sanctorum senatus	1.01
				Claudin	Noe magnificatus est rex	2.11
				Claudin	Ave Maria gratia dei plena	3.05
				Claudin	Deus misereatur	3.16
				Claudin	Fecit potentiam	5.13
				Claudin	Magnificat octavi toni	6.10
				Claudin	Da pacem domine	7.21
				Claudin	Beatus vir qui non abiit	9.12
				Claudin	Domini est terra	9.13
				Claudin	Benedic anima mea	9.14
				Claudin	Deus in adjutorium	9.15
				Claudin	Sabbato in vigilia Pasche	10.03
				Claudin	Passio domini/Matt	10.05
				Claudin	Resurrexi et adhuc	10.14

				Claudin	Exsurge quare obdormis	11.04
				Claudin	Domine rex omnipotens	11.06
				Claudin	Da pacem domine	11.09
				Claudin	Si bona suscepimus	11.10
				Claudin	Homo natus de muliere	11.11
				Claudin	Quousque non reverteris	11.12
				Claudin	Sustinuimus pacem	11.13
				Claudin	Tota pulchra	11.20
				Claudin	Esto mihi domine	11.25
				Claudin	Salve regina	12.13
				Claudin	Sancti spiritus adsit	13.07
				[Sermisy]	Kyrie eleison	10.04
				[Sermisy]	Sancta Maria mater dei	13.18
Sohier, Mathieu	ND	3	3	M. sohier	Ave regina celorum	12.01
				M. sohier	Salve regina	12.03
				M. sohier	Regina celi	12.04
Verdelot, Philippe		14	2	Verdelot	Gabriel archangelus apparuit	1.12
				Verdelot	Salve Barbara dignissima	1.18
				Verdelot	Victime paschali	2.03
				Verdelot	Gaudeamus omnes in domino	2.04
				Verdelot	Sancta Maria sucurre	2.06
				Verdelot	Ave sanctissima Maria	2.24
				Verdelot	Dignare me laudare	3.04
				Verdelot	Ave sanctissima Maria	3.20
				Verdelot	Recordare domine testamenti	4.11

				Verdelot	Adjuva nos	4.12
				Verdelot	Infirmitatem nostram	4.17
				Verdelot	Tanto tempore	4.19
				Verdelot	Ne proiicias nos	10.09
				Verdelot	O dulcissime domine	11.22
Vermont Primus	F, SC	8	5	Vermont primus	Benedicat nos deus noster	1.20
				Vermont	Ave virgo gloriosa stella	3.03
				Vermont primus	Adest namque beati Dionysii	3.08
				Vermont primus	Adorna thalamum	4.07
				Vermont Primus	Virgo flagellatur crucianda	7.01
				Vermont primus	In domine confido	9.10
				Vermont primus	Recordare domine testamenti	11.08
				Vermont primus	Regina celi	12.09
Villain, Florentius		1		M. F. Villain	Non conturbetur cor vestrum	13.11
Werrecore, Matthias Hermann		2	2	Matthias	O crux viride lignum	2.17
				Matthias	Surge propera	4.26
Willaert, Adrian		16	1	A. Willart	Beatus Stephanus preciosus	1.09
				A. Willart	Intercessio quesumus domine	1.16
				A. Willart	Salve crux sancta arbor	1.24
				Willaert	Pater noster	2.01
				Willaert	Congratulamini mihi	2.05
				Willaert	Omnipotens sempiterne deus	2.13
				Willart	Ave regina celorum	2.18
				Willaert	Patefacte sunt ianue	2.23
				A. willaert	Precatus est Moyses	4.01

				Willart	Ecce dominus veniet	7.03
				Wyllart	Hac clara die	8.03
				Wyllart	Verbum bonum	8.08
				Wyllart	Beata viscera	8.14
				Wyllart	Sancta Maria regina celorum	8.18
				Willart	Videns dominus flentes	11.21
				Wyllart	Regina celi	12.06
				[Willaert]	Lamentabatur Jacob	1.15

D2: Motet Table

The concordances for the motets in Attaingnant's Motet Series were assembled using various printed books and databases: Thomas's *Motet Online Database* (MotetOD), *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, RISM, Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM), and Lewis catalogue of Gardano prints (LewisGardano), as well as the various critical editions, dissertations, and Grove articles Works lists for the composers (listed in the Secondary Sources Bibliography).

The table is ordered by appearance in the Series and includes the number of voices for each motet, the number of *partes*, separate columns for the MS and print concordances, and the final column indicates if the motets are *unica* or appeared for the first time in Attaingnant's Series. In six instances, anonymous motets may have concordances: though no secondary source or catalogue lists a concordance with Attaingnant's Series, the same title appears without attributions in at least one other source. These are therefore indicated as "unica?" in the far right column. In total, there are 85 "1st Appearance" motets, and 92 *unica*.

Motet	Composer	Title	Other Partes	Voices	Partes	MS Concordances	Print Concordances	Unica/1st appearance?
1.01	Sermisy, Claudin de	Clare sanctorum senatus	2. Ethiopes horridos Mathee agneli	4	2		S 2819	1st Appearance
1.02	Couillart	Viri Galilei	2. Videntibus illis	4	2	FlorD 4; MunU 401; RegB C 96; VienNB Mus 15500	1555/10	
1.03	Mouton, Jean	Reges terre congragati	2. Et venientes invenerunt	4	2	CoimU 48; ModD 9	M 4017	
1.04	Richafort, Jean	Gloria laus		4	1			unica

1.05	Richafort, Jean	Hac clara die	2. In me quomodo	4	2		R 1300	1st Appearance
1.06	Lhéritier, Jean	Alma redemptoris	2. Tu que genuisti	4	2	PadBC D27	1539/13; 1549/10; 1549/10A; 1555/15; 1562/2	
1.07	Lhéritier, Jean	Angelus domini descendit	2. Et introeuntes	4	2		1555/15	1st Appearance
1.08	Lhéritier, Jean	Beata es virgo Maria		4	1	BolSP A 45; VerBC 760	1539/10; 1539/13; 1549/10; 1549/10A; 1553/2; 1555/15; 1559/2; 1562/2	
1.09	Willaert, Adrian	Beatus Stephanus preciosus	2. Et videntes vultum	4	2	TrevBC 8	W 1108; W 1109	1st Appearance
1.10	Gascongne, Mathieu	Maria virgo semper letare	2. Te laudant angeli atque archangeli	4	2	LonRC 1070	1519/1; 1526/2	
1.11	Gascongne, Mathieu	Dignare me laudare	2. Cum iocunditate solemnitatem	4	2	BergBC 1209; MunU 401	1521/4	
1.12	Verdelot, Philippe	Gabriel archangelus apparuit		4	1	FlorD 11; HerdF 9821; LeipU 51; LonBL 4911; MadM 6832; RegB 861-2; RomeM 23-4; TrevBC 5	1532/10; 1538/8; 1539/12; 1559/2; 1564/6	

1.13	Gascongne, Mathieu	Caro mea vere	2. Hic est panis qui de celo	4	2	CasAC D(F)	1555/11	
1.14	[anon]	Salve mater salvatoris mater	2. Virga rubi appellaris	4	2			unica
1.15	[Willaert, Adrian]	Lamentabatur Jacob		4	1	RegB B211-15		1st Appearance
1.16	Willaert, Adrian	Intercessio quesumus domine		4	1	BolR 142; FlorL 666; LonBL 19583; LonRC 2037; ModE C.313; ModE F.2.29; PadBC A17	1521/4; W 1109	
1.17	Le Bouteiller, Jean	Ave virgo gratiosa		4	1			unica
1.18	Verdelot, Philippe	Salve Barbara dignissima		4	1	VerBC 760	1529/1	
1.19	Mouton, Jean	Ave sanctissima Maria		4	1	FlorBN Magl. 117; LonBL Add. 5043	M 4017	
1.20	Vermont Primus	Benedicat nos deus noster	2. Deus misereatur	4	2			unica
1.21	Gombert, Nicolas	O gloriosa dei genitrix	2. Que est ista que ascendit	4	2	MunBS 19; YorkM 91	1541/4; 1547/25; 1551/2	

1.22	[Richafort/ Mouton]	Miseremini mei	2. Cutis mea aruit	4	2	LeidGA 1441; LonBL Add. 5043; LonBL 5044; MunBS 16; SGallS 463 (Tschudi Liederbuch); SGallS 464; VatP 1976-9; VatP 1980-1; VienNB Mus 15941	1519/1; 1520/2; 1526/2; 1547/1	
1.23	Lupus	Postquam consumati sunt		4	1	BergBC 1209; HerdF 9821; PadBC A17	1519/1; 1526/2; 1546/23; 1555/15;	
1.24	Willaert, Adrian	Salve crux sancta arbor	2. Causa etiam vite	4	2	BerlGS 7/KönsSU 1740; LonRC 2037; PadBC D 27	W 1108; W 1107; 1555/12	
1.25	Mouton, Jean	Homo quidam fecit		4	1	CivMA 59; LonBM 5043; LonRC 2037; PadBC A17; VallaC 15	1519/2; 1526/2; M 4017	

2.01	Willaert, Adrian	Pater noster		4	1	CasAC N(H); ChiN M91/1; FLorD 27; HerdF 9821; HradKM 29; LeidGA 1442; LeipU 49/50; LeipU 51; LonRC 2037; ModE C.314; MunU 326; MunU 327; ParisBNC 851; RegB 875-7; RegB 940-1; RegB C 99; RomeSC 792-5; SilosA 21; TolBC 21; TrevBC 34; VallaP s.s.; VatP 1976-9; VatVM 571; VerBC 760; VienNB Mus 15500	1532/10; 1538/7; 1539/12; 1545/4; W 1109; 1553/2; 1564/6	
2.02	Du Lot, François	Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi	2. Dic nobis Maria	4	2	MunU 401		
2.03	Verdelot, Philippe	Victime paschali	2. Sepulchrum Christi viventis	4	2	BudOS 23; ChiN M91/1; VallaC 15	1549/12; 1549/15	
2.04	Verdelot, Philippe	Gaudeamus omnes in domino		4	1	ChiN M91/1; DresSL Grimma 59; KasL 43; RegB 849-52; WrocS 2; WrocS 5; ZwiR 81/2	1549/12; 1549/15	

2.05	Willaert, Adrian	Congratulamini mihi	2. Recedentibus discipulis	4	2	BolC Q 20; CasAC N(H); ChiN M91/1; CopKB 1848; ModE C.313; PiacD (5)	1538/5; 1539/8; W 1108; W 1107	
2.06	Verdelot, Philippe	Sancta Maria sucurre		4	1	s HerAB 73; MunBS 16; PadBC A17; RegB B223-33; UppsU 76c	1529/1; 1539/13; 1549/15; 1553/2; 1562/2; 1578/24	
2.07	Richafort, Jean	Christe totius dominator	2. Christe qui victa	4	2		R 1300	1st Appearance
2.08	Gascongne, Mathieu	Christus vincit Christus regnat	2. Rex regum et gloria nostra	4	2	VatP 1976-9		
2.09	Lhéritier, Jean	Ave Maria gratia plena		4	1		1555/15	1st Appearance
2.10	Conseil, Jean	Egredere ab occidente	2. Dic matri dic pia virgo	4	2			unica
2.11	Sermisy, Claudin de	Noe magnificatus est rex		4	1			unica
2.12	Mouton, Jean	Noe psallite		4	1	CasAC N(H); LonBL Add. 5043; LonRC 2037; ModE N.1.2; PadBC A17; VatS 46	1519/1; 1526/2; M 4017; 1562/28	
2.13	Willaert, Adrian	Omnipotens sempiterne deus		4	1	CasAC P(E); FlorD 4; PadBC A17; TrevBC 4; VatVM 571	W 1106; W 1107	

2.14	Le Bouteiller, Jean	Benedicta es celorum	2. Per illud ave	4	2			unica
2.15	Richafort, Jean	O quam dulcis et beata	2. Ecce quam bonum	4	2		R 1300	1st Appearance
2.16	Richafort, Jean	O presul egregie	2. O plebs non tamquam	4	2	BerlGS 7/KönsSU 1740; FlorD 4	R 1300	1st Appearance
2.17	Werrecore, Matthias Hermann	O crux viride lignum	2. Salus omnium populorum	4	2			unica
2.18	Willaert, Adrian	Ave regina celorum	2. Gaude gloriosa	4	2	BarcBC 681; BerlGS 7/KönsSU 1740; LonRC 2037; ModE N.1.2; PadBC D27	W 1106; W 1107	
2.19	Conseil, Jean	Pater peccavi	2. Quanti mercenari	4	2	BerlPS 40031; CambraiBM 125-8	1547/6; 1559/2; 1574/12	1st Appearance
2.20	Gombert, Nicolas	Aspice domine quia facta	2. Muro tuo	4	2	BerlGS 7/KönsSU 1740; HerdF 9821; MadM 6832; UlmS 237	1532/10; 1551/2; 1552/30; 1564/22	
2.21	Gascongne, Mathieu	Spiritus ubi vult	2. Charitas dei diffusa est	4	2			unica
2.22	Lhéritier, Jean	Virgo Christi egregia		4	1		1555/15	1st Appearance
2.23	Willaert, Adrian	Patefacte sunt ianue	2. Mortem enim	4	2	BerlGS 7/KönsSU 1740; PadBC D27; LonRC 2037; TrevBC 8	W 1106; W 1107	

2.24	Verdelot, Philippe	Ave sanctissima Maria		4	1			unica
3.01	Piéton, Loyset	O beata infantia	2. O felices panni	6	2	RegB 853-4; RomeM 23-4; VatS 24	1542/10	
3.02	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de	Parasti in dulcedine	2. Celeste est hoc manna	5	2	DresSL Grimma 52; HradKM 22; HradKM 26; HradKM 29	1545/3	1st Appearance
3.03	Vermont Primus	Ave virgo gloriosa stella		6	1	EdinU 64; LonBL 4911; TrevBC 29; RomeV 35-40; VallaC 15	1542/10	
3.04	Verdelot, Philippe	Dignare me laudare		4	1	VallaC 15		
3.05	Sermisy, Claudin de	Ave Maria gratia dei plena		3	1		1540/2; 1549/14; 1560/2	
3.06	[Mouton, Jean]	Nesciens mater		8	1	s HerAB 72C; CopKB 1872; FlorL 666; LonBL Add. 5043; MunBS 41; MunBS 1536; RosU 71/1; SGallS 463 (Tschudi Liederbuch); VerA 218	1521/7; 1540/7; 1547/1; M 4017; 1564/1; 1589/17	
3.07	[Courtois, Jean]	Hi sancti quorum	2. Excuset apud dominum	5	2		1532/9	
3.08	Vermont Primus	Adest namque beati Dionysii	2. Quem dominus post apostolos	5	2			unica

3.09	La Fage, Jean de	Super flumina Babilonis	2. Si oblitus fuero	5	2	BasU F X 5-9; DresSL Grimma 59a; KasL 24; MunBS 267; RegB B211-15; RegB 940-1; RegT 2-3; RomeV 35-40		
3.10	Penet, Hillaire	Virgo prudentissima		5	1	BolC Q 27/1; HradKM 26; HradKM 30; LucBS 775	1543/3	1st Appearance
3.11	Mouton, Jean	Peccantem me quotidie I		5	1	GothaF A98; VatVM 571	M 4017	
3.12	Le Heurteur, Guillaume	Congratulamini mihi	2. Tulerunt dominum	5	2			unica
3.13	De Silva, Andreas	Alma redemptoris	2. Tu que genuisti	5	2	BolC Q 27/1; ModD 3; PadBC A17.	1532/9; 1539/6	
3.14	[Richafort, Jean]	Pater noster	2. Panem nostrum	5	2	LonBL 19583; ModE F.2.29; SGallS 463 (Tschudi Liederbuch)	1520/2	
3.15	Maistre Jhan	Omnia que fecisti	2. Largire quesumus domine	5	2	CasAC D(F); PadBC D27; TrevBC 36		
3.16	Sermisy, Claudin de	Deus misereatur	2. Letentur et exultent	5	2	KrakPAN 1716; PiacD (5); RomeM 23-4; VatG XII.4; VatS 38	1553/5; 1555/7; 1555/13; 1558/8	
3.17	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de	Argentum et aurem		5	1	CasAC D(F); HradKM 26	1538/3	

3.18	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de	Angeli et archangeli throni	2. Te gloriosus apostolorum	5	2			unica
3.19	[anon]	Salve mater pietatis		4	1			unica
3.20	Verdelot, Philippe	Ave sanctissima Maria		6	1	BrusBR 228; BrusSG 9424		
3.21	Mouton, Jean	Ave Maria gemma virginum		8	1			unica
4.01	Willaert, Adrian	Precatus est Moyses	2. Memento Abraham Ysaac et Jacob	5	2		W 1110; W 1111	1st Appearance
4.02	[anon]	Clare sanctorum senatus	2. Thoma Bartholomee	4	2	BudOS 22; BerlDS 40024?		unica?
4.03	[anon]	Veniat dilectus meus		4	1			unica
4.04	La Fage, Jean de	Ave domina mea		4	1			unica
4.05	De Silva, Andreas	Virgo carens criminibus		4	1	BergBC 1209; HradKM 21; PadBC A17; RegB B220-2	1521/4	
4.06	Le Heurteur, Guillaume	Exaltare super celos deus		4	1	RegB B211-15		1st Appearance
4.07	Vermont Primus	Adorna thalamum	2. Suscipiens Jesum	4	2			unica
4.08	Courtois, Jean	O crux ave sanctissima	2. O crux plena dulcedinis	4	2			unica

4.09	[anon]	Nesciens mater		4	1	BerlPS 40098; BratisK 11; BudOS 23; DresSL Grimma 59; OxfBS 26; UlmS 236; VatS 63; WrocS 6; WrocS 14 ?		unica?
4.10	[anon]	Sancti spiritus adsit		4	1	BudOS 23; WarSM 564; StuttL 32; KrakPAN 1716; MilD 4; PadBC A17; UppsU 76b; DresSL 1/D/505; MunBS 3154; TrentC 91?		unica?
4.11	Verdelot, Philippe	Recordare domine testamenti		5	1	ChiN M91/2; PadBC D27; PiacD (5); VatG XII.4	1532/9	
4.12	Verdelot, Philippe	Adjuva nos		5	1	ChiN M91/2; PadBC D27; PiacD (5); RomeV 35-40; VatG XII.4	1532/9	
4.13	[Mouton, Jean]	Christum regem regum adoremus		4	1	FlorBN II.I.232; PadBC A17	1514/1; 1526/1	
4.14	[Mouton, Jean]	Contremuerunt omnia membra mea		4	1	PadBC A17	1514/1	
4.15	Gombert, Nicolas	Virgo sancta Catherina		4	1	MunU 401		

4.16	[anon]	Ave mater matris dei		4	1	VatP 1976-9		
4.17	Verdelot, Philippe	Infirmitatem nostram		5	1	s HerAB 72C; BolC Q 27/1; HradKM 29; KlagL 4/3; LeidGA 1441; LeuvU 163; ModD 4; PadBC D27; PiacD (5); RomeM 23-4; RomeV 35-40	1538/3; 1547/25	
4.18	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de	Veni in ortum	2. In lectulo meo	4	2	MunU 401	1532/10; 1540/6	
4.19	Verdelot, Philippe	Tanto tempore		4	1	CambraiBM 125-8; LeipU 51; ReggioSP s.s.; ToleBC 10; TrevBC 7; VerBC 760	1526/7; 1539/12; 1540/6; 1555/10; 1564/6	
4.20	Conseil, Jean	Tempus est ut revertar	2. Rex glorie dominus virtutum	4	2	MunU 401; ToleBC 13		
4.21	Richafort, Jean	Cognoscimus domine	2. Vita nostra	4	2	RegB B 220-2	1520/2; R 1300	

4.22	Richafort, Jean	Sufficiebat nobis paupertas		4	1	BolC Q 19 (Rusconi codex); CambriP 1760; FlorBN II.I.232; LonBL 19583; ModE F.2.29; MunU 401; VatVM 571	1521/6; R 1300	
4.23	Josquin Desprez	Virgo salutiferi	2. Tu potis es prime 3.Nunc celi regina	5	3	FlorL 666; LonRC 1070; MunU 401; VatS 16; VatS 42	1519/2; 1526/3; 1527; 1559/1	
4.24	Conseil, Jean	Nigra sum		4	1	VerBC 760		
4.25	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de	Ave Maria gratia plena	2. Gaude virgo gratiosa gaude tellus	4	2	LeipU 51	1532/10	
4.26	Werrecore, Matthias Hermann	Surge propera	2. Vox turturis audita	4	2			unica
4.27	[Courtois, Jean]	Inviolata integra		4	1	RegB B220-2	1532/10	
4.28	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de	Sancta et immaculata	2. Benedicta tu	4	2	CambraiBM 125-8; LeipU 51; MunU 401; VatG XII.4	1538/5; 1540/6	
4.29	Conseil, Jean	Sancta Maria mater dei		4	1			unica
5.01	Cybot	Magnificat primi toni		6	1	StuttL 26		1st Appearance
5.02	Le Heurteur, Guillaume	Magnificat primi toni		6	1			unica

5.03	Du Lot, François	Magnificat primi toni		5	1			unica
5.04	Le Brung, Jean	Magnificat primi toni		8	1	StuttL 26		1st Appearance
5.05	Mornable, Antoine	Magnificat primi toni		6	1			unica
5.06	Févin, Antoine de	Magnificat primi toni		3	1	RomeSL IV/ 9		1st Appearance
5.07	Barra, Jehan de (Hotinet)	Magnificat secundi toni		3	1	PadBC D 27		1st Appearance
5.08	Barra, Jehan de (Hotinet)	Magnificat secundi toni		3	1	PadBC D 27		1st Appearance
5.09	Manchicourt, Pierre de	Magnificat secundi toni		5	1	StuttL 26; PadBC D 27		1st Appearance
5.10	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de	Magnificat secundi toni		4	1	StuttL 26; PadBC D 27		1st Appearance
5.11	Penet, Hillaire	Magnificat tertii toni		6	1	ModD 4		
5.12	Jacotin	Magnificat tertii toni		4	1	StuttL 26; LeidGA 1439; LeidGA 1442		1st Appearance
5.13	Sermisy, Claudin de	Fecit potentiam		3	1			unica
6.01	Mouton, Jean	Magnificat quarti toni		5	1	LeidGA 1442 (?)		1st Appearance

6.02	Jacotin	Magnificat quarti toni		4	1	RomeSL IV/ 9		1st Appearance
6.03	Lhéritier, Jean	Magnificat quarti toni		4	1	VienNB Mus. 15500; StuttL 26; ToleF 23; BarcBc 681; ToleBC 18		
6.04	Le Heurteur, Guillaume	Magnificat quarti toni		6	1			unica
6.05	Divitis, Antonius	Magnificat quarti toni		4	1			unica
6.06	Du Hamel	Magnificat quinti toni		5	1	VienNB Mus. 15500; StuttL 26		1st Appearance
6.07	Mouton, Jean	Magnificat sexti toni		5	1	StuttL 41; RomeSL IV/ 9; ToleF 23		
6.08	Gascongne, Mathieu	Magnificat septimi toni		5	1	LeidGA 1442		1st Appearance
6.09	Richafort, Jean	Magnificat octavi toni		6	1	VienNB Mus. 15500; StuttL 41; LeidGA 1442; ToleF 23		
6.10	Sermisy, Claudin de	Magnificat octavi toni		5	1			unica
6.11	Jacotin	Magnificat octavi toni		4	1			unica
6.12	Du Hamel	Magnificat octavi toni		4	1	VienNB Mus. 15500		1st Appearance

6.13	Billon, Jo. de	Magnificat primi toni		3	1	BrusC 27766		1st Appearance
7.01	Vermont Primus	Virgo flagellatur crucianda	2. O quam felices per te sanctissima	5	2			unica
7.02	Gombert, Nicolas	Conceptio tua		5	1	HradKM 26; TrevBC 29	1552/2	1st Appearance
7.03	Willaert, Adrian	Ecce dominus veniet		5	1	ChiN M91/2; ModE C.313; PiacD (5); TrevBC 8; TrevBC 36; RomeV 35-40; VatVM 571	1532/9	
7.04	Le Heurteur, Guillaume	Vidi sub altare dei animas	2. Divinum acceperunt responsum	4	2			unica
7.05	Conseil, Jean	In illa die suscipiam	2. In tribulatione	4	2			unica
7.06	Rousée, Jean	Congratulamini mihi	2. Et beata viscera	4	2			unica
7.07	Rousée, Jean	Lapidaverunt Stephanum et ipse	2. Stephanus vidit celos apertos	4	2			unica
7.08	Rousée, Jean	Laudem dicite	2. Genus electum gens sancta	4	2			unica
7.09	Rousée, Jean	Sospitate dedit	2. Vas in mari mersum patri	4	2			unica

7.10	[anon]	O sapiencia		5	1			unica
7.11	Certon	O adonai et dux dominus		5	1			unica
7.12	Barra, Jehan de (Hotinet)	O radix Jesse		4	1			unica
7.13	Mornable, Antoine	O clavis David et sceptrum		6	1			unica
7.14	Le Roy, Guillaume	O oriens splendor lucis		5	1			unica
7.15	Manchicourt, Pierre de	O Thoma didime		5	1			unica
7.16	Manchicourt, Pierre de	O Emanuel		4	1			unica
7.17	Barra, Jehan de (Hotinet)	O rex gentium		4	1			unica
7.18	Manchicourt, Pierre de	O virgo virginum quomodo		6	1			unica
7.19	Mouton, Jean	Gaude virgo Catherina	2. Gaude quia meruisti	4	2		1529/1	
7.20	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de	Andreas Christi	2. Qui persequebatur	4	2			unica
7.21	Sermisy, Claudin de	Da pacem domine		3	1		S 2818; 1542/8; 1565/2	1st Appearance

7.22	Mornable, Antoine	Pater noster	2. Panem nostrum	3	2		1565/ 3	1st Appearance
7.23	Maistre Gosse	Dignare me laudare		3	1		1565/ 3	1st Appearance
7.24	Maistre Gosse	Sancta Maria mater dei		3	1		1549/14	1st Appearance
8.01	Lhéritier, Jean	Nigra sum	2. Circumdederunt me gemitus	6	2	PiacD (4)		1st Appearance
8.02	Richafort, Jean	Ave Maria gratia plena		5	1		R 1300	1st Appearance
8.03	Willaert, Adrian	Hac clara die	2. Cui contra Maria	4	2			unica
8.04	Richafort, Jean	Veni electa mea	2. Quia concupivit rex	6	2		R 1300	1st Appearance
8.05	Lhéritier, Jean	Cum rides michi basium negasti	2. Data es de lachrymis	4	2			unica
8.06	Gombert, Nicolas	Homo erat in Jerusalem	2. Et cum inducerent	4	2	MunU 401; ReinS 101		1st Appearance
8.07	Le Brung, Jean	Saule quide me	2. Sancte Paule	5	2	BergBC 1209; CasAC D(F); ModD 9; MunU 401; PadBC A17; PiacD (3); PiacD (4); ToleBC 10; VatS 46		

8.08	Willaert, Adrian	Verbum bonum	2. Ave solem genuisti	6	2		1519/3; 1542/10	
8.09	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de	Epiphaniam domino canamus gloriosam	2. Aurum simulthus et myrram 3. Magi stella sibi micante	5	3		1553/2	1st Appearance
8.10	Mouton, Jean	Gloriosi principes terre quomodo		5	1	FlorL 666	M 4017	
8.11	Conseil, Jean	Cum inducerent		4	1			unica
8.12	Rousée, Jean	Exsurge quare obdormis	2. Sciant gentes quoniam	6	2			unica

8.13	Hellinck, Lupus	Jerusalem luge	2. Deduc quasi	5	2	CopKB 1872; DresSL Löbau 8/70; DresSL Pirna VII; ErlU 473/1; HradKM 29; LeidGA 1442; LeipU 49/50; LonBM 3471; LüneR 150; LüneR 376; MunU 322-5; MunU 326; MunU 327; MunU 401; NurGN 83795; PiacD (5); RegB 891-2; RegB 940-1; RegT 2-3; RokyA 22; RomeV 35-40; RosU 71/1; SionA 87-4; UlmS 237; VatG XII.4; WrocS 1; WrocS 12; WrocU 54; ZwiR 46/120; ZwiR 74/1	1532/9; 1539/6; 1540/6; 1544/25; 1547/25; 1553/2; 1558/19; 1558/20; 1559/1; 1574/13; 1577/12; 1578/24; 1583/24	
8.14	Willaert, Adrian	Beata viscera		6	1	ModE C.314; RegB 853-4; RomeM 23-4; RomeV 35-40; TrevBC 29	1542/10; 1549/13; 1569/6	
8.15	[anon]	Benedictus es domine deus		5	1			unica
8.16	[anon]	Cede fragor strepitusque omnis	2. Ecce velut fumi	6	2			unica

8.17	[Jacquet of Mantua]	Descendi in ortum		6	1	FlorBN Mag 125bis		
8.18	Willaert, Adrian	Sancta Maria regina celorum	2. O pia domina	5	2	PadBC A17		
8.19	Maistre Jhan	Ecce nos relinquimus	2. Et omnis qui reliquerit	4	2	CasAC N(H); LeidSM 1440; LonRC 2037; MunU 401	1543/4	
8.20	Lasson, Mathieu	Anthoni pater	2. O Anthoni pater	4	2		1549/15	1st Appearance
9.01	Briant, Denis	Dilexi quoniam	2. O domine libera	4	2		1558/20	1st Appearance
9.02	Guyon, Jean	Fundamenta ejus in montibus	2. Nunquid Syon dicet	4	2			unica
9.03	Gascongne, Mathieu	Letatus sum in his	2. Rogate que ad pacem	4	2			unica
9.04	Maistre Gosse	Laudate dominum omnes		4	1	HerdF 9821; VienNB Mus 15500	1553/6; 1559/4	1st Appearance
9.05	Lupus	In convertendo	2. Qui seminant in lachrimis	5	2	BergBC 1209; BolC Q 19 (Rusconi codex); BolC Q 20; StuttL 42; TrevBC 7; VatP 1980-1	1553/6; 1559/4	
9.06	Mouton, Jean	Confitemini domino	2. Bonum est confidere	4	2		1553/6; M 4017;	1st Appearance

9.07	Hellinck, Lupus	In te domine speravi	2. Quoniam fortitudo	5	2	BerlPS 40013; BolC Q 27/1; BrusC 27088; CopKB 1873; DresSL 1/D/ 3; ErlU 473/3; GothaF A98; KasL 24; LeuvU 163; MunU 326; MunU 327; MunU 401; NurGN 83795; PiacD (5); StuttL 34; RegB C 99; RegT 2-3; RomeV 35-40; ToleBC 17; UlmS 237; WeimB B; ZwiR 73/II	1539/6; 1574/13	
9.08	Jacotin	Proba me domine		4	1	HerdF 9821; VatG XII.4	1560/27	1st Appearance
9.09	Jacotin	Credidi propter	2. O domine quia ego servus tuus	4	2		1553/6	1st Appearance
9.10	Vermont Primus	In domine confido	2. Oculi ejus in pauperem	4	2		1538/6	1st Appearance
9.11	Lupus	Usquequo domine oblivisceris	2. Illumina oculos	4	2	BolC Q 20	1549/12	
9.12	Sermisy, Claudin de	Beatus vir qui non abiit	2. Non sic impii	4	2	UlmS 237	1553/4	

9.13	Sermisy, Claudin de	Domini est terra	2. Hec est generatio	4	2	BerlGS 7/KönsSU 1740; MunU 401; VatG XII.4; VatS 76	1538/6; 1553/4	
9.14	Sermisy, Claudin de	Benedic anima mea	2. Qui redemit de interitu	4	2	RegB B211-15; VienNB Mus 15500	1553/5	1st Appearance
9.15	Sermisy, Claudin de	Deus in adjutorium		4	1	KasL 24; RomeM 23-4	1532/10; 1554/11; 1554/32; 1555/15;	
9.16	Lhéritier, Jean	Qui confidunt in domino	2. Benefac domine	4	2	BolC Q 20; Case MS VM1578.M91; ChiN M91/1; VerBC 760	1532/10; 1539/9; 1555/15	
9.17	Jacotin	Inclina domine	2. Deduc me domine in via 3. Domine deus misereator	4	3	CoimU 48	1543/5; 1546/9	1st Appearance
9.18	Le Heurteur, Guillaume	Nisi dominus edificaverit	2. Cum dederit	4	2	CambraiBM 125-8; CoimU 48; KasL 24; LeidGA 865; LeidGA 1442	1532/10; 1539/9; 1539/12; 1545/4; 1555/15; 1564/6	
10.01	Févin, Antoine de	Feria quinta in Cena Domini		4	1	Cam 1760; Mo IX ("Zain" only)	1549/1; 1557/7	
10.02	[anon]	Feria Sezta in Parasceves		4	1			unica?
10.03	Sermisy, Claudin de	Sabbato in vigilia Pasche		4	1		1549/1	1st Appearance
10.04	[Sermisy, Claudin de]	Kyrie eleison		4	1		1549/1; 1557/7	1st Appearance
10.05	Sermisy, Claudin de	Passio domini/Matt		4	1			unica

10.06	[anon]	Passio domini/John		4	1			unica?
10.07	Lenfant	In pace in idipsum		4	1			unica
10.08	Moulu, Pierre	In pace. Si dedero somnum oculis meis		5	1			unica
10.09	Verdelot, Philippe	Ne proiicias nos		5	1			unica
10.10	Moulu, Pierre	Ne proiicias nos		6	1			unica
10.11	Louvet, G.	O rex gloriose	2. Ne derelinquas nos	4	2			unica
10.12	Divitis, Antonius	Gloria laus	2. Israel es tu 3.Cetus in excelsis 4. Plebs hebrea	6	4			unica
10.13	Jacquet of Mantua	Domine non secundum	2. Domine ne memineris 3. Adjuva nos	6	3			unica
10.14	Sermisy, Claudin de	Resurrexi et adhuc		4	1			unica
11.01	Gascongne, Mathieu	Quare tristis es	2. Quare oblitus 3. Dum dicunt mihi	4	3	BerlGS 7/KönsSU 1740	1554/11	1st Appearance

11.02	Longueval, Antoine de	Benedicite deum celi	2. Ipsum intelligite et cantate illi	4	2	VatG XII.4		1st Appearance
11.03	La Fage, Jean de	Vide domine afllictionem		4	1	RegB B211-15	1520/2; 1538/8	
11.04	Sermisy, Claudin de	Exsurge quare obdormis	2. Quare oblivisceris	4	2			unica
11.05	Gascongne, Mathieu	Non nobis domine	2. Conserva regem Franciscum	4	2	LonBL 11582; LonRC 2037; VatP 1976-9	1519/1; 1526/2	
11.06	Sermisy, Claudin de	Domine rex omnipotens	2. Exaudi orationem meam	4	2			unica
11.07	Conseil, Jean	Adjuva me domine	2. Servus tuus	4	2	BerlGS 7/KönsSU 1740; BerlPS 40031; PadBC D27; RegB 940-1	1554/7; 1554/11; 1554/35; 1562/11; 1562/28; 1574/7	1st Appearance
11.08	Vermont Primus	Recordare domine testamenti	2. Quiescat iam domine	4	2	PadBC D 27; TrevBC 4		
11.09	Sermisy, Claudin de	Da pacem domine	2. Rogate que ad pacem	4	2		1553/6	1st Appearance
11.10	Sermisy, Claudin de	Si bona suscepimus		4	1	BerlPS 40031; ModE N.1.2; UppsU 76c; VatG XII.4; VerBC 760; VienNB Mus 15500	1531/5; 1538/7; 1546/25; 1547/11; 1558/20; 1558/21	

11.11	Sermisy, Claudin de	Homo natus de muliere	2. Homo cum in honore	4	2	RegB B211-15		1st Appearance
11.12	Sermisy, Claudin de	Quousque non reverteris		4	1	ChiN M91/1		
11.13	Sermisy, Claudin de	Sustinuimus pacem		4	1	UppsU 76c		
11.14	Passereau, Pierre	Unde veniet auxilium michi	2. Auxilium meum a domino	4	2			unica
11.15	Gascongne, Mathieu	Deus regnorum et christianissimi	2. Deus a quo sancta desideria	4	2			unica
11.16	La Fage, Jean de	Aspice domine de sede		4	1	BerlGS 7/KönsSU 1740; CasAC D(F); ChiN M91/1; FlorD 4; ModD 9; ModE N.1.2; PadBC A17; UppsU 76c; VatG XII.4; VerBC 760	1526 /5; J 6; S 2818	
11.17	Gascongne, Mathieu	Ne reminiscaris domine	2. Neque vindictam sumas	4	2	VatP 1976-9		
11.18	Févin, Antoine de	Gaude francorum regia corona		4	1		1514/1; 1526/1	
11.19	Mouton, Jean	Antequam comedam	2. Ecce non est auxilium mihi	5	2	BolC Q 27/1; MunU 401; FlorB 2442	M 4017	
11.20	Sermisy, Claudin de	Tota pulchra		4	1	VatG XII.4		1st Appearance

11.21	Willaert, Adrian	Videns dominus flentes		4	1	HerdF 9821; LeipU 49/50; LonRC 2037; RomeM 23-4; TrevBC 7; WittenL 1048	1538/8; W 1106; W 1107	
11.22	Verdelot, Philippe	O dulcissime domine		5	1	BolC Q 27/1; ChiN M91/2; HalleU 1147; PiacD (5); RomeV 35-40; VatG XII.4		
11.23	Gascongne, Mathieu	Rex autem David		4	1	BerlGS 7/KönsSU 1740; PadBC A17; RegB 940-1	1521/5; 1521/6; 1539/11	
11.24	Lasson, Mathieu	In manibus tuis	2. Esto domine propitius	4	2		1554/11	1st Appearance
11.25	Sermisy, Claudin de	Esto mihi domine	2. Non confundantur omnes	5	2		1549/7; 1549/8	1st Appearance
11.26	Gascongne, Mathieu	Bone Jesu dulcissime		4	1	MunBS 41; AmiensBM 162	1531/5	
12.01	Sohier, Mathieu	Ave regina celorum	2. Gaude gloriosa	4	2			unica
12.02	Georget, Mauricius	Ave regina celorum	2. Gaude gloriosa	4	2			unica
12.03	Sohier, Mathieu	Salve regina	2. Eia ergo advocata 3. Et Jesum benedictum	4	3			unica
12.04	Sohier, Mathieu	Regina celi	2. Resurrexit sicut dixit	5	2			unica

12.05	Moulu, Pierre	Regina celi		4	1			unica
12.06	Willaert, Adrian	Regina celi	2. Resurrexit sicut dixit	5	2		1538/2; W 1110; W 1111	1st Appearance
12.07	Rousée, Jean	Regina celi	2. Resurrexit sicut dixit	8	2			unica
12.08	Gombert, Nicolas	Regina celi	2. Resurrexit sicut dixit	12	2	VerA 218		1st Appearance
12.09	Vermont Primus	Regina celi	2. Resurrexit sicut dixit	5	2			unica
12.10	Bourguignon, François	Regina celi		4	1			unica
12.11	De Silva, Andreas	Regina celi		6	1	PadBC A17		
12.12	Josquin Desprez	Salve regina	2. Eia ergo advocata 3. Et Jesum benedictum	5	3	BarcBC 681; BarcOC 7; CoimU 48; HradKM 29; ModD 9; MunBS 34; RegB C 98; SaraP 17; SevBC 1; VatS 24; VienNB Mus 15941	1521/5; J 678	
12.13	Sermisy, Claudin de	Salve regina	2. Eia ergo advocata 3. Et Jesum benedictum	4	3			unica

12.14	Conseil, Jean	Salve regina	2. Eia ergo advocata 3. Et Jesum benedictum	5	3			unica
12.15	Lhéritier, Jean	Salve regina	Eia ergo advocata	6	2			unica
12.16	Barra, Jehan de (Hotinet)	Salve regina	2. Eia ergo advocata 3. Et Jesum benedictum	4	3			unica
12.17	Richafort, Jean	Salve regina	2. Eia ergo advocata 3. Et Jesum benedictum	5	3	MadM 6832; MunBS 34; UppsU 76c	1532/9	
13.01	Pathie, Rogier	O altitudo		4	1		1538/5; 1540/6; 1555/11; 1556/10	1st Appearance
13.02	Joris, Cornesle	Tempus meum	2. Viri Galilei	4	2			unica
13.03	Jodon	Virgo salutiferi	2. Tu potis es prime	4	2			unica
13.04	Joris, Cornesle	Factus est repente	2. Et apparuerunt illis dispertite	4	2			unica

13.05	Lasson, Mathieu	Virtute magna	2. Repleti quidem	4	2	HerdF 9821; HradKM 17; LeipU 51; PadBC D27; RegB 875-77; RegB 940-1; TrevBC 7; UlmS 237; WrocS 3; WrocS 5; WrocS 12	1532/10; 1538/8; 1539/12; 1545/4; 1555/10; 1564/6	
13.06	Lhéritier, Jean	Benedicat te dominus		4	1	HerdF 9821	1538/5; 1539/10; 1542/6; 1555/15	1st Appearance
13.07	Sermisy, Claudin de	Sancti spiritus adsit	2. Prophetas tu inspirasti 3. Tu animabus vivificandis	4	3		S 2819	1st Appearance
13.08	Lupi, Johannes	Ave verbum incarnatum	2. Ave corpus Jesu Christi	6	2			unica
13.09	Margot, Colin	Beata dei genitrix	2. Ora pro populo	6	2			unica
13.10	Lupi, Johannes	Gaude tu baptista	2. Gaude quod reprehendisti	5	2	BrusC 27088; LeidSM 1440; LucBS 775	1553/13	1st Appearance
13.11	Villain, Florentius	Non conturbetur cor vestrum	2. Ite in orbem	5	2	FlorD 4	1546/6	1st Appearance
13.12	Manchicourt, Pierre de	Caro mea vere	2. Hic est panis qui de celo	5	2		1539/5; 1539/6	1st Appearance

13.13	Jacquet of Mantua	Surge Petre	2. Si diliges me	6	2	BrusC 27088; CopKB 1872; CopKB 1873; EdinU 64; ErlU 473/3; FlorBN Magl. 125bis; ModE C.313; RomeM 23-4; RomeV 35-40; StockKB 229; VallaC 16; VatG XII.4; VatS 24		
13.14	Gombert, Nicolas	Salvator mundi salva nos	2. Eia ergo advocemus	6	2			unica
13.15	Jarsins, G.	Respexit Elias	2. Si quis manducaverit	6	2		1549/3; 1555/11	1st Appearance
13.16	Cadéac, Pierre	Fundata est domus domini	2. Benedic domine domum	6	2			unica
13.17	Cadéac, Pierre	Salus populi ego		5	1	LucBS 775; ZwiR 46/120		1st Appearance
13.18	[Sermisy, Claudin de]	Sancta Maria mater dei		4	1		1540/7	1st Appearance
14.01	Manchicourt, Pierre de	Laudate Dominum omnes gentes	2. Plaudite ergo, omnes gente	6	2			1st Appearance
14.02	Manchicourt, Pierre de	Regina celi letare alleluya	2. Resurrexit sicut dixit, alleluya	6	2			unica
14.03	Manchicourt, Pierre de	Congratulamini mihi omnes	2. Tulerunt dominum meum	5	2		1553/16	1st Appearance

14.04	Manchicourt, Pierre de	Ave stella matutina mundi princeps et regina	2. Tu es area compluta, celesti rore imbuta	5	2		M 271; 1553/12	1st Appearance
14.05	Manchicourt, Pierre de	Ego sum panis vivus qui de celo descendi	2. Caro enim mea vere est cibus	5	2		M 271	1st Appearance
14.06	Manchicourt, Pierre de	Laudem dicite Deo nostro omnes sancti eius	2. Laudate Dominum Deum, omnes gentes	5	2	RegB B211-15	M 271	1st Appearance
14.07	Manchicourt, Pierre de	Peccantem me quotidie et non penitentem	2. Commissa mea pavesco, et ante te erubesco	4	2		1532/11; M 271	
14.08	Manchicourt, Pierre de	Ave virgo gloriosa stella sole clarior		4	1		M 271	1st Appearance
14.09	Manchicourt, Pierre de	O intemerata et in eternum benedicta	2. O virgo gloriasa, mater dei, pietate plenisssima	4	2		M 271	1st Appearance
14.10	Manchicourt, Pierre de	Paratum cor meum Deus cantabo et psallam	2. Exaltare in virtute tua, Domine	4	2		M 271; 1553/5	1st Appearance
14.11	Manchicourt, Pierre de	Vias tuas Domine demonstra mihi	2. Eripe me de inimicis meis, Domine	4	2		M 271	1st Appearance

14.12	Manchicourt, Pierre de	Domine non secundum peccata nostra	2. Quare memento nostri, Domine	4	2		G 2987; M 271; G 2974	1st Appearance
14.13	Manchicourt, Pierre de	Ne reminiscaris Domine delicta nostra		4	1	MontsM 772	M 271	1st Appearance
14.14	Manchicourt, Pierre de	Proba me Domine et scito cor meum	2. Respiece in me, Deus, et miserere mei	4	2		1532/11; 1539/12; M 271; 1545/4; 1564/6	
14.15	Manchicourt, Pierre de	Ne derelinquas me Domine dominator vite mee	2. Proptera confitebor tibi, Domine	4	2		M 271	1st Appearance
14.16	Manchicourt, Pierre de	Ecce odor filii mei sicut odor agri pleni	2. Esto Dominus fratrum tuorum	4	2		M 271	1st Appearance
14.17	Manchicourt, Pierre de	Cantantibus organis decantabat Cecilia virgo	2. Celia virgo gloriosa, semper evangelium Christi	4	2		1539/10; M 271	1st Appearance
14.18	Manchicourt, Pierre de	Super montem excelsum ascende	2. Judae et Hierusalem nolite timere	4	2		M 271	1st Appearance
14.19	Manchicourt, Pierre de	Usquequo, piger, dormies?	2. Vade ad formicam, o piger	4	2		M 271	1st Appearance

APPENDIX E: COMPOSERS

E1: Top Eight Composers

Claudin de Sermisy

Claudin de Sermisy is the most represented of all named composers in Attaingnant's Motet Series.[1] Sermisy had strong ties to the French royal court, having served in Anne de Bretagne's chapel,[2] and in the King's Chapel, eventually becoming *sous-maitre* of the Chapel in the late 1520s, a post he held until 1553.[3] He also had ties with the Sainte-Chapelle as both a clerk (1508), and as canon (1533-1561),[4] and served as a cleric at the cathedral of Noyon.[5] Noyon was situated approximately sixty miles north of Paris, and was the site of the signing of the Treaty of Noyon between François I and Charles V in 1516. The town also has several connections to Attaingnant: Attaingnant printed several liturgical books for the Use of Noyon, and one of the few surviving sets of the Motet Series belongs to the library of the cathedral Notre-Dame de Noyon. Heartz theorised that Attaingnant and Sermisy were connected, a relationship suggested by the high number of works by Sermisy that Attaingnant printed (230 works) and the quality of the readings of those prints, especially the single composer print of 1545, whose accuracy seems to indicate the composer had a role in the publication.[6]

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[1] On Sermisy, see in particular, BrobeckDiss, CazauxMusique, and CazeauxFrenchMusic.
[2] CazauxMusique, 375.
[3] CazauxMusique, 376.
[4] CazauxMusique, 375-376.
[5] SherrMembership, 78.
[6] HeartzCat, 91-93.

Of the twenty-five motets attributed to Sermisy in Attaingnant's Series ten appear in Book 11.[7] Less than one third of the pieces appeared in manuscripts before Attaingnant printed them in his Motet Series, and all of the twenty-five are "first appearance" motets.[8] Eight of the twenty-six motets are *unica*, appearing in no manuscript or printed sources other than Attaingnant's Series. This results in a significant amount of works which, to all appearances, made their way directly from the composer to the printer. This certainly fits with what we know of the biography of the two men, and their close proximity to one another. For a list of Sermisy's motets, see Appendix D.

Pierre de Manchicourt[9]

Pierre de Manchicourt holds a special place in Attaingnant's Motet Series. He was the only composer whose works were featured in a volume devoted exclusively to a single composer.[10] Additionally, he is the second most represented composer, after Sermisy, with twenty-four motets. Unlike Sermisy, however, who had strong ties to several institutions in Paris and a long-standing association with the French royal court before and after the printing of the Series, Manchicourt does not appear to have had any direct ties to the French royal court or Paris. He was a singer in several towns in northern France (Arras, Tours and Tournai) early in his career, before moving to Spain in the

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[7] On the validity of these attributions, see BrobeckDiss and BrobeckClaudin.

[8] The motet *Si bona suscepimus* also appeared in Attaingnant's organ tablature print of 1531, *Treize Motetz musicaulx avec ung Prelude* (RISM 1531[5]).

[9] There is some confusion concerning this composer. A singer called "Manicourt" is sometimes incorrectly identified as the composer of motets. Manicourt was a singer of the French royal chapel, while Manchicourt was a singer at Tours, Tournai and Arras, before becoming an imperial singer in Spain. The motets in Attaingnant's Series are by Manchicourt, who likely had no direct connections to the court (CazauxMusique, 365).

[10] On Manchicourt, see in particular, HeartzCat, WicksDiss, and BrobeckDiss.

1550s where he was an imperial singer at the court of Philippe II, and possibly master of

Philippe II's chapel as well.[11]

Nineteen of the motets by Manchicourt appear in the single-composer Book 14,

and an additional five appear in earlier books. The motets that Attaingnant printed in

Book 14 may have come directly from the composer to the printer. Most of them do not

appear in any sources that predate the Series, and Manchicourt himself stated that he was

making these motets available to the public for the first time.[12] Additionally, Manchicourt

was canon in Arras, the "seat of the Attaingnant family."[13] See Appendix D for a list of

Manchicourt's motets.

Only four of the motets attributed to Manchicourt in the Series appear in earlier

sources, and all appear in Book 14. The concordances for the motets are listed in the

Motet Table in Appendix D2. With the reprint of Book 14 that Attaingnant produced in

1545, most of the motets are not *unica*, though four of the motets survive only as part of

the Series. Three of the four are found in Book 7, and are part of the "O" Antiphon

settings that form the core of that book. The fourth is a setting of *Regina celi* that

appeared in Book 14 (14.02) and was not reprinted in the second edition in 1545. Given

that these motets appear in no other sources, it seems plausible that Attaingnant applied

directly to Manchicourt for the motets in order to complete his collection.[14] Indeed,

Manchicourt states himself that he is giving the motets of Book 14 to Attaingnant

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[11] GroveManchicourt.
[12] He states this in the dedication of Book 14, discussed in Chapter 4.
[13] HeartzCat, 100-101.
[14] The settings of "O Thoma" and "O Emanuel" are in fact the earliest known settings of these Antiphons.
"O virgo" was set earlier by Josquin (NJE 24.11).

directly, making it possible that all motets by Manchicourt featured in the Series came to the printer directly from the composer.

Adrian Willaert

Attaingnant featured sixteen motets in his Series that he attributed to Adrian Willaert.[15] Only four of these motets do not appear in manuscript or printed sources that predate the Series, and only one motet is *unica*. Most of the motets appear in manuscript sources from Italy, while only four appeared in earlier printed sources. The unica motet, *Hac clara die,* appears in Book 8, along with three other motets by Willaert. Willaert's sixteen motets are listed in Appendix D.

Book 2 contains the highest concentration of motets by Willaert. Given the thematic organisation of Book 2, it seems probable that these motets were chosen because of their texts, not necessarily because they were composed by Willaert.

Given that Attaingnant's focus was almost exclusively on French composers (and Franco-Netherlandish composers), the fact that he included sixteen motets by a composer active mainly in Italy is significant.[16] Attaingnant may have chosen these motets because of Willaert's growing popularity and French background: Willaert had spent some time in Paris where he reportedly studied with Jean Mouton before travelling to Italy, where he entered the service of Cardinal Ippolioto d'Este in Ferrara, in 1514.[17] He eventually traveled to Venice, where, in 1527, he became *maestro di cappella* at San Marco Basilica.

It is likely that Attaingnant obtained these motets from manuscript and printed

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[15] On Willaert, see in particular, LongJDiss, SchiltzWillaert, and SchiltzMotet.
[16] GroveWillaert.
[17] GroveWillaert.

sources, and that the journey of these motets to Attaingnant was not a direct path from the composer. The strong ties between Ferrara and the French royal court may indicate a possible trajectory by which some of the motets reached Attaingnant (six of the motets are found in manuscripts that originated in Ferrara), but since many of the concordant sources date from the late 1520s or early 1530s, a period when Willaert was established in Venice, it is unlikely that the Ferrara manuscript motets came directly from the composer. Assuming that Attaingnant had connections at the French royal court, the motets may have travelled from Ferrara by way of Jean Michel, the Ferrara composer who had ties to the French royal court, and eventually arrived in the Rue de la Harpe. It is equally possible that Attaingnant obtained copies of the motets by some other, unknown, means. In any event, Willaert's motets figure prominently in Attaingnant's Series, a fact that must be attributed at least in part to the popularity of the composer, whose name on the cover of Attaingnant's books would surely have been recognised by the motet-buying public.

Philippe Verdelot

Attaingnant's Series features fourteen motets by Philippe Verdelot, the most of any composer from the older generation.[18] Like Willaert, Verdelot was born in France but spent the chief part of his career in Italy. All but two of the fourteen motets appear in manuscript sources (largely Italian sources) which predate the Series, and almost half (six motets) appear in earlier printed sources as well. These are listed in Appendix D. The only two motets that do not appear in earlier sources are *unica*. *Ne proiicias* appears in

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[18] On Verdelot, see in particular, FenlonHaar, and SlimMadrigal.

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[18] On Verdelot, see in particular, FenlonHaar, and SlimMadrigal.

Book 10, paired with a setting of the same text by Moulu, and *Ave sanctissima Maria* appears at the end of Book 2.

Because of the lack of information concerning Verdelot's early career, we cannot suppose any direct links between printer and composer. Seven of the motets are preserved in sources that originated in Florence, with five of these appearing in the 1527-29 partbooks presented to Henry VIII as a gift from the city of Florence.[19] Seven motets (though not all the same as those in Florentine manuscripts) also appear in pre-1534 prints, including two in Attaingnant's 1529 book of motets, the rest having been printed by Moderne in 1532. The fact that so many of these motets appeared in earlier sources, and that ten of them appeared in at least two sources, suggests that Attaingnant likely included them because they had circulated so much, because they were proven "hits" that would draw in potential consumers, and were easy to obtain. The fact that only two of the fourteen motets appear in uniform anthologies suggests that Verdelot's motets were included not simply because they set the necessary texts, but because they complemented the selection of the other books, and because of the reputation of the composer.

Jean Mouton

Jean Mouton was probably the most celebrated French composer of the early generation.[20] His connections to the French royal court spanned the reigns of two Kings: he served in the chapels of Louis XII and François I, and served as Chapel Master for Anne de Bretagne. Most of his motets were probably composed for the French royal

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[19] CensusCat, vol. 1, 151.
[20] On Mouton and his motets, see in particular, ShineDiss.

court, and if we accept that Attaingnant had access to the court repertoire,[21] then it is

possible that the motets by Mouton came to Attaingnant on a more or less direct path. It is

also equally possible that Attaingnant obtained his copies of Mouton's motets from some

other source, as there were a large number of sources that contained his music, both in

printed and manuscript form. Appendix D2 lists the thirteen motets that Attaingnant

attributed to Mouton, along with their concordances.

Eight of the thirteen motets attributed to Jean Mouton in Attaingnant's Series

appeared in printed sources before 1534, and all but two appeared in manuscript sources

dated before the Series was printed. Eight of the eleven motets found in manuscripts

appear in at least two sources, with some appearing in up to five different manuscript

sources dated before 1534. Only two motets were unpublished before Attaingnant printed

them in his Series: the *Magnificat quarti toni* from Book 6 appeared here for the first time

and was subsequently included in manuscripts along with other Magnificat settings, and

the motet *Ave Maria gemma virginum* from Book 3 is unique to this Series.

Mathieu Gascongne

Little is known of Mathieu Gascongne's activities prior to or after 1517-1518,

though we do know that at this time, he was priest of diocese of Meaux, chaplain of the

chaplainry of Ste-Marie-Magdalene in the cathedral of Tours (1518), and a singer in

François I's chapel.[22] The presence of works by Gascongne in French court manuscripts

dated earlier in the sixteenth century (1500-1515) suggests that he may have been present

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[21] This theory was proposed by Heartz (HeartzCat) and has been generally accepted (see BrobeckDiss).
[22] SherrMembership, 81. On Gascongne and his motets, see in particular, ColinGasc, BrobeckDiss.

in Paris for some time before Attaingnant printed his Series.[23] In fact, one early motet was printed by Attaingnant apparently thirty years after it was copied into the manuscript.[24] These sources allow us to hypothesise that Gascongne may have been associated with the French royal court for a span of at least two decades.

As was the case for Mouton, Attaingnant attributed thirteen motets to Gascongne, though we find only half of these in manuscript sources that predate the Series, and only four of the thirteen motets had previously appeared in printed sources. See Appendix D1 and D2.

Unlike the motets of Mouton, all six of Gascongne's motets that do appear in pre-1534 manuscripts appear in only one source.[25] Three of the motets featured in Attaingnant's Series are *unica*, including one that makes direct reference to the King of France and may have been composed for the coronation of François I in 1515.[26] Although details of Gascongne's biography are sketchy, his clear ties with Paris point to a relatively direct line of access between composer and printer, especially for the unica motets.

Jean Lhéritier

Jean Lhéritier is the third Top Ten composer featured in Attaingnant's Motet Series, who, though born in France, spent most of his career in Italy.[27] Unlike the

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[23] BrobeckDiss, 467-474. Brobeck identified four early motets that appeared in French manuscripts tied to the court: *Nigra sum*, *Dulcis mater* and *Ista est speciosa* in CambriP 1760, *Bona dies per orbem* in LonRC 1070.

[24] *Bone Jesu dulcissime* is the only one of these early motets that Attaingnant printed. Brobeck found it in the notated Missal AmiensBM 162 (BrobeckDiss, 467) where it is unattributed.

[25] There may be seven motets that appear in earlier manuscript sources: the motet *Dignare me* from Book 1 appears in a manuscript source dated 1530-1540.

[26] Listed in Chapter 7.

[27] On Lhéritier and his motets, see in particular, LhéritierOmnia, PickerPet, and PickerAntico.

majority of these most-represented composers, Lhéritier had no direct connections to the

French royal court, though he does appear to have served as singer and master of the

chapel at the French church in Rome (1515-1522), and also held several positions with

the Estense and Gonzaga families. Attaingnant attributed eleven motets to Lhéritier in his

Series, and only two of these appeared here for the first time. These motets are listed in

Appendix D1 and D2.

Several of the motets appear in more than one pre-1534 source, and three had

been printed by Moderne in 1532. All but one of these early manuscript sources

originated in Italy (the exception was compiled in Kassel, Germany) and there is no

indication of how Attaingnant obtained copies of these motets.[28] The motets must have

passed through several hands on their way from composer to printer, and likely travelled

from Italy to Paris by a circuitous route. Two of the motets are unique to Attaingnant's

Series. The setting of *Salve regina* appears in Book 12 and was obviously chosen because

of its text. The second *unica* is *Cum rides,* which appears in Book 8. Unlike the majority

of texts in the Series, and contrary to Lhéritier's usual practice for choosing motet texts,

this motet sets a late fifteenth-century secular poem.[29] Given the poem's great

popularity,[30] it may be that Attaingnant chose this motet because of its text. Certainly it

remained one of Lhéritier's least disseminated works,[31] and was probably not chosen

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[28] The exception is the manuscript KasL 24, which is dated 1534-1550, and in fact, may very well have
been copied after the printing of the Series.
[29] GroveLhéritier. Leeman Perkins states that Lhéritier typically set the texts of Antiphons, Responsories,
Psalms, and devotional texts.
[30] The poem is discussed in Chapter 7.
[31] It does not appear in any other sources.

because of its popularity, nor was it chosen to fit in with a specific theme in Attaingnant's Series.[32]

Jean Richafort

Jean Richafort was a singer in Anne de Bretagne's chapel from 1512-1514,[33] and joined the King's Chapel in 1515, after Anne's death. He may in fact have been tied to the court until the year 1525.[34] It is likely then that some of his motets would have been part of the Chapel repertoire, and that Attaingnant may have obtained these motets through those means, or possibly directly from the composer, who moved to the Brussels area in the late 1520s[35] and remained there until the late 1540s.[36] Attaingnant included eleven motets in his Series that he attributed to Richafort, all listed in Appendix D.

Only one of the eleven motets attributed to Richafort by Attaingnant is *unica*. Two of the motets, *Salve regina* and *Sufficiebat nobis paupertas*, appeared in three or more manuscripts that predate the Series. Given their popularity, it is possible that Attaingnant obtained copies of these motets independently. However, the path of the *unica* motet and five first appearance motets may have been direct from Richafort to Attaingnant, or at least, from the French royal court to the printer.

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[32] *Cum rides* is one of only two motets not accompanied by a rubric in Book 8, and does not appear in any post-Series ms or print sources.
[33] SherrMembership, 77-78. On Richafort and his motets, see in particular RichafortOmnia, PickerPet and PickerAntico.
[34] CazauxMusique, 372.
[35] GroveRichafort.
[36] CazauxMusique, 372.

E2: The Attaingnant Composers

François Bourguignon

Five works have come down to us by Bourguignon, perhaps the same man as François Bourguignon, who came from Flanders to sing in the Imperial Chapel of Charles V in Madrid in 1542. One of these was a motet featured exclusively in Attaingnant's Motet Series. The other four works, all chansons, were likewise printed by Attaingnant (one was reprinted by Moderne in 1539,[37] and copied into a manuscript in Augsburg in the mid-sixteenth century, which originally belonged to the Herwart family).[38] How Attaingnant obtained Bourguignon's motet for his Series remains unclear, though the history of printing of his motet and chansons suggests some connection between the two, possibly a third party, who brought Bourguignon's chansons and motet to Paris for printing.

Denis Briant

Only one work, the motet *Dilexi quoniam*, is attributed to Denis Briant. No other information pertaining to Briant survives, though he may have been known under the name of Denys Brumen, to whom scribes and printers attributed three motets and one chanson.[39] Briant's only motet opens Attaingnant's ninth book, the book of Psalm settings, and was likely chosen because of the text that it set. *Dilexi quoniam* does not

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[37] RISM 1539[15]: *Sixiesme livre contenant XXVII chansons nouvelles a quatre parties, en deux volumes*. Paris, P. Attaingnant, 1539.

[38] The Herwart family, particularly Johann Heinrich, were music collectors who also had a number of Attaingnant prints in their library, including a copy of Book 14 of the Motet Series (see Table 5.10).

[39] DIAMM and MotetOD are two examples of modern scholarship that accept Brumen as an alias for Briant. Jeffrey Dean however rejects the assignment of Brumen's works to Briant on the basis of a stylistic comparison of the motets of Brumen and the one by Briant (GroveBriant and GroveBrumen).

appear in many sources, having been printed only one additional time (in a 1558

tablatures print),[40] and never appearing in manuscript sources. The lack of biographical

information makes it difficult to speculate on the path that *Dilexi quoniam* must have

taken from composer to printer, though given the lack of other sources in which it

appears, it is possible that this was the first appearance of the motet, and that it traveled

directly to Attaingnant.

Couillart

In addition to the attribution assigned to the motet *Viri Galilei* in Book 1 by

Attaingnant, Couillart's name appears in four manuscripts and one other printed source,

all of which post-date Attaingnant's Series.[41] Two additional motets are attributed to him

in MunU 401, however both motets are attributed to other composers in more reliable

sources.[42] No other information survives concerning Couillart's biography or additional

works. We may conclude that Attaingnant printed his motet first, and that given its

presence in so many sources after the Series (most of them of German provenance), it was

a popular setting. Without additional information we can only suppose that Attaingnant

had direct contact with Couillart, though this remains purely speculative.

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[40] RISM 1558[20]. *Tabulaturbuch auff die Lauten von Moteten* printed by Johann Kohlen in Germany.
[41] Of German/Austrian provenance: VienNB Mus. 15500, MunU 401, and RegB C 96; of Italian provenance FlorD 4. Couillart's motet also appears in Berg & Neuber's 1555 print (RISM 1555[10]).
[42] This manuscript misattributes several motets in more than one partbook, a scribal error that displaced the composers' names in several entries at the end of the manuscript. The other two motets are *Maria Magdalena* (2.02) which was composed by Dulot (and printed in Attaingnant's Series), and *In lectulo meo*. Given the misattributions that occur at the end of the ms, and the fact that no other source or modern bibliography assigns this motet to Couillart, the scribe's assignment of this motet to Couillart is questionable.

Noël Cybot

Noël Cybot was a singer at the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris from 1522 to 1543 and a composer of several chansons and one motet (*Magnificat primi toni*).[43] The motet first appeared in Attaingnant's Book 5, where it opens the collection of Magnificats, and was later copied into the Bavarian manuscript StuttL 26 (dated 1538), a book of Magnificats with a number of concordances with Attaingnant's Books 5 and 6. The possibility that Attaingnant acquired the motet directly from Cybot is suggested by the fact that it appeared in the Series first, that most of Cybot's chansons survive only (or were first printed in) Attaingnant's prints, and by Cybot's affiliation with the Sainte-Chapelle.

Du Hamel

The sole reference to Du Hamel in inventoried manuscript sources is found in the 1544 German manuscript VienNB Mus 15500, a collection of Masses, Magnificats and motets, which includes two Magnificat settings by Du Hamel. The two pieces in VienNB Mus 15500 are the same two Magnificat settings that Attaingnant printed in Book 6. The only other reference to Du Hamel appears in Attaingnant's October 1534 chanson print.[44] The chanson and the two Magnificats are the only works that survive by this composer.

Though details of his biography remain sparse, Brenet found references to three Du Hamels in the records of the Sainte-Chapelle,[45] and identified Jean Du Hamel, dead in

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[43] GroveCybot.

[44] HeartzCat, 267. RISM 1534[12]: *Vingt et huyt chansons musicalles a quatre parties*. Paris, P. Attaingnant, 1534.

[45] BrenetSainteChapelle, 80, 83, 89, 80, 102, 105.

1540, as the composer of the two Magnificats.[46] Given that his music appeared first in Attaingnant's prints, and that only the Magnificats appeared in another source, it seems probable that Attaingnant obtained his music either directly from the composer, or from the repertoire of the Sainte-Chapelle.

Mauricius Georget

Only one motet survives by Mauricius (Maurice) Georget, a setting of "Ave regina celorum" that appears in Attaingnant's twelfth book of motets (12.02). No other manuscripts or prints contain music attributed to Georget, though Heartz assigns a second piece to the composer, a chanson published in Attaingnant's 1534 print *Vingt huyt chansons musicalles a quatre parties*, which Attaingnant attributed to Georges, possibly a misprint of Georget.[47] Given that the only two known works by this composer survive uniquely in Attaingnant's prints, we may suppose that the printer acquired *Ave regina celorum* for his book of Marian Antiphons directly from Georget.

Jean Guyon

Jean Guyon was a French composer with long-standing ties with the cathedral of Chartres. He served as a singer there from 1523 and was later appointed *maître des enfants* (1541-1556) and canon (1545-1574).[48] His only motet *Fundamenta ejus in montibus* (9.02) appears in Attaingnant's Series: it is a setting of Psalm 86, no doubt the

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[46] BrenetSainteChapelle, 105.
[47] HeartzCat, 266-267, 448. RISM 1534[12]. The chanson print is inventoried on pages 266-267. The entry listing two pieces for Georget is in the Index of Composers (448).
[48] GroveGuyon.

reason that it was included in Attaingnant's Series. Best known as a chanson composer,
he composed eighteen works in this genre, nine of which appear only in Attaingnant
prints. The others appear in the prints of Du Chemin, and two survive in manuscript
sources. The motet appears to be his earliest music publication, with the chansons
appearing in prints from the 1540s and 1550s, and his two Masses from the mid-1550s.
Given the preponderance of works by Guyon that appeared only in Attaingnant's prints,
including his only motet, Guyon may very well have sent his music directly to the printer.

G. Jarsin

G. Jarsin's sole contribution to the Motet Series, *Respexit Elias*, appeared in two
other printed sources later in the sixteenth century, but does not survive in any manuscript
sources.[49] Only two other works are attributed to him in printed or manuscript sources:
the motet *Ecce quam bonum* was included in the 1538-1545 addition to the Italian
manuscript CasAC C under the name G. Jarsin (the only source to include the initial "G")
and the chanson *Ribon, ribaine tout en despit de moy*, which appeared in Attaingnant's
chanson print in March of 1538.[50] Jarsin seems to fall into the category of composers who
probably worked in or around Paris and from whom Attaingnant obtained music directly,
though no specific biographical information has yet been unearthed.

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[49] It was printed in Gardano's *Cipriani musici eccelentissimi 5 vc Bk 1* in 1544 (RISM 1544[6]), and in Berg
& Neuber's *Evangeliorum/III* in 1555 (RISM 1555[11]).
[50] Casale Monferrato, Archivio e Biblioteca, Capitolare, Duomo, MS C; RISM 1537[4]: *Tiers livre contenant
XXX chansons vieilles et esleues...*Paris, P. Attaingnant et H. Jullet, 1538.

Jodon

The name Jodon appears in Book 13 with the motet *Virgo salutiferi*. Though there has been some speculation that this setting may have been by Josquin,[51] the motet in Book 13 is distinct from that of Josquin in terms of both text and music, and, in fact, Josquin's setting appears in Book 4. The name "Jodon" does not appear in any other inventoried sources,[52] and the only biographical information currently known about the composer comes from Heartz, who lists Jodon among the Parisian composers featured in Attaingnant's prints.[53] Given that his motet appears in a book dominated by less well-known composers, it seems probable that he was a local composer and that Attaingnant obtained the motet directly from the composer.

Cornesle Joris

Cornesle Joris is another of the Attaingnant Composers whose only known works appear uniquely in Attaingnant's Motet Series. Attaingnant printed two of his motets in Book 13,[54] which suggests that Joris, like Jodon and Margot, may have been a local composer, from whom Attaingnant obtained his repertoire directly.

Jean Le Bouteiller

Jean le Bouteiller was a French composer who served as *maître des enfants* at the Sainte-Chapelle of Bourges from 1530 to 1535 and then at the cathedral in Chartres until

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[51] Jodon's motet is listed under Josquin's name (with a ?) in MotetOD.
[52] No source inventoried in DIAMM or MotetOD contains the name Jodon.
[53] HeartzCat, 99. Heartz does not provide any source for this information.
[54] 13.02 and 13.04.

1542.[55] Six works are attributed to him, two motets and four chansons, and all survive uniquely in books printed by Attaingnant. The two motets appear early on in the Series, in Books 1 and 2. The motets of this "Attaingnant Composer" must have travelled directly to Attaingnant, though given that Le Bouteiller had no direct connections to Paris, it is possible that a third party was involved in bringing the motets to Attaingnant.

Lenfant

Lenfant, also known as Hector Boucher, was a singer in the Sainte-Chapelle from 1519 to 1522, and served as a cantor at Notre Dame de Mehun-sur-Yèvre in the 1530s.[56] He also sang in the Court Chapel from as early as 1522 until 1533.[57] He appears to have composed only one work, the motet *In pace in idipsum* printed by Attaingnant in Book 10.[58] His close connections to the court and Paris in the time leading up to the printing of the Series, and the fact that his sole motet appears only in Attaingnant's print, make it at least possible and even likely that Attaingnant obtained his motet more or less directly from the composer.

G. Louvet

Attaingnant printed one motet by G. Louvet, *O rex gloriose* in Book 10. No other trace of Louvet can be found in manuscript or printed sources, and his name does not figure in any list of singers related to the French royal court, or other Parisian institutions.

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[55] GroveBouteiller.
[56] HeartzCat, 98; BrobeckDiss, 591-592. Brobeck found records of Hector le Boucher (L'Enfant) in the Sainte-Chapelle from 1519-1522, and as cantor at Notre Dame de Mehun in the 1530s. MotetOD lists only one motet by Lenfant (none by Hector le Boucher). No mention of either name in DIAMM.
[57] CazauxMusique, 346.
[58] This is one of two settings of this text that appear in Book 10.

Indeed, Louvet's motet is the only known work for this composer and Attaingnant's Series the only source in which it appears. Without further biographical information one cannot assert with any certainty how Attaingnant obtained the motet, but it may be that Louvet was another of those less well-known composers, possibly living in Paris, with whom Attaingnant had direct contact.

Colin Margot

Colin Margot, like Louvet, composed only one work that survives in manuscript or printed sources, a motet that Attaingnant printed in Book 13. The motet is for six voices, and given that it appears in a book free from textual constraints, Attaingnant must have felt that the piece was worthy of inclusion based on musical grounds or because of the reputation of the composer. Despite the lack of information concerning Margot's biography, we can conclude from the inclusion of his motet in Attaingnant's Series, and the placement of his full name on the title page of Book 13, that Attaingnant saw value in featuring his motet. His name clearly indicates a French background, and given the lack of information about Margot, and the absence of his works in other sources, it seems probable that Margot's *Beata dei genitrix Maria* traveled directly from the composer to Attaingnant.

Pierre Passereau

Pierre Passereau is best known for his contributions to the chanson repertoire, with most of his chansons appearing in prints by Attaingnant.[59] His only surviving motet is found only in Book 11 of Attaingnant's Motet Series. Passereau, though not explicitly linked to institutions in Paris, sang in the chapel of François I in 1509, when François was still simply the Duke of Angoulême.[60] Passereau may also have served at the Cambrai Cathedral between 1525 and 1530.[61] It seems likely that after this time, he lived in, or kept close ties with Paris, especially when one considers that his name appears with regularity in Attaingnant's prints from 1530 to 1545.[62] The extraordinary connection between Passereau's music and Attaingnant's prints suggests that Attaingnant procured Passereau's only motet for his Series directly from the composer.

Jean Rousée

Jean Rousée composed four chansons printed by Attaingnant and Le Roy & Ballard, and six motets, all of which are unique to Attaingnant's series. A French composer tied to the Royal Chapel under Henri II (from 1547 to 1559), Rousée was evidently active musically before his appointment to Henri II's chapel, though no

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[59] This includes a print devoted exclusively to the chansons of Jannequin and Passereau (RISM 1536[6]: *Tiers livres contenant XXI chansons musicales a quatre parties...*Paris, P. Attaingnant). Fifteen of the 26 chansons attributed to Passereau appeared only in Attaingnant prints. Only three chansons appear in manuscript sources, all of which post-date the appearance of the works in Attaingnant's prints. Several were also reprinted by other printers after Attaingnant printed them.

[60] GrovePassereau.

[61] GrovePassereau.

[62] Passereau's name appears in 26 prints published by Attaingnant between 1530 and 1545, and in two prints dated 1528 and 1529 (RISM [1528][6]: *Trente et quatre chansons musicales a quatre parties...*Paris, P. Attaingnant, (s.d.) and RISM 1529[3]: *Trente et quatre chansons musicales à quatre parties*. Paris, P. Attaingnant, 1528).

additional records survive that shed light on his activities before 1547.[63] Curiously, none

of the motets appear in manuscript sources, though two chansons were copied into

manuscript sources (one of which predates the Series by almost a decade),[64] suggesting

that the composer was active for some time before his motets were printed by

Attaingnant. That he was in Paris in the time leading up to the printing of the Motet Series

seems probable,[65] and it seems likely that Attaingnant procured the motets directly from

Rousée.

Florentius Villain

Listed as M.F. Villain in Attaingnant's Book 13, Florentius (Florent) Villain

appears to have composed only a single motet. *Non conturbetur* survives in only two

other sources, Susato's 1546 print (RISM 1546[6] where the piece is unattributed) and the

manuscript FlorD 4 dated from 1563, where the motet is attributed to "Villain."[66] No

other musical sources preserve his music or contain his name. His name does appear in

the list of *maîtres de chant* preserved in the Registres des Actes capitulaires de Saint-

Donatien in Bruges. The registres name him as the Succentor at Saint-Donatien on July

18 1550, a post he presumably held until the appointment of a new Succentor on January

15 1556.[67] This is the only source that provides Villain's full first name. We may thus

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[63] GroveRousée.

[64] Switzerland, Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, MS F.IX.58 is a Bavarian ms dated 1525 (DIAMM) containing organ tablatures of German songs and four chansons (including one by Sermisy).

[65] Attaingnant also printed a song by Rousée in a 1530 chanson print (RISM 1530[4]: *Trente et six chansons musicales à quatre parties*. Paris, P. Attaingnant, 1530).

[66] *Census-Catalogue* lists "Villain" as a composer of one of the motets (Census-Cat, vol 4, 377), and MotetOD lists *Non conturbetur* in FlorD 4.

[67] Vanderstraeten, 129. Vanderstraeten notes that there was a conflict (likely a lawsuit) with the butcher's union in 1551 because Villain's servant had procured meat from the nearby Saint-Michel-lez-Bruges.

establish a period of activity for Villain from at least the early 1530s (when he must have composed his sole motet) until 1556.

APPENDIX F: INDIVIDUAL RUBRICS WITH THEIR MOTETS

The following table lists all 118 individual rubrics that appear inside the books, along with their motets. It does not include the title rubrics

Rubric (standardised)	Motet Number	Motet Title	Composer
Contra pestem	4.11	Recordare domine testamenti	Verdelot, Philippe
Contra pestem	4.12	Adjuva nos	Verdelot, Philippe
De adventu Domini	7.03	Ecce dominus veniet	Willaert, Adrian
De annunciatione beate Marie	4.14	Contremuerunt omnia membra mea	Mouton, Jean
De apostolis	1.01	Clare sanctorum senatus	Sermisy, Claudin de
De apostolis	4.02	Clare sanctorum senatus	Willaert, Adrian
De apostolis	8.10	Gloriosi principes terre quomodo	Mouton, Jean
De apostolis	8.19	Ecce nos relinquimus	Maistre Jhan
De apostolis	13.05	Virtute magna	Lasson, Mathieu
De ascensione	13.02	Tempus meum	Joris, Cornesle
De ascensione Domini	4.20	Tempus est ut revertar	Conseil, Jean
De ascensione Domini	13.11	Non conturbetur cor vestrum	Villain, Florentius
De assumptione beate Marie	3.10	Virgo prudentissima	Penet, Hilaire
De assumptione beate Marie	8.04	Veni electa mea	Richafort, Jean
De beata Maria	2.14	Benedicta es celorum	Le Bouteiller, Jean
De beata Maria	2.24	Ave sanctissima Maria	Verdelot, Philippe
De beata Maria	3.03	Ave virgo gloriosa stella	Vermont, Pierre
De beata Maria	3.06	Nesciens mater	Mouton, Jean
De beata Maria	3.13	Alma redemptoris	De Silva, Andreas
De beata Maria	3.21	Ave Maria gemma virginum	Mouton, Jean
De beata Maria	4.03	Veniat dilectus meus	Willaert, Adrian
De beata Maria	4.04	Ave domina mea	La Fage, Jean de
De beata Maria	4.05	Virgo carens criminibus	De Silva/ Moulu
De beata Maria	4.09	Nesciens mater	Courtois, Jean
De beata Maria	4.18	Veni in ortum	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de
De beata Maria	4.23	Virgo salutiferi	Josquin Desprez
De beata Maria	4.24	Nigra sum	Conseil, Jean
De beata Maria	4.25	Ave Maria gratia plena	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de
De beata Maria	4.26	Surge propera	Werrecore, Matthias Hermann
De beata Maria	4.27	Inviolata integra	Courtois, Jean
De beata Maria	4.29	Sancta Maria mater dei	Conseil, Jean

De beata Maria	7.23	Dignare me laudare	Gosse, Maistre
De beata Maria	7.24	Sancta Maria mater dei	Gosse, Maistre
De beata Maria	8.01	Nigra sum	Lhéritier, Jean
De beata Maria	8.03	Hac clara die	Willaert, Adrian
De beata Maria	8.08	Verbum bonum	Willaert, Adrian
De beata Maria	8.14	Beata viscera	Willaert/ Verdelot
De beata Maria	8.16	Cede fragor	Willaert/ Verdelot
De beata Maria	8.17	Descendi in ortum	Willaert/ Verdelot
De beata Maria	8.18	Sancta Maria regina celorum	Willaert, Adrian
De beata Maria	13.03	Virgo salutiferi	Josquin Desprez
De beata Maria	13.09	Beata dei genitrix	Margot, Colin
De beata Maria	13.18	Sancta Maria mater dei	Sermisy, Claudin de
De beata virgine	4.28	Sancta et immaculata	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de
De beata virgine Maria	14.04	Ave stella matutina mundi princeps et regina	Manchicourt, Pierre de
De beata virgine Maria	14.08	Ave virgo gloriosa stella sole clarior	Manchicourt, Pierre de
De communi unius virginis	2.22	Virgo Christi egregia	Lhéritier, Jean
De cruce	4.08	O crux ave sanctissima	Courtois, Jean
De epiphania	8.09	Epiphaniam domino canamus gloriosam	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de
De omnibus sanctis	3.07	Hi sancti quorum	Courtois, Jean
De omnibus sanctis	7.08	Laudem dicite	Rousée, Jean
De omnibus sanctis	13.14	Salvator mundi salva nos	Gombert, Nicolas
De purificatione beate Marie	4.07	Adorna thalamum	Vermont, Pierre
De purificatione beate Marie	8.06	Homo erat in Jerusalem	Gombert, Nicolas
De purificatione beate Marie	8.11	Cum inducerent	Conseil, Jean
De resurrectione Domini	2.03	Victime paschali	Verdelot, Philippe
De resurrectione Domini	2.05	Congratulamini mihi	Willaert, Adrian
De sacramento altaris	13.08	Ave verbum incarnatum	Lupi, Johannes
De sancta Anna	4.16	Ave mater matris dei	Gombert, Nicolas
De sancta Catherina	4.15	Virgo sancta Catherina	Gombert, Nicolas
De sancta Catherina	7.01	Virgo flagellatur crucianda	Vermont, Pierre
De sancta Catherina	7.19	Gaude virgo Catherina	Mouton, Jean
De sancte Johanne Baptista	13.10	Gaude tu baptista	Lupi, Johannes
De sanctissima trinitate	8.15	Benedictus es domine deus	Willaert/ Verdelot
De sancto Andrea	4.13	Christum regem regum adoremus	Mouton, Jean
De sancto Andrea	7.20	Andreas Christi	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de
De sancto Anthonio	8.20	Anthoni pater	Lasson, Mathieu
De sancto Dionysio	3.08	Adest namque beati Dionysii	Vermont, Pierre
De sancto Johanne Evangelista	7.05	In illa die suscipiam	Conseil, Jean

De sancto Nicolao	7.09	Sospitate dedit	Rousée, Jean
De sancto Paulo	8.07	Saule quide me	Le Brung, Jean/ Moulu
De sancto Petro apostolo	3.17	Argentum et aurem	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de
De sancto Petro apostolo	13.13	Surge Petre	Jacquet of Mantua
De sancto Philippo	4.19	Tanto tempore	Verdelot, Philippe
De sancto spiritu	4.10	Sancti spiritus adsit	Courtois, Jean
De sancto Stephano	2.23	Patefacte sunt ianue	Willaert, Adrian
De sancto Stephano	7.07	Lapidaverunt Stephanum	Rousée, Jean
De trinitate	13.01	O altitudo	Pathie, Rogier
De uno apostolo	2.13	Omnipotens sempiterne deus	Willaert, Adrian
De uno episcopo	2.16	O presul egregie	Richafort, Jean
De virgine Maria	14.09	O intemerata et in eternum benedicta	Manchicourt, Pierre de
In assumptione beate Marie	1.05	Hac clara die	Richafort, Jean
In dedicatione ecclesie	13.16	Fundata est domus domini	Cadéac, Pierre
In die ascensionis Domini	1.02	Viri Galilei	Couillart
In die epiphanie	1.03	Reges terre congragati	Mouton, Jean
In die epiphanie	2.10	Egredere ab occidente	Conseil, Jean
In die nativitatis Domini	7.06	Congratulamini mihi	Rousée, Jean
In die parasceves	8.13	Jerusalem luge	Caen/ Lupus/ Richafort
In die pentecostes	2.21	Spiritus ubi vult	Gascongne, Mathieu
In die pentecostes	13.04	Factus est repente	Joris, Cornesle
In festo innocentium	7.04	Vidi sub altare dei animas	Le Heurteur, Guillaume
In festo omnium sanctorum	3.18	Angeli et archangeli throni	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de
In festo pasche	3.12	Congratulamini mihi	Le Heurteur, Guillaume
In festo pentecostes	13.07	Sancti spiritus adsit	Sermisy, Claudin de
In festo sacramenti	3.02	Parasti in dulcedine	Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de
In festo sacramenti	13.12	Caro mea vere	Manchicourt, Pierre de
In festo sacramenti	13.15	Respexit Elias	Jarsins, G.
In festo sancte crucis	2.17	O crux viride lignum	Werrecore, Matthias Hermann
In nativitate Domini	2.11	Noe magnificatus est rex	Sermisy, Claudin de
In nativitate Domini	2.12	Noe psallite	Mouton, Jean
In nativitate Domini	3.01	O beata infantia	Piéton, Loyset
In ramis palmarum	1.04	Gloria laus	Richafort, Jean
In resurrectione Domini	2.02	Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi	Dulot, Francois

In resurrectione Domini	2.04	Gaudeamus omnes	Verdelot, Philippe
In resurrectione Domini	14.03	Congratulamini mihi omnes	Manchicourt, Pierre de
Oratio Dominicalis	2.01	Pater noster	Willaert, Adrian
Oratio Dominicalis	3.14	Pater noster	Richafort, Jean
Oratio Dominicalis	7.22	Pater noster	Mornable, Antoine
Plurimorum martyrum	2.15	O quam dulcis et beata	Richafort, Jean
Pro Defunctis	3.11	Peccantem me quotidie I	Mouton, Jean
Pro peccatis	2.19	Pater peccavi	Conseil, Jean
Pro peccatis	3.15	Omnia que fecisti	Maistre Jhan
Pro quacumque tribulatione	13.17	Salus populi ego	Cadéac, Pierre
Pro rege nostro	2.08	Christus vincit Christus regnat	Gascongne, Mathieu
Salutatio angelica	2.09	Ave Maria gratia plena	Lhéritier, Jean
Salutatio angelica	8.02	Ave Maria gratia plena	Richafort, Jean
Salutatio communis beate Marie	2.06	Sancta Maria sucurre	Verdelot, Philippe
Salutatio communis beate Marie	2.18	Ave regina celorum	Willaert, Adrian

APPENDIX G: TEXT SOURCES

This appendix lists the sources for all of the motet texts in Attaingnant's Series, ordered alphabetically by title. It includes the different genres of motet texts and the types of sources in which I found the texts of the motets. When I found a text identified as the same genre in multiple books (i.e. as an Antiphon for more than one feast), the genre is listed once only. The Comments column provides additional information on variants between the motet text and the source text, and other relevant information. I also include a column that indicates if the complete motet text was located as a single item (i.e. one Antiphon) in a single kind of source (liturgical book, Books of Hours).

Many of the motet texts are also found at least in part in more than one kind of source. Most of the time when a motet text is found only in part in one kind of source the part found is the opening portion of the text. Even if the text did not continue on after the first few phrases, it was listed on the front page of the motet prints, which would have functioned as the "hook" for potential buyers. For this reason, I chose to note when a text appeared only in part in each kind of source.

Because of the difficulty in identifying texts in Books of Hours, and the relatively few studies that consider Books of Hours as sources for motet texts, I have given additional information on where to find the motet texts in Books of Hours, noting both the short name of the book (listed in the Text Sources Bibliography), and the folio number on which the text is found.

Text genre abbreviations used in this appendix:

A=Antiphon	Gra=Gradual	Misc=Miscellaneous item	R and V= Responsory with Verse
All=Alleluia verse	H=Hymn	Off=Offertory	S=Sequence
Capt=Chapter	Intr=Introit	P=Prayer	V=Verse
Coll=Collect	Invit=Invitatorium	Ps=Psalm	VR= Versicle and Response
Comm=Communion	Mag=Magnificat	R = Responsory	

; indicates another item for the same part of the text
/ indicates a new section of text
// indicates a new *pars* (*secunda pars*, *tertia pars*...)
nf indicates the text was not found

Break-down of an entry: Parts of the text of the second motet listed, *Adjuva me domine* were found in liturgical books as an Antiphon (first line of the opening phrase is the prima pars), and as both a Responsory and a Verse (secunda pars); as a Psalm in Books of Hours and in the Bible. The Bible column lists the lines of the Psalm that are set, and the corresponding bars in the Modern Edition of the Motet Series. The Comments column notes that this is not the same text as motet 4.12, titled "Adjuva nos," and that the piece has textual repetition. The Single Item column indicates that this text is found as a single item (i.e. all in one Psalm) in all three main source kinds, in this case as a Psalm. The final column lists the motet number, also included in the other tables in the Appendices.

Title	Liturgical Books	Books of Hours	Bible	Comments	Other Books	Single Item	Motet Number
Adest namque beati Dionysii	R and V [CAO 6033] (complete); A [CAO 1264] (prima pars) CF: S	nf CF: nf	nf CF: nf	CF: Gaude prole grecia. Sequence attr. to Adam of St. Victor (FasslerStVictor, 246).		yes -lit	3.08
Adjuva me domine	A [CAO 1281] (title only) // R [CAO 7645] (55-70); V	Ps, commendatio animarum (Thott 534, folio 199-202)	Ps 118: 117 (1-25) / Ps 118: 122 (26-42) / Ps 118: 124 (42-55) // Ps 118: 125 (55-76) / Ps 118: 153 (77-103) +opening line	Not same text as 4.12. End repeats first line of text.		yes -lit, boh and bible	11.07

Adjuva nos	V [CAO 6286] (1-43); R and V [CAO 6040] (1-43); Gra (1-43) / nf (44-51) CF: R (two words only) nf	Ps, Psalter of St. Jerome (Rouen 1420-1430, folio 200) CF: nf	Ps 78: 9 (not complete Psalm setting) CF: nf	Last phrase ("et propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum") not found in liturgical sources with rest of text. Both this text and the text of motet 4.11 were part of the votive Mass Vitanda Mortalitate, or "Recordare Mass" against the plague. (Macklin) CF: Parce Domine (Obrecht motet).		yes -lit, boh and bible	4.12
Adorna thalamum	A [CAO 1293] (prima and most of secunda pars-missing first line of secunda pars); R [CAO 6051] // R [CAO 7745]	nf	nf			no	4.07
Alma redemptoris	A [CAO 1356]	A, Hours of the Virgin, Lauds 2, 3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	1.06
Alma redemptoris	A [CAO 1356]	A, Hours of the Virgin, Lauds 2, 3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	3.13
Andreas Christi	A [CAO 1396]; R [CAO 6085] (title only) // A [CAO 4492]	A, Commemoration of Saints, Lauds, St. Andrew (Vérard BoH, folio 44v-45) // nf	nf			no	7.20

Angeli et archangeli throni	A [CAO 1398] (title and three words); A (first part) [LU 1721] // A [CAO 5118]	nf // A, Hours of the Virgin 1 (Hypertext) (most of secunda pars)	nf			no	3.18
Angelus domini descendit	R and V [CAO 6093]	nf	Matt 28: 2, 5-6 // Mark 16: 5-6			yes -lit	1.07
Antequam comedam	R [CAO 6106] // V	nf	Job 3: 24-26 // Job 6: 13	CF: Je ris et si ay la lerme a l'œil Josquin chanson (as canon in secunda pars).		yes -lit	11.19
Anthoni pater	A (first few words and last few words of A make up beginning and end of prima pars) // new text	A (first three words of motet only) (GKS 1612, folio 24v)	nf	Refers to Antoine, Duke of Lorraine.		no	8.20
Argentum et aurem	A [CAO 1480]	nf	Acts of the Apostles 3: 6			yes -lit and bible	3.17
Aspice domine de sede	R and V [CAO 6126] (complete); A [CAO 1496] (1-50 -missing the text from the V)	nf	Prophecy of Baruch 2: 16 (1-50) / Ps 79: 2 (50-64) / Prophecy of Baruch 2: 16 (64- end)	R and V form.		yes -lit	11.16
Aspice domine quia facta	R [CAO 6127]; A [CAO 1497] // A [CAO 3844]; R [CAO 7192] (more words in R)	nf	nf			no	2.20

Ave domina mea	nf	P, Fifth prayer (Prayers of St. John the Evangelist, Perg. 24 4, folio L8r); P, Other prayers (1533, 200)	nf	Virtually the same as "Ave sanctissima Maria" but a prayer in BoHs.		yes - boh	4.04
Ave Maria gemma virginum	nf	nf	nf			no	3.21
Ave Maria gratia dei plena	S [Expositio, 107]; (part of "Hac clara die" Sequence)	nf	nf			yes -lit	3.05
Ave Maria gratia plena	A [LU 1861] (complete); R and V [CA O6155] (1-60); R [CA O6156] (1-60); Votive Mass Offertory (1-60) / nf	P, All Hours of the Virgin (Hypertext)	Luke 1: 28, 42 (1-60) / nf			yes -lit, boh	2.09
Ave Maria gratia plena	Votive Mass Offertory [LU 1318]	P, All Hours of the Virgin (Hypertext)	Luke 1: 28, 42	Related to text of 2.09, but shorter.		yes -lit, boh	8.02
Ave Maria gratia plena	A // H [AH 15, 93 - slight variants]	nf	nf			no	4.25
Ave mater matris dei	nf	P, St Anne, Suffrages of the Saints (GKS 1612, folio 26)	nf			yes - boh	4.16
Ave regina celorum	A [CAO 1542]	A, Lauds, Hours of the Virgin (Rouen 1420-1430, folio 24)	nf			yes -lit and boh	2.18

Ave regina celorum	A [CAO 1542]	A, Lauds, Hours of the Virgin (Rouen 1420-1430, folio 24)	nf			yes -lit and boh	12.01
Ave regina celorum	A [CAO 1542]	A, Lauds, Hours of the Virgin (Rouen 1420-1430, folio 24)	nf			yes -lit and boh	12.02
Ave sanctissima Maria	P (Breviary Use of Rome)	P, Suffrages, Rosary of Mary (1531, 140-141)	nf	Pope Sixtus IV (1477). See BlackburnSingers and BlackburnVirgin.		yes -lit and boh	1.19
Ave sanctissima Maria	P (Breviary Use of Rome)	P, Suffrages, Rosary of Mary (1531, 140-141); P, Other devoute prayers (GKS 1612, folio 14v)	nf	Pope Sixtus IV (1477). See BlackburnSingers and BlackburnVirgin. In BoH "Ave domina sancta maria" variant.		yes -lit and boh	2.24
Ave sanctissima Maria	P (Breviary Use of Rome)	P, Suffrages, Rosary of Mary (1531, 140-141)		Pope Sixtus IV (1477). See BlackburnSingers and BlackburnVirgin.		yes -lit and boh	3.20
Ave stella matutina mundi princeps et regina	A [CA0 2938b] (1-35) / nf // nf	nf	nf		Carmalite Antiphon (Carmalite Lit)	yes - other	14.04
Ave verbum incarnatum	H (prima pars and first line of secunda pars with slight differences) [AH 31, 109] // nf after first line of secunda pars	Prayer, Many Goodly Prayers (1531, 20) // nf after first phrase of secunda pars	nf			no	13.08

Ave virgo gloriosa stella	H [AH 19, 22 -most of motet text with variants] CF: A	P, (Prayerbook 1480-1500, folio 85v); Prayer to the Virgin (Smaf 85-7, folio 14-14v) CF: A (see Salve regina)	nf		CF: Salve regina		yes - boh	3.03
Ave virgo gloriosa stella	H [AH 19, 22 -most of motet text with variants]	P, (Prayerbook 1480-1500, folio 85v); Prayer to the Virgin (Smaf 85-7, folio 14-14v)	nf				yes - boh	14.08
Ave virgo gratiosa	H [AH 19, 22 -most of motet text with variants]	P, (Prayerbook 1480-1500, folio 85v); Prayer to the Virgin (Smaf 85-7, folio 14-14v)	nf				yes - boh	1.17
Beata dei genitrix	A [CAO 1563]	A, Hours of the Virgin 1, Lauds (Hypertext); A, Hours of the Virgin, Lauds (Spitz 1420, folio 82v)	nf				yes -lit and boh	13.09

Beata es virgo Maria	Off; R [CAO 6163]	R, Hours of the Virgin, Matins, (1531, 31); R, Hours of the Virgin, Matins (Vérard BoH, folio 31v); Capt, Commemoration of Saints, Vespers, (Rouen 1460-1475, folio 63v-64); Capt., Hours of the Virgin, Vespers (1531, 52)	nf	Popular text in French Books of Hours.		yes -lit and boh	1.08
Beata viscera	Comm; V [CAO 7212]; A [CAO 1573]; R [CAO 6171]	P or A? Hours of the Virgin, (HM 1131, folio 58v)	nf	Unable to identify text genre in the Book of Hours.		yes -lit and boh	8.14
Beatus Stephanus preciosus	A (1-18) / R; A (18-64) // A (65-80) / A (78-end) / A (92-111)	nf	Acts of the Apostles 7: 55 (bar 17-64 end of prima pars) // Acts of the Apostles 7: 56, 57, 58, 59 (bar 78-end of piece)	The text also has overlap with the Lesson for the feast of St Stephen, Protomartyr, which is based on the biblical passages.		no	1.09
Beatus vir qui non abiit		Ps (Rouen 1460-1475, folio 51v-52)	Ps 1: 1-6 whole Psalm setting			yes -lit, boh and bible	9.12
Benedic anima mea		Ps (CHD Tutor – Psalms numerical)	Ps 102: 1-5 not whole Psalm setting			yes -lit, boh and bible	9.14

Benedicat nos deus noster	R and V [CAO 6240]	Ps, Hours of the Virgin 1-3, Lauds; Ps, Office of the Dead (1531, 33; Hypertext; Cauchon BoH, folio 152)	Ps 66: 7-8 // 66: 2	R and V form.		yes -lit, boh and bible	1.20
Benedicat te dominus	R and V [CAO 6253]	nf	Book of Judith 13: 22, 24, 25 (word order different, some slight differences, "Benedixit")	R and V form. First word in liturgical source "Benedixit."		yes -lit	13.06
Benedicite deum celi	R [CAO 6241]; A [CAO 1696] // V [CAO 6241b]	nf	Book of Tobias 12: 6 // Book of Tobias 6: 18, 20			yes -lit	11.02
Benedicta es celorum	H [AH 54:396]	nf	nf			yes -lit	2.14
Benedictus es domine deus	H (complete motet text) [LU 348-349]; All (1-35, 135-45); V [CAO 7976] (1-20)	Canticum trium puerorum, Hours of the Virgin, Lauds (Brandeis BoH, folio 32v-34)	Prophecy of Daniel 3: 52-53 (bar 1-42)	Motet text has a few variants.		yes -lit and boh	8.15
Bone Jesu dulcissime	nf	nf	nf	Not same text as that set by Josquin. Prayer for the King (not specific to François I -wider appeal)-simple text.		no	11.26

Cantantibus organis decantabat Cæcilia virgo	A [CAO 1761]; R [CAO 6267] // A [CAO 5451]; R [CAO 7902]	nf	nf			no	14.17
Caro mea vere	All [LU 945]; R; Gra // V (MMDB index - not verifiable)	A, Hours of the Holy Sacrament (Cauchon BoH, 235v) // nf	John 6: 56-57, 59 (some words different)	R and V form (text only).		no	13.12
Caro mea vere	All [LU 945]; R; Gra (1-33) / nf (38-82) // V (MMDB index -not verifiable) / see comment	A -Hours of the Holy Sacrament (Cauchon BoH, 235v) (1-50) / nf // nf	John 6: 56-59 (1-134) - missing last phrase of motet.	Last phrase by T. Aquinas (addition to "O salutarius" Hymn for the feast of Corpus Christi at ND de Paris only). Contains reference to France.		no	1.13
Cede fragor strepitusque omnis	nf CF: A [CAO 4937]	nf CF: A, Hours of the Virgin, Terce (Brandeis BoH, folio 55)	nf CF: Canticles 2: 2	CF: Sicut lilium		no	8.16
Christe totius dominator	nf	nf	nf	Poem	Latin religious poem "Carmen ad Christum" by Sizgoric	yes - other	2.07
Christum regem regum adoremus	Invit (first part of piece); Invit (other parts found in various segments).	nf	nf	Motet says "Andre" not Peter -liturgical sources are for Peter (and Paul).		no	4.13

Christus vincit Christus regnat	Misc; H [LU 590]	nf	nf	Refers to coronation of François I. Text from "Laudes Regiae" commonly used for coronations and inaugurations -many variations.		no - custo-mised	2.08
Clare sanctorum senatus	S; Coll	nf	nf	By the Abbot of St. Gall, "Notker" (HileyChant, 417).		yes -lit	1.01
Clare sanctorum senatus	S; Coll	nf	nf	By the Abbot of St. Gall, "Notker" (HileyChant, 417).		yes -lit	4.02
Cognoscimus domine	R and V [CAO 6301] (complete); A [CAO1847] (prima pars only) // A (MMDB index -not verifiable)	A for Ps 142, Seven Penetential Psalms (GKS 1607, folio 118) // V, Office of the Dead (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit	4.21
Conceptio tua	R [CAO 7199]; A [CAO 3852]	A, Conception of Mary (Cauchon BoH, folio 93v)	nf	Liturgical sources have a different first word: "conceptio" is replaced with "nativitas."		yes -lit and boh	7.02
Confitemini domino		Ps (Thott 547, folio 15v)	Ps 117: 1, 5, 6, 8, 17, 18 not complete Psalm			yes -lit, boh and bible	9.06
Congratulamini mihi	R and V [CAO 6323]	nf	nf	R and V form.		yes -lit	2.05
Congratulamini mihi	R [CAO 6323] // R [CAO 7797]	nf	nf			no	3.12

Congratulamini mihi	R [CAO 6322] // R [CAO 6171]	nf	nf	"Noe noe" inserted twice in the middle of the text of the motet.		no	7.06
Congratulamini mihi omnes	R and V [CAO 6323] (prima pars and half of secunda pars) // R [CAO 7799]	nf	nf			no	14.03
Contremuerunt omnia membra mea	R (MMDB index-not verifiable)	nf	nf			no	4.14
Credidi propter		Ps (NKS 132, folio 51)	Ps 115: 1-10 whole Psalm	"Gloria patri" added at end.		yes -lit, boh	9.09
Cum inducerent	R and V [CAO 6367] (complete); A [CAO 2011] (1-70)	nf	Luke 2: 27-29			yes -lit and bible	8.11
Cum rides michi basium negasti	nf	nf	nf	Secunda pars starts with "Data," but poem reads "Nata."	Poem "Baiae" by Giovanni Giovanno Pontano.	yes - other	8.05
Da pacem domine	A [CAO 2090]; V [LU 1867]	P, Hours of the Virgin (Vérard BoH, folio 15); A, Hours of the Virgin (Vérard BoH, folio 55, 55v)	nf			yes -lit and boh	7.21

Da pacem domine	A [CAO 2090] (title and bar 171-206 end)	P, Hours of the Virgin (Vérard BoH, folio 15); A, Hours of the Virgin (Vérard BoH, folio 55, 55v) / Ps 121, Hours of the Virgin 1-3, Terce and Vespers (Hypertext)	nf / Ps 121: 1-9 / nf end of piece -not in Psalm	"Da pacem domine in deibus nostri" -first and last line not in Psalm.		no	11.09
Descendi in ortum	A [CAO 2155]	nf	Canticles 6: 10, 12			yes -lit and bible	8.17
Deus in adjutorium		VR (GKS 1610, folio 40, 49v°, etc.) (first two phrases only) (1-17) / nf	Ps 69: 2, 4-6 whole Psalm (first line is directions)	The opening line of Ps 69 is present as a VR in all Books of Hours I consulted. The one listed here is merely one example (available online in facsimile).		yes -lit, and bible	9.15
Deus misereatur	Introit (prima pars) [LU 1292]; A [CAO 2177] (1-18) // nf	Ps, Hours of the Virgin, Lauds (1531, 33)	Ps 66: 2-8 not complete Psalm setting			yes - lit, boh and bible	3.16
Deus regnorum et christianissimi	nf // P [LU 1868] (72-140) / Litanies of Paschal Vigil [LU 776ff] (140-end)	nf // Prayer (for chief bishop), in Litanies (bar 72-140) (Hypertext) / Litanies (141-166 end) (Hypertext) (complete secunda pars); A, Suffrages of the Saints (1533, 53) (72-140)	nf	Refers to François I.		no	11.15

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Dignare me laudare	A (1-40) [CAO 2217] / A (40-end of first pars); V1; R2 (40-65) // A [CAO 2016] (complete secunda pars); R [CAO 6370]	A, Hours of the Virgin, Matins 1-3; VR, Lauds 1-3; R and V, Sext (1-40); R and V, Hours of the Virgin, Ad Sextam (Cauchon BoH, folio 60) (1-40) / nf (40-end of prima pars) // A, Hours of the Virgin, Compline (Cauchon BoH, folio 71)	nf				no	1.11
Dignare me laudare	A [CAO 2217]; R [CAO 6447] (first line of text); V [CAO 8015] (first line plus two words)	A, Virgin, Matins 1-3; VR, Lauds and Prime 1-3; None (Hypertext and 1531, 49); VR, None (Cauchon BoH, folio 60)	nf				yes -lit and boh	3.04
Dignare me laudare	A [CAO 2217]; R [CAO 6447] (first line of text); V [CAO 8015] (first line plus two words)	A, Virgin, Matins 1-3; VR, Lauds and Prime 1-3; None (Hypertext and 1531, 49); VR, None (Cauchon BoH, folio 60)	nf				yes -lit and boh	7.23
Dilexi quoniam		Ps (Thott 547, folio 43)	Ps 114: 1, 3-5, 7 not complete Psalm	"Requiem eternam" (Introit for All souls; at end of all Psalms in BoH Office for the Dead) added at end.			yes -lit, boh	9.01

Domine non secundum	Tract (complete); V (MMDB index -not verifiable)	Prayer, Preces (1531, 88); VR, Litanies (Hypertext) // Ps 78: 8 // Ps 78: 9	Ps 102: 10 // Ps 78: 8-9 (secunda and tertia pars)			yes -lit	10.13
Domine non secundum peccata nostra	V (MMBD index) (bar 1-28); Tract (bar 1-28) / V [CAO 6653] (28-48) // V [CAO 7227] (53-70) / V [CAO 6653] (79-end)	Prayer, Preces (1531, 88); VR, Litanies of Saints (bar 1-28) (Hypertext) // nf	Ps 102: 10 (bar 1-28) / Ps 105: 6 (28-48) // Ps 105: 4 (50-70) / Ps 105: 6 (79-end)	R and V form.		no	14.12
Domine rex omnipotens	R and V [CAO 6511] (complete); A [CAO 2377] / A [CAO 2378] (combo 2 A for prima pars)	nf	Book of Esther 13: 9 (bar 1-42) / nf // Book of Esther 13: 17 (56-86) / nf	R and V form.		yes -lit	11.06
Domini est terra		Ps (Brandeis BoH, folio 25)	Ps 23: 1-10 whole Psalm setting			yes -lit, boh and bible	9.13
Ecce dominus veniet	A [CAO 2509]; Comm; R [CAO 6586]	A, Memoria per omnia sancti per adventum in Office of Mary for Advent (1533, 217).	nf			yes -lit and boh	7.03
Ecce nos relinquimus	nf	nf	Matt 19: 27-29			yes - bible	8.19
Ecce odor filii mei sicut odor agri pleni	R (1-20) [CAO 6601]; A [CAO 2533] (1-20) / R [CAO 6415] (20-61) // V [CAO 6415] (61-71) / V [CAO 6601] (71-end)	nf	Genesis 27: 27-29	2x R and 2x V.		yes - bible	14.16

Ego sum panis vivus qui de cælo descendi	A [CAO 2595] // V (MMDB index -not verifiable)	nf	John 6: 51-52 // John 6: 56-57			yes - bible	14.05
Egredere ab occidente	nf	nf	nf // Book of Genesis 49: 10 (bar 114-120) / Ps 66: 2 (bar 130-140 end)			no	2.10
Epiphaniam domino canamus gloriosam	H [AH 7, 53]; H [Expositio, 84]	nf	nf			yes -lit	8.09
Esto mihi domine	R and V [CAO 6673] (1-30) / Comm (30-42) / nf	R and V Litanies (Hypertext) (1-30) / nf	nf (1-15) / Ps 60: 4 (15-28) / Ps 118: 128 (28-42) / Ps 118: 43 (bar 43-63) // based on Ps 33: 23 (64-92) (93-end - same as bar 43-63)	R and V form.		no	11.25
Exaltare super celos deus	A [CAO 2761] (1-27); R and V [CAO 6683] (1-27) / nf	nf	Ps 107: 6-7, 13			yes - lit* (Psalm only) and bible	4.06
Exsurge quare obdormis	Intr // Gra	nf (as parts of Psalms in Psalter of Jeromini in 1533)	Ps 43: 23-26 (bar1-32) / nf // Ps 9: 21 (bar 97-117) / Ps 82:	Text repetition form with start of prima pars at end of secunda pars.		no	8.12

			19 (bar110-145) / Ps 43: 23 (same as 1-32) not complete Psalm setting				
Exsurge quare obdormis	Intr // nf	nf	Ps 43: 23 (bar 1-27) / Ps 87: 15 (27-51) / Ps 118: 49 (51-69) // Ps 43: 24 (70-85) / Ps 87: 16 (85-106) / Ps 43: 26 (106-117) / Ps 118: 49 (117-end same as 51-69)	R and V form.		no	11.04
Factus est repente	R and V [CAO 6717]; Comm (slight differences); A [CAO 2847] (1-39 -minor differences) // A [CAO 1454] (64-96); R (first half of secunda pars); R (most of secunda pars)	Capt, at Vespers, Office of the Holy Spirit (Murthly BoH, folio 124v) // Capt and V, at Terce, Office of the Holy Spirit (Murthly BoH, folio 119v)	From Acts of the Apostles 2: 2-4 (bible has more words)	R and V form.		yes -lit	13.04
Fecit potentiam	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)		Partial Magnificat text.		yes -lit and boh	5.13

Feria quinta in Cena Domini	Lectios [Aleph -Zain] / Lectio [Lamed]	nf	Lamentations of Jeremiah 1: 1-3, 5, 7, 12 / Prophecy of Osee 14: 2 ("Israel" in Bible, "Jerusalem" in motet)	Added "Jerusalem, Jerusalem convertere ad dominum deum tuum" doxology at end of each Lectio -also in Bréviaire de Paris to be said at the end of each Lesson.		yes -lit	10.01
Feria Sezta in Parasceves	Lectio	nf	Lamentations of Jeremiah 2: 13-18 / Prophecy of Osee 14: 2 ("Israel" in Bible, "Jerusalem" in motet)	Added "Jerusalem, Jerusalem convertere ad dominum deum tuum" doxology at end of each Lectio -also in Bréviaire de Paris to be said at the end of each lesson; motet reverses letters Ain and Phe from the Bible order.		yes -lit	10.02
Fundamenta ejus in montibus		Ps (CHD Tutor – BVM, matins)	Ps 86: 1-7 whole Psalm			yes -lit, boh and bible	9.02
Fundata est domus domini	R [CAO 6756]; A [CAO 2914] (2/3 of prima pars) // R [CAO 6235]; V [CAO 6756] (shorter, not as complete as R)	nf	nf -subject is same as Prophecy of Isaiah 2: 2; Two Chronicles 6: 21 and throughout	More complete as an R and R than as an R and V.		no	13.16
Gabriel archangelus	R and V [CAO 6757]	nf	nf	R and V form.		yes -lit	1.12

Gaude francorum regia corona	nf	nf	nf	Refers to French King.		no	11.18
Gaude tu baptista	S [AH 39, 173]	A, De Johanes bapt, Suffrages of the Saints (Thott 542, folio 46).	nf			yes -lit and boh	13.10
Gaude virgo Catherina	nf	A, Suffrages, St. Catherin (Horae 1440-50, folio 192); Prosa, Hours of beata Catharina (Guyot BoH, folio 164)	nf			yes - boh	7.19
Gaudeamus omnes in domino	R (first phrase) [CAO 6760] / R (rest of piece) [CAO 6093]	nf / A, Feast of Circumcision (Cauchon BoH, folio 90v-91) (33-55)	nf (first phrase) (1-33) / Matt 28: 2, 5-6 (33-end)			no	2.04
Gloria laus	H [Expositio, 52]	nf	nf			yes -lit	1.04
Gloria laus	H [Expositio, 52]	nf	nf			yes -lit	10.12
Gloriosi principes terre quomodo	A [CAO 2960] CF: A [CAO 4284]	A, De Peter and Paul, Suffrages (NKS 131, folio 160v) CF: A, Suffrages of the Saints (Vérard BoH, folio 43v-44)	nf CF: nf	CF: Petrus apostuls et Paulus doctor gentium.		yes -lit and boh	8.10
Hac clara die	Misc; S [AH 7, 115]	nf	nf			yes -lit	1.05
Hac clara die	Misc; S [AH 7, 115]	nf	nf	Same text as 1.05 (secunda pars starts at different place).		yes -lit	8.03

Hi sancti quorum	S; A	nf	nf	By Adam of St. Victor (FasslerStVictor, 247).		yes -lit	3.07
Homo erat in Jerusalem	A [CAO 3127] (1-45) / R (45-89) [CAO 7539]; A [CAO 4639] (45-89); V // A (90-194) [CAO 2011]; R and V [CAO 6367] (90-end)	nf	Luke 2: 25-30			yes - bible	8.06
Homo natus de muliere	nf	Lesson 5, Office of the Dead, Matins, 2nd Nocturn (1-60) (Hypertext); Lesson 5, Matins, Office of the Dead (Rouen 1460-1475, folio 109) (1-60) // nf	Job 14: 1-2 (1-60) / nf // Ps 48: 13 (78-113) / nf	R and V form.		no	11.11
Homo quidam fecit	R and V; A [CAO 4536 -"Quidam homo fecit"]	nf	Luke 14: 16-17 (1-62) Last line: Proverbs 9: 5 (63-end)			yes -lit	1.25
In convertendo		Ps (Willamette BoH, folio 46)	Ps 125: 1-7 whole Psalm	"Gloria patri" doxology -added at end.		yes -lit, boh	9.05
In domine confido		Ps (CHD Tutor – Psalms alphabetical, #10)	Ps 10: 2-8 whole Psalm setting (first line is directions)			yes -lit, boh and bible	9.10
In illa die suscipiam	R [CAO 6906] // A [CAO 3297] / R [CAO6906]	nf // Ps 80 (49-76) (Hypertext)	nf // Ps: 8 (bar 49-76)	Text repetition form with start of prima pars at end of secunda pars.		no	7.05

In manibus tuis	nf	nf	Ps 30: 16 (1-15) / 1 Samuel 2: 8 (15-35) / Job 10: 8 (35-55) / Colossians 1: 12 (55-83) // nf (83-92) / Ps 124: 3 (92-108) / Ps 30: 15-16 (109-end same as 1-15)	Text repetition form with start of prima pars at end of secunda pars.		no	11.24
In pace in idipsum	R and V [CAO 6921 - no doxology] (Poissy Antiphonal -complete with doxology); A [CAO 3265] (beginning of piece only)	R and V, Completorium nois jesu (Compline of the Name of Jesus, edited by Richard de Hampole) (complete) (1533, 232)	Ps 4: 9 / Ps 131: 4 / nf (Gloria patri etc.)	Same as 10.08 -two words missing in 10.08 ("dormian et requiescam") complete text in Bréviaire de Paris -doxology after Psalm text.		yes -lit and boh	10.07
In pace. Si dedero somnum oculis meis	R and V [CAO 6921 - no doxology] (Poissy Antiphonal -complete with doxology)	R and V, Completorium nois jesu (Compline of the Name of Jesus, edited by Richard de Hampole) (1533, 232)	Ps 4: 9 (first two words only) / Ps 131: 4 / nf (Gloria patri etc.)	Missing "dormian et requiescam." Complete text in Bréviaire de Paris - doxology after Psalm text.		yes -lit and boh	10.08
In te domine speravi		Ps (Nivelles BoH)	Ps 30: 2-6 not whole Psalm			yes -lit, boh and bible	9.07
Inclina domine		Ps (Prayerbook 1480-1500, folio 33)	Ps 85: 1-5, 11, 10, 13, 15-17 not whole Psalm			yes -lit, boh and bible	9.17

Infirmitatem nostram	nf	P, Of All Saints (de toussains), Commemoration of Saints (Rouen 1460-1475, 49v)	nf	In book of prayers against the plague (BushPlaguePrayers, 11).		yes - boh	4.17
Intercessio quesumus domine	nf	P, de Sancta Barbara, Suffrages of the Saints (1531, 137)	nf			yes - boh	1.16
Inviolata integra	Prosula [CAO 6759 PA]; S [LU 1861]	A, Diverse Prayers (Thott 540, folio 168)	nf			yes -lit and boh	4.27
Jerusalem luge	R and V [CAO 7032]	nf	nf // nf / Lamentations of Jeremiah 2: 18 (bars 56-89)	R and V form (text only).		yes -lit	8.13
Kyrie eleison	Misc	nf	nf	Sections of the Kyrie eleison - Bréviaire de Paris, 1201-1300, folio 285, contains whole motet text (and chant).		yes -lit	10.04
Lamentabatur Jacob	R [CAO 7071]	nf	nf			yes -lit	1.15
Lapidaverunt Stephanum et ipse	A (1-35) [CAO 3576] / A & VR (35-58) [CAO 3580] / A & R (60- end of prima pars) [CAO 1272] // A VR (100-144) [CAO 5028] / A (144-end) [CAO 2554]	nf	nf			no	7.07

Laudate dominum omnes		Ps (Hypertext)	Ps 116: 1-2 whole Psalm		yes -lit, boh and bible	9.04
Laudate Dominum omnes gentes	Tract (complete); Ps (bar 1-11); V [CAO 7078] (bar 1-11); Tract (bar 1-11); All // Ps	Ps, Hours of the Virgin 1-3 Prime (Hypertext) (bar 1-11) / nf // Ps (Hypertext)	Ps 116: 1 // Ps 116: 2 plus part of line 1		yes -lit and bible	14.01
Laudem dicite	A [CAO 3590]; R [CAO 7079] // V [CAO 7090]	nf	Apocalypse St. John (Revelations) 19: 5-7 // Epistle of St. Peter 2: 9 (bar 81-90) / Ap. St. John 19: 6-7 (114-end)	R and V form. Prima pars same text as prima pars of 14.06.	yes-lit	7.08
Laudem dicite Deo nostro omnes sancti eius	A [CAO 3590]; R [CAO 7079] // nf / repeats end of prima pars text	nf	Apocalypse of St. John (Revelations) 19: 5-7 (most of part 1) // nf / repeats end of prima pars text	R and V form. Prima pars same text as prima pars of 7.08. Missing text at start of secunda pars may be a V not yet identified.	no	14.06
Letatus sum in his	Tract	Ps (Hypertext)	Ps 121: 1-9 whole Psalm	"Da pacem" added at end.	yes -lit, boh	9.03
Magnificat octavi toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf		yes -lit and boh	6.09

Magnificat octavi toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	6.10
Magnificat octavi toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	6.11
Magnificat octavi toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	6.12
Magnificat primi toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	5.01
Magnificat primi toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	5.02
Magnificat primi toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	5.03
Magnificat primi toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	5.04
Magnificat primi toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	5.05
Magnificat primi toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	5.06
Magnificat primi toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	6.13

Magnificat quarti toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	6.01
Magnificat quarti toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	6.02
Magnificat quarti toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	6.03
Magnificat quarti toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	6.04
Magnificat quarti toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	6.05
Magnificat quinti toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	6.06
Magnificat secundi toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	5.07
Magnificat secundi toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	5.08
Magnificat secundi toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	5.09
Magnificat secundi toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	5.10

Magnificat septimi toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	6.08
Magnificat sexti toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	6.07
Magnificat tertii toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	5.11
Magnificat tertii toni	Mag	Mag, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers 1-3 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	5.12
Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi	R and V [CAO 6565]; V and R [CAO 6676]; A [CAO 3702] (1-33) // S; H [Expositio, 90]	nf	Mark 16: 1-2 // nf			no	2.02
Maria virgo semper letare	A [CAO 3708] (1-48) / A (48-73) / A [CAO 2924] (bar 64-94) // R [CAO 7756] (95-135) / Off; A; (135-186 - end); R [CAO 6163] (bar 136-176)	Capt., Lauds, De beata Maria (1-46) (1531, 35) / A, Office Beata Maria, Nativity until Purification (bar 46-67) (1531, 155) / A, Office Beata Maria, in Advent (bar 67-95) (1531, 153) // R, Office Beata Maria, in Advent (bar 95-135) (1533, 223) / R, Matins, Hours of the Virgin (136-176) (1531, 31); Capt., Vespers, Hours of the	nf	Motet has added "ora pro nobis ad dominum jesum christum" in homorhythm after the meter change.		no	1.10

		Virgin (136-176) (1531, 52) [for more BoH hits for bars 136-176, see 1.08 above]					
Miseremini mei	nf // Verse of Job; R (60-73)	Lesson 8 and verse of Lesson 5, Office of the Dead at Matins (whole piece GKS 1610, folio 32, 28).	Job 19: 21-22 // Job 7: 5 (60-73) / Job 19: 21-22 (73-98end)	Text repetition form with start of prima pars at end of secunda pars.		yes - boh	1.22
Ne derelinquas me Domine dominator vitæ meæ	R (1-20) [CAO 7204] / nf	nf	Ecclesiasticus 51: 14 (bar 1-31) Ps 30: 17 (bar 31-41) / Ps 25: 7 (bar 41-52) // Ps 17: 50 (bar 52-74) / Ps 25: 7 (same as bar 41-52)	R and V form.		no	14.15
Ne proiicias nos	AV [CAO 3732]	Ps, Psalter of Jerome (1531, 120)	Ps 70: 9	Complete text in Bréviaire de Paris (after In pace).		yes -lit, boh, and bible	10.09
Ne proiicias nos	AV [CAO 3732]	Ps, Psalter of Jerome (1531, 120)	Ps 70: 9	Complete text in Bréviaire de Paris (after In pace).		yes -lit, boh, and bible	10.10
Ne reminiscaris Domine delicta nostra	A [CAO 3861] (1-36); R [CAO 7381] (1-36) / A [CAO 4219] (36-64 end)	A, Seven Penetential Psalms, Fifth Psalm (1531, 81, 85) (complete); A, Seven Penetential Psalms (GKS 1607, folio 118)	Tobias 3: 3 (1-36) / nf			yes - boh	14.13

		(1-36)				
Ne reminiscaris domine	A [CAO 3861] (1-48) / A [CAO 4219] (49-110) // nf	A, Seven Penetential Psalms (7th) (1531, 81) (complete); A for Ps 142, Seven Penetential Psalms (Rouen 1460-1475, folio 82) (complete)	Tobias 3: 3 (bars 1-48, 115-134) // nf		yes - boh	11.17
Nesciens mater	R [CAO 7212]; A [CAO 3877]	A, Officium Beata Maria in Advent (1531, 155); A (?), De Lenfantoire Notre Dame, Proprium festorum (Cauchon BoH, folio 94)	nf		yes -lit and boh	3.06
Nesciens mater	R [CAO 7212]; A [CAO 3877]	A, Officium Beata Maria in Advent (1531, 155); A (?), De Lenfantoire Notre Dame, Proprium festorum (Cauchon BoH, folio 94)	nf		yes -lit and boh	4.09
Nigra sum	A (minus last phrase of piece)	nf (beyond first six words)	Canticles 1: 4-5	NOT the Book of Hours "Nigra sum." A is different from A for 8.01.	yes -lit and bible	4.24
Nigra sum	A [CAO 3878] CF: nf	A, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers (Hypertext) CF: Ps, Office of the Dead (Hypertext)	nf CF: Ps 114: 3	CF: Circumdederunt me.	yes -lit and boh	8.01

Nisi dominus edificaverit		Ps (Willamette BoH, folio 46v)	Ps 126: 1-5 whole Psalm setting			yes -lit, boh and bible	9.18
Noe magnificatus est rex	A [CAO 3670] (bar 1-29) / A [CAO 4834] (bar 29 -60) / A [CAO 3608] (bar 61-78) plus "noe noe"	nf	Loosely based on Third Book of Kings (1 Kings) 10: 23-24 // loosely based on Luke 10: 11-12 / loosely based on Luke 21: 28	"Noe, noe" replaces the doxology found in liturgical sources after the Antiphons.		no	2.11
Noe psallite	nf / A [CAO 3478] (13-22) / A [CAO 3652] (26-37) // nf	nf // Ps 23: 9-10, Hours of the Virgin 1-3, Matins (Hypertext); Ps 23: 9-10, Passion Psalms (1531, 31;115)	nf / Lamentations 4: 21 (19-25) / Luke 2: 11 (26-37) // Ps 23: 9-10	Bar 13-22 (after noe psalite) is opening of Christmas Antiphon "Jerusalem gaude gaudio" [CAO 3478].		no	2.12
Non conturbetur cor vestrum	R [CAO 7225] // A [CAO 2739 -slight variants]; R	nf // Mark 16 (Hours 1465, folio 19); Mark Gospel (1531, 22)	nf (very loosely based on John 14-16: various lines) // Mark 16: 15-16 (minor differences)			no	13.11
Non nobis domine	A (MMDB index -not verifiable)	Ps 113 (bar 1-16), Commendation Animarum (NKS 132, folio 45v)	Ps 113 (bar 1-16)	Refers to François I.		no	11.05

O adonai et dux dominus	A [CAO 3988]	A, Oratio ad cristum, (Heures 1429, folio 186v-188v)	nf			yes -lit and boh	7.11
O altitudo	nf (Lectio [LU 910])	nf	Epistle of Saint Paul to the Romans 11: 33-36			yes - bible	13.01
O beata infantia	A [CAO 3994]	nf	nf			yes -lit	3.01
O clavis David et sceptrum	A [CAO 4010]	A, Oratio ad cristum, (Heures 1429, folio 186v-188v)	nf			yes -lit and boh	7.13
O crux ave sanctissima	H [AH 46, 107 - stanzas 1-4, 6, 7, 8, 15]; H [AH 23, 29] (prima pars and most of secunda pars)	nf	nf			yes -lit	4.08
O crux viride lignum	A [CAO 4020]; R [CAO 7267] // R; V	nf	nf			no	2.17
O dulcissime domine	nf	P, Prayers of Pope Gregory (Vérard BoH, folio 96) ("Begnissime" not "o dulcissime" variant, complete motet text); P, Orationes discende Sante Crucificum (1533, 96) ("Begnissime" not "o dulcissime" variant, complete motet text)	nf	Variant of the prayer set in motet found in many BoH's with "begnissime" not "o dulcissime."		yes - boh	11.22

O Emanuel	A [CAO 4025]	A, Oratio ad cristum, (Heures 1429, folio 186v-188v)	nf			yes -lit and boh	7.16
O gloriosa dei genitrix	A [CAO 4029] // A [CAO 4425]	A, Hours of the Virgin, Lauds, (1531; Thott 547, folio 11v) // Capt, Hours of the Virgin, Prime (Spitz 1420, folio 87)	nf // Canticles of Solomon 6: 9			no	1.21
O intemerata et in æternum benedicta	nf	P, "To our lady and saynt johon thevangelist" (Vérard BoH, folio 80v-84); P, De beata Maria (1531, 59)	nf			yes - boh	14.09
O oriens splendor lucis	A [CAO 4050]	A, Oratio ad cristum, (Heures 1429, folio 186v-188v)	nf			yes -lit and boh	7.14
O presul egregie	R // A	nf	nf	N -fill in the name.		no	2.16
O quam dulcis et beata	nf // V [CAO 6804a; 6284b; 6824b; 6874a; 7840a]; A [CAO 2538]	nf // Ps 132: 1 (1501, 81); Ps 132: 1 (Vérard BoH, folio 127)	nf // Ps 132: 1			no	2.15
O radix Jesse	A [CAO 4075]	A, Oratio ad cristum, (Heures 1429, folio 186v-188v)	nf			yes -lit and boh	7.12
O rex gentium	A [CAO 4078]	A, Oratio ad cristum, (Heures 1429, folio 186v-188v)	nf			yes -lit and boh	7.17

Incipit						Lit	Ref
O rex gloriose	A	A, Completorium nois jesu (complete) (1531, 161; 1533, 98-99, 232)	nf			yes -lit and boh	10.11
O sapiencia	A [CAO 4081]	A, Oratio ad cristum, (Heures 1429, folio 186v-188v)	nf			yes -lit and boh	7.10
O Thoma didime	A [CAO 4083]	A, Oratio ad cristum, (Heures 1429, folio 186v-188v)	nf			yes -lit and boh	7.15
O virgo virginum quomodo	A [CAO 4091]	A, Oratio ad cristum, (Heures 1429, folio 186v-188v)	nf			yes -lit and boh	7.18
Omnia que fecisti	Introit // Introit and Coll [LU 1063]	nf		Prophecy of Daniel 3: 31-43 (loosely based, some same phrases) (prima pars)		no	3.15
Omnipotens sempiterne deus	Coll [LU 1612]	nf	nf		N -fill in the name.	yes -lit	2.13
Parasti in dulcedine	Ps (first sentence) / nf // nf	R, Suffragia Sanctorum (second phrase of motet) / nf // nf	Ps 67 (first phrase) / nf // nf			no	3.02
Paratum cor meum Deus cantabo et psallam	All (1-17); R [CAO 7350] (1-30) // R and V [CAO 6682] (56-75) / nf / R [CAO 7350] (90 -end same as 1-30)	Ps 107: 2-5 // Ps 20: 14 / Ps 107: 2	Ps 107: 2-5 // Ps 20: 14 / Ps 107: 2 (90-end)	Text repetition form with start of prima pars at end of secunda pars.		no	14.10

Passio domini/John	nf	Passion reading (1531, 24; 1533, 212)	John 18: 5, 7, 17, 22, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40 / John 19: 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 21, 22, 24			yes - boh and bible	10.06
Passio domini/Matt	nf	nf	Matt 26: 5, 8, 9, 15, 17, 25, 33, 35, 48, 49, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73 / Matt 27: 4, 6, 11, 13, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 29, 40, 42, 43, 47, 49			yes - bible	10.05
Patefacte sunt ianue	R and V [CAO 7358] (complete); A [CAO 4229] (prima pars only)	nf	nf	R and V form.		yes -lit	2.23
Pater noster	P; V	P, Hours of the Virgin, Matins 1-3, Vespers (1501, 5), Litanies, Office of the Dead, Lauds, Vespers (Hypertext); after prayers all throughout BoHs	Matt 6: 9-13			yes -lit, boh, and bible	2.01

Pater noster	P; V	P, Hours of the Virgin, Matins 1-3, Vespers (1501, 5), Litanies, Office of the Dead, Lauds, Vespers (Hypertext); after prayers all throughout BoHs	Matt 6: 9-13			yes -lit, boh and bible	3.14
Pater noster	P; V	P, Hours of the Virgin, Matins 1-3, Vespers (1501, 5), Litanies, Office of the Dead, Lauds, Vespers (Hypertext); after prayers all throughout BoHs	Matt 6: 9-13			yes -lit, boh and bible	7.22
Pater peccavi	R and V [CAO 7362] (complete); A [CAO 4239] (prima pars only)	nf	Luke 15: 18-19 // Luke 15: 17-18	R and V form.		yes -lit	2.19
Peccantem me quotidie et non penitentem	R [CAO 7368] // V [CAO 6507]	R, Wednesdays and Saturdays, Office of the Dead, First Nocturn (Hypertext) // V, Tuesdays, Thursday, Matins, First Nocturn, Office of the Dead (both partes after Job readings, also in 1531, 103; 97)	nf	R and V form.		yes - boh	14.07

Peccantem me quotidie I	R [CAO 7368]	R, Office of the Dead, Matins (1531, 103; Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	3.11
Postquam consumati sunt	nf	nf	Luke 2: 21			yes - bible	1.23
Precatus est Moyses	Off	nf	nf			yes -lit	4.01
Proba me domine		Ps (Rouen 1420-1430, folio 181)	Ps 25: 2, 3, 7, 11 not whole Psalm			yes -lit, boh and bible	9.08
Proba me Domine et scito cor meum	Gra and V (MMDB index) // V; A [CAO 4625] (40-50)	Ps 138, Passion Psalms (Rouen 1420-1430, folio 172) // Ps 85: 16-17 (Rouen 1420-1430, folio 201) (This BoH psalter contains only line 3, 16 and 17 of Psalm 85)	Ps 138: 23-24 (1-39) // Ps 85: 16-17 (40-end)			no	14.14
Quare tristis es		Ps parts one and two of motet (Ps 42 in book, 41 in bible), Hours of the Virgin, Compline (1531, 55) (missing bars 75-82 "quare oblitus") / repeats opening lines (170-end); Ps 41, Office of the Dead (Artz BoH, folio 103	Ps 41: 12 // Ps 41: 10-11 // Ps 41: 11	Text repetition form with start of prima pars at end of secunda pars.		yes -lit, boh and bible	11.01

		and 102); Ps 41, Office of the Dead, Matins Third Nocturn (Hypertext)					
Qui confidunt in domino		Ps (Rouen 1460-1475, folio 63v-64)	Ps 124: 1-5 whole Psalm setting	"Gloria patri" added at end.		yes -lit, boh	9.16
Quousque non reverteris	nf	nf	nf	Refers to François I.		no	11.12
Recordare domine testamenti	R [CAO 7510]; Introit CF: R (two words only) nf	R, Office of the Dead (CHD Tutor -list of Responsories) CF: nf	nf CF: nf	CF: Parce domine (Obrecht motet).		yes -lit and boh	4.11
Recordare domine testamenti	R and V [CAO 7510] (complete); Introit (prima pars only)	R, Office of the Dead (CHD Tutor -list of Responsories)	nf	Prima pars same as 4.11. R and V form.		yes -lit and boh	11.08
Reges terre congragati	R (bar 40-69) // R; A	Gospel reading (1531, 22) (40-69) // nf	Ps 47: 5 (bar 1-20) // nf			no	1.03
Regina celi	A [CAO 4597]	A, Hours of the Virgin 1, Lauds, Compline, Vespers (Saturday after Pentecost) (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	12.04
Regina celi	A [CAO 4597]	A, Hours of the Virgin 1, Lauds, Compline, Vespers (Saturday after Pentecost) (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	12.05

Regina celi	A [CAO 4597]	A, Hours of the Virgin 1, Lauds, Compline, Vespers (Saturday after Pentecost) (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	12.06
Regina celi	A [CAO 4597]	A, Hours of the Virgin 1, Lauds, Compline, Vespers (Saturday after Pentecost) (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	12.07
Regina celi	A [CAO 4597]	A, Hours of the Virgin 1, Lauds, Compline, Vespers (Saturday after Pentecost) (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	12.08
Regina celi	A [CAO 4597]	A, Hours of the Virgin 1, Lauds, Compline, Vespers (Saturday after Pentecost) (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	12.09
Regina celi	A [CAO 4597]	A, Hours of the Virgin 1, Lauds, Compline, Vespers (Saturday after Pentecost) (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	12.10
Regina celi	A [CAO 4597]	A, Hours of the Virgin 1, Lauds, Compline, Vespers (Saturday after Pentecost) (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	12.11

Regina celi letare alleluya	A [CAO 4597]	A, Hours of the Virgin 1, Lauds, Compline, Vespers (Saturday after Pentecost) (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	14.02
Respexit Elias	R and V	nf	Third Book of Kings 19: 6-8 (more words in bible) // first line is John 6: 52 / nf	R and V form.		yes -lit	13.15
Resurrexi et adhuc	Introit	Parts of Ps 138, Commemoration of Souls (bar 1-86) (Rouen 1420-1430, folio 170-171v) / Doxology, All Hours of the Virgin, all BoHs (bar 87-103)	Ps 138 (bar 1-86) -Parts of piece throughout / nf (87-103)	With added doxology.		yes -lit	10.14
Rex autem David	A [CAO 4650]	nf	nf			yes -lit	11.23
Sabbato in vigilia Pasche	Lectio	nf	Lamentations of Jeremiah 3: 64-66; 4: 1, 3-4, 7-8 / Prophecy of Osee 14: 2 ("Israel" in Bible, "Jerusalem" in motet)	Added "Jerusalem, Jerusalem convertere ad dominum deum tuum" doxology at end of each Lectio -also in Bréviaire de Paris to be said at the end of each Lesson.		yes -lit	10.03

Salus populi ego	Introit and Psalm	nf / Ps (various Psalters)	nf / nf -Ps 77 :1 (last phrase)	Last phrase R not Psalm in Bréviaire de Paris.		yes -lit	13.17
Salvator mundi salva nos	A [CAO 4689] // nf / last phrase: Off; R [CAO 7066]; R and V [CAO 7065]; A	A, Office of Beata Maria, Lauds (minor differences) (Thott 536, folio 29v) // nf -last phrase: R and V, Hours of the Virgin I and 3, Vespers and Lauds (Hypertext)	nf // nf -last phrase: Ps 31: 11			no	13.14
Salve Barbara dignissima	nf	nf / A (bar 69-90) De Maria (Vérard BoH, folio 78)	nf	Some overlap with last verses of "Gaude virgo mater christi."		no	1.18
Salve crux sancta arbor	H [Expositio, 108]	nf	nf			yes -lit	1.24
Salve mater pietatis	S	A, Hours of the Virgin, Matins (Garin BoH, folio 32v)	nf	Sequence by Adam of St. Victor (FasslerStVictor, 233).		yes -lit and boh	3.19
Salve mater salvatoris mater	nf	nf	nf			nf	1.14
Salve regina	A	A, Hours of the Virgin, Lauds 1 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	12.03
Salve regina	A	A, Hours of the Virgin, Lauds 1 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	12.13
Salve regina	A	A, Hours of the Virgin, Lauds 1 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	12.14

Salve regina	A	A, Hours of the Virgin, Lauds 1 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	12.15
Salve regina	A	A, Hours of the Virgin, Lauds 1 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	12.16
Salve regina	A	A, Hours of the Virgin, Lauds 1 (Hypertext)	nf			yes -lit and boh	12.17
Salve regina	A CF: A	A, Hours of the Virgin, Lauds 1 (Hypertext) CF: A	nf CF: nf	CF: Salve		yes -lit and boh	12.12
Sancta et immaculata	R and V [CAO 7569] (complete); A [CAO 4700] (prima pars) // A [CAO 1709]	R and V, Hours of the Virgin 1, Matins (Hypertext); other BoH	nf	R and V form (text only).		yes -lit and boh	4.28
Sancta Maria mater dei	A [CAO 4703] (no "mater dei", last word "natale") (complete); A (1-55 -same as BoH, 1533); V [CAO 6725] (30 -89end last word "assumptione"); V (30-89end -last word "solemnitatem")	Lesson (3rd lesson), Hours of the Virgin, Matins (no "Mater dei" Cauchon BoH, folio 40v and other BoHs); A, Canticum Beate Marie from Luke 1 (1533, 73) (bar 1-55 -without "Mater dei," missing last phrase set in homorhythm) / V, Hours of the Virgin I, Matins (bar 30 -end) (Hypertext)	nf	One of several settings. This is the longest version in the Series. Liturgical sources have different last word (motet is "commemoratione").		yes -lit and boh	4.29

Sancta Maria mater dei	S (part of "Hac clara die")	P, As part of the "Ave Maria" -beginning of all hours of the Virgin (Hypertext)	nf	Middle lines of the "Ave maria, gratia plena." Canon motet (VanOrdenSing).		yes -lit and boh	7.24
Sancta Maria mater dei	S (part of "Hac clara die")	P, As part of the "Ave Maria" -beginning of all hours of the Virgin (Hypertext)	nf	Middle lines of the "Ave maria, gratia plena." Canon motet (VanOrdenSing) -same text as 7.24 -not same as 4.29.		yes - lit and boh	13.18
Sancta Maria regina celorum	nf CF: A [CAO 4418]	nf CF: A, Hours of the Virgin, None, Lauds (Hypertext); A, Hours of the Virgin, None (Rouen 1460-1475, folio 63)	nf CF: Cantilces 6: 3	Slight commonalities with other Marian texts, but not found as a complete text. CF: Pulchra es et decora filia Jerusalem.		no	8.18
Sancta Maria sucurre	A [CAO 4703]	A, Canticum de Maria, Luke 1 (1531, 53) (missing last phrase) / V, Hours of the Virgin 1 Matins, (Hypertext) (1531, 31) (whole motet text except first phrase)	nf			yes -lit	2.06
Sancti spiritus adsit	H (Expositio, 94); S (Cod. Bodmer 74: Gradual and Sequentiary - ca.1007, folio 105-106)	nf	nf			yes -lit	13.07

Sancti spiritus adsit	Misc (title 1-24); R and V [CAO 7531] (24-end)	V and R, Office of the Holy Spirit, Terce, (Murthly BoH, folio 120); V, Office of the Holy Spirit (Thott 538, folio 79v) (title only)	Acts of the Apostles 2: 4 (from "Repleti" to end of motet text)	First line of text is missing in Bible ("Sancti spiritus adsit alleluia").		no	4.10
Saule quide me	A [CAO 4823] // A [CAO 4721]; R [CAO 7582] CF: Litany of the Saints	nf // part of V & R, De Sancto Paulo, Memori Sanctorum (Spitz 1420, folio 47-47v) CF: Litany of the Saints	Acts of the Apostles 9: 4 / Acts of the Apostles 26: 14 // nf CF: nf	CF: Sancte Paule ora pro nobis.		no	8.07
Si bona suscepimus	R and V [CAO 7647]	R, Office of the Dead (CHD Tutor -list of Responsories)	Job 2: 10; 1: 21 (1-62) / Job 1: 21 (62-108) (order is different in motet)	R and V form.		yes -lit and boh	11.10
Sospitate dedit	Misc [CAO 6679 - Prosula]	nf	nf			yes -lit	7.09
Spiritus ubi vult	A [CAO 5008] (1-36); Comm (1-36) / A [CAO 4906] (40-65) / A [CAO 4204] (66-83); R [CAO 7345] (bar 66-83); Comm (bar 66-83) // A [CAO 1771] (96-122); Introit (96-122) / nf (123-175) / rest of piece repeats opening of prima pars	nf / Gospel Reading, (Cauchon BoH, folio 20-20v) (39-83) / opening line // Capt, Officium De Sancto Spiritu, Sext (Murthly BoH, folio 121-121v) (96-122) / H, Compline (1501, 124) (123-175) // rest of piece repeats opening of prima pars	John 3: 8 (1-36) / John 14: 23, 27 (39-90) / John 3: 8 (90-95) // Romans 5: 5 (96-112) / nf (113- 175) / rest of piece repeats opening of prima pars	Text repetition form with start of prima pars at end of secunda pars.		no	2.21

Sufficiebat nobis paupertas	R and V [CAO 7717]	nf	Book of Tobias 5: 25, 24, 25, 23 / Book of Tobias 10: 4	"Mon souvenir" printed under Superius.		yes -lit	4.22
Super flumina Babilonis	Off (two thirds of motet); V [CAO 7653] (1-41) // R [CAO 7653] (126-163)	nf	Ps 136: 1-9 complete Psalm setting			yes -lit and bible - in lit only as Psalm	3.09
Super montem excelsum ascende	R and V [CAO 6292] / "noe noe" // A [CAO 3511] (51-65); R [CAO 7040] (51-65) / A [CAO 1940] (65-85); R and V [CAO 6345] / "noe noe"	nf	Prophecy of Isaias 40: 9-10 (1-50) // nf	R and V form: same "noe noe" music and text at end of both partes (as repetendum). Feasts of different items in liturgical sources all in Advent and for Christmas -fits with added "noe noe."		no	14.18
Surge Petre	R [CAO 7731] (1-57) / R [CAO 7788] (58-115); A [CAO 5208] (58-84); Tract (58-115) // R [CAO 7649] (116-159); A [CAO 4885] (116-141) / R [CAO 7787] (160-end); A [CAO 7207] (160-185; 200-end)	nf / V, De Sancto Petro (Spitz 1420, folio 46v) (bar57-85) // nf / A, De Sancto Petro (Spitz 1420, folio 46v) (bar 159-220 end)	nf / Matt 16: 18-19 (second half of prima pars) // nf	"De sancto petro apostolo" rubric matches subject, not liturgical use of a single text.		no	13.13
Surge propera	R and V (1-140 with slight variants); R (1-52) // A [CAO 5510]	Capt, Feasts of Mary throughout the year, None (Thott 538,	Canticles 2: 10-14	Some similar lines as "Tota pulchra," but more relation to		yes - boh and	4.26

	(90-111) / nf (140-195)	folio 78v		Canticles passage.		bible	
Sustinuimus pacem	R and Vc [CAO 7746] (complete); A [CAO 5093] (1-50 -same as R, without V)	nf	Prophecy of Baruch 2: 12 (bar 51-75)	R and V form.		yes -lit	11.13
Tanto tempore	A [CAO 5113]; R [CAO 7754]; Comm	nf	John 14: 9			yes -lit and bible	4.19
Tempus est ut revertar	R [CAO 7758] (prima pars); A [CAO 5130] (1-20) // A [CAO 4079]; R (MMDB index: just title- not verifiable)	nf // A, Office of the Holy Spirit (Murthly BoH, folio 125)	Book of Tobias 12: 20 (first phrase of prima pars only)			no	4.20
Tempus meum	R (bar 1-40) / nf // R [CAO 7904]; Intr; Off; A [CAO 5458] (81-106) (word order different in motet) / nf	nf // A, In ascensione Domini (Cauchon BoH, folio 91) (first phrase of secunda pars) / nf / Gospel Reading, Mark (1533, 33) (last phrase of secunda pars)	nf // Acts of the Apostles 1: 11 (opening phrase only, different word order) / Gospel According to Mark 16: 16 (last phrase of secunda pars)	Set by Févin, Joris probably copied the text from Févin.		no	13.02
Tota pulchra	A [CAO 5162]	A, For Virgin Mary, Thursdays (Cauchon BoH, 201v)	Canticles of Solomon 4: 7, 8, 9, 11	Part of line 8 of the Canticles is missing in motet - Bible specifies a specific location.		yes -lit, boh and bible	11.20

Unde veniet auxilium michi	A [CAO 5269] (1-24) / V [CAO 6501] (24-48) / R [CAO 6956] (50-67) / repeats A of bar 1-24 (67-83) // A [CAO 1536] (84-94) / Introit (bar 95-102) / nf (bar 102-113) / A [CAO 3570] (bar 113-122) / nf (123-147)	Parts of R and A, Office of the Dead (1531, 91) (1-24); parts of Psalm 120, Office of the Dead (GKS 1607, folio 125) / nf // nf / Ps 93: 14, Hours of the Virgin, 1-3, Matins (94-111) (Hypertext) / Ps 5: 12, Office of the Dead, First Nocturn (bar 113-126) (Hypertext) / nf (127-147)	Ps 120: 1 (1-23) / Ps 54: 6 (23-41) / Job 7: 5 (51-67) // Ps 120: 2 (84-95) / Ps 93: 14 (94-111) / Ps 5: 12 (bar 113-126) / nf (127-147)	Opening text repeats at end of prima pars.		no	11.14
Usquequo domine oblivisceris		Ps (GKS 1610, folio 62)	Ps 12: 1-6 whole Psalm setting			yes -lit, boh and bible	9.11
Usquequo, piger, dormies?	nf	nf	Book of Proverbs 6: 9-10 // Book of Proverbs 6: 6-7, 8			yes - bible	14.19
Veni electa mea	V [CAO 7828] (complete); R [CAO 7826] (complete); A [CAO 5323] (complete); A [CAO 5322] (prima pars only)	nf	nf			yes -lit	8.04

Veni in ortum	A [CAO 5325] (1-30) / A [CAO 1856] (30-39) / nf (40-77) // A	nf	Canticles 5: 1-2 // Canticles 3: 1-2			no	4.18
Veniat dilectus meus	A [CAO 5329] (1-23) / A [CAO 5325] (24-43) / A [CAO 1856] (44-57) / nf (58-101 end)	nf	Canticles 5: 1 (not last few words of motet - "and the lord will be with you")	Three Antiphons are found one after the other in several liturgical books (i.e. St. Gallen 388, folio 431), giving the illusion of a single item.		yes - bible	4.03
Verbum bonum	S	nf	nf			yes -lit	8.08
Vias tuas Domine demonstra mihi	R (MMDB index -not verifiable) // Off (52-73) / nf	Ps 24, Passion Psalms (Rouen 1420-1430, folio 180) // Ps 142, Seven Penitential Psalms (Rouen 1460-1475, folio 81)	Ps 24: 4, 5, 20 // Ps 142: 9, 10, 12			no	14.11
Victime paschali	H [Expositio, 90]; S [LU 780]	nf	nf	Stanza six missing from LU, but in motet (removed from liturgy in 1570).		yes -lit	2.03
Vide domine afllictionem	nf	nf	nf	Kerman on Byrd "source...is not known" (KermanByrd, 40).		no	11.03
Videns dominus flentes	Comm; A	nf	nf	Subject in John 11.		yes -lit	11.21

Vidi sub altare dei animas	R [CAO 7879] // R (bar 84-113); A [CAO 1215] (bar 84-113) / A [CAO 1291] (bar 113-127) / A[CAO 1759]; R [CAO 6266] (bar 127-165 end)	nf	Apocalypse of St. John 6: 9 / Apocalypse of St. John 6: 10 (bar 45-83) // Apocalypse 5: 14 (bar 113-126) / Apocalypse 14: 3 (bar 126-139) / nf (bar 139-165 end)			no	7.04
Virgo carens criminibus	nf	P, Short Hours of the Dead, at None (Perg. 26b 8, folio 66v)	nf		yes - boh	4.05
Virgo Christi egregia	H [AH 28, 313] (variant, missing last three words)	A, De Sancto Georgio (1531, 71) (variant - missing last three words); A, St. Apollonia (1501, 69) (variant -missing last three words)	nf		yes -lit and boh	2.22
Virgo flagellatur crucianda	R // R (76-109) / A (109-end) CF: A	nf CF: A, Commemoration of Saints, Lauds (Vérard BoH, folio 52v; Rouen 1460-1475, folio 48v)	nf CF: nf	CF: Virgo sancta catherine.	no	7.01
Virgo prudentissima	A [CAO 5454]	A, Tuesdays (Cauchon BoH, folio 201)	nf	Not in Canticles (some words, but not whole phrases).	yes -lit and boh	3.10

Virgo salutiferi	nf	nf	nf	Poem.	Poem by E. Strozzi	yes - other	13.03
Virgo salutiferi	nf CF: A	nf CF: P, all Hours of the Virgin (all BoHs)	nf CF: nf	CF: Ave Maria.	Poem by E. Strozzi	yes - other	4.23
Virgo sancta Catherina	A [AH 26, 197] (1-36 first half of piece - until meter change) / R (55-84 -end) [AH 26, 199]	A, Suffrages (Thott 114, folio 203) (first half of piece -until meter change)	nf			no	4.15
Viri Galilei	A [CAO 5458]; Off // A [CAO 5392]	nf	Acts of the Apostles 1: 11 // Acts of the Apostles 1: 9-10			no	1.02
Virtute magna	R and V [CAO 7907]	nf	Acts of the Apostles 4: 33 // Acts of the Apostles 4: 31 (word order slightly different)	R and V form.		yes -lit	13.05