MUSICA: MUSIC ABOUT MUSIC AND MUSICIANS, 1450-1530

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Abstract

Textual or compositional elements that refer to music or musicians (which might be called "self-referential" or "self-reflexive") are prominent in many of the most intriguing and celebrated compositions from the second half of the fifteenth century. These features include textual references, such as the personal tropes in Du Fay's *Ave regina celorum III* or the thirteen musicians named in Compere's *Omnium bonorum plena*. Others are compositional constraints such as the mensuration canons of Ockeghem's *Missa Prolationum* or the hexachordal cantus firmus of Josquin's *Ut phebi radiis*. Some pieces include both textual and structural self-referents, as in the acrostic text and solmization-derived cantus firmus of Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*. Often either dismissed as musical in-jokes or, alternately, mined as sources for biographical information, this large group of pieces has never before been considered as a source of evidence for composers' new sense of professional identity in the late fifteenth century, an idea first proposed by Rob Wegman in his article "From Maker to Composer" (1994). I draw connections between self-referential features, both textual and musical, and source information for over 100 compositions, demonstrating how composers promoted the intellectual status of composed music c. 1500, carving a niche for the professional composer.

The dissertation is divided into two sections—I: Music about Musicians; and II: Music about Music. Each section is introduced by a short chapter that shows how expressions of the professional concerns of musicians in compositions are mirrored in the way similar issues are expressed in paintings associated with professional guilds of painters. Chapters 2-4 situate a variety of pieces, including memorial pieces by Du Fay, musicians' motets in general, and polyphonic laments for musicians, in the devotional and social environments of the late fifteenth century. Chapters 6-7 focus on compositions that foreground abstract concepts of music theory, such as complex mensural structures or the hexachord. This section shows how these compositional structures derived from music theory worked in tandem with the theoretical treatises of Tinctoris and Gaffurius to promote the status of music as a liberal art. By contributing to our understanding of the complex interactions between composed music and humanistic discourse in early modern Europe, this dissertation reveals musical expressions of musicians' own agency in the process of professionalization.

Résumé

Musica: Musique à propos de la musique et des musiciens, 1450-1530

Les éléments textuels ou compositionnels faisant référence à la musique ou aux musiciens (que l'on pourrait appeler auto-référentiels ou auto-réflexifs) sont très présents dans plusieurs des compositions les plus intrigantes et les plus célèbres de la deuxième moitié du 15e siècle. Ces éléments incluent des références textuelles, telles que les tropes personnels dans *Ave Regina Caelorum* III de Du Fay ou encore les 13 musiciens mentionnés dans *Omnium bonorum plena* de Compère. D'autres sont des contraintes compositionnelles tels que les canons mesurés de la messe *Missa Prolationum* d'Ockeghem ou les cantus firmus hexacordaux d'*Ut phebi radiis* de Josquin. Certaines pièces incluent à la fois des auto-références textuelles et structurelles, tels que des acrostiches et des cantus firmus dérivés de la solmization d'*Illibata dei virgo nutrix* de Josquin. Souvent balayées du revers de la main comme simple plaisanterie musicale, ou, au contraire, analysées pour leurs sources d'informations biographiques, ce groupe important d'oeuvres n'a jamais été considéré auparavant comme indication du nouveau sentiment d'identité professionnelle des compositeurs de la fin du 15e siècle, idée initialement proposée par Rob Wegman dans son article "From Maker to Composer" (1994). J'établis des liens entre les caractéristiques auto-référentielles, textuelles et musicales, et l'information-source pour plus d'une centaine de compositions, démontrant comment les compositeurs ont pu promouvoir le statut intellectuel de la musique notée c. 1500, développant ainsi un nouveau créneau pour le compositeur professionnel.

Cette thèse comporte deux parties – I: La Musique à propos de musiciens; et II: La Musique à propos de la musique. Chaque section est introduite par un court chapître démontrant comment les préoccupations profesionnelles des musiciens présentes dans leurs compositions reflètent des préoccupations similaires exprimées dans des peintures associées avec certaines confréries professionnelles de peintres. Les chapitres 2-4 situent une variété d'oeuvres, incluant des oeuvres commémoratives de Du Fay, des motets de musiciens en général, et des lamentations polyphoniques pour des musiciens, dans leurs environnements dévotionnel et social de la fin du 15e siècle. Les chapitres 6-7 s'intéressent à des compositions mettant l'emphase sur des concepts abstraits de théorie musicale, tels que les structures mesurées complexes ainsi que l'hexacorde. Cette section montre comment ces structures compositionelles dérivées de la théorie musicale vont de pair avec les traités théoriques de Tinctoris et Gaffurius afin de promouvoir le statut de la musique comme art libéral. Contribuant ainsi à notre compréhension des interactions complexes entre la musique notée et le discours humaniste du début de l'Europe moderne, cette thèse révèle les expressions musicales du pouvoir propre des musiciens au cours du processus de professionnalisation.

Traduction par Dr. Claudine Jacques.

Acknowledgements

Like the beautiful and diverse pieces of music that form its core, this dissertation is the result of a rich, interdisciplinary community of scholarship. I am profoundly grateful to have been able to be a part of the vibrant musical and scholarly community at McGill University and in Montréal. My involvement in two major SSHRC-funded interdisciplinary research grants headed by Paul Yachnin, "Making Publics" and "Forms of Conversion," have provided me with a broad lens through which to view the musical and artistic creations of the early modern era, and the courage to ask pertinent and at times unanswerable questions, trusting that the journey is often more interesting and worthy than any individual destination.

My years at the Schulich School of Music have been both fruitful and pleasant. I could never have imagined a better environment for my particular interests and musical/scholarly needs. From hours of discovering the complexities and frustrations of singing from original notations, while madly tapping the tactus in our informal "MMM" gatherings (Motets & Madrigals for Musicologists) or later, in Julie's much less frustrating Paleo Practicum, to working late into the night tracking down a cantus firmus in the Marvin Duchow Music Library, for which Cynthia Leive somehow manages to maintain the best hours of any branch library on campus, I have always found here exactly what I needed. All of my colleagues have been inspiring in their excellent, engaged work and challenging questions, but in particular I would like to thank Kym White, Dana Gorzelany-Mostak, Claudine Jacques, Remi Chiu, Dan Donnelly, Loren Carle, Zoey Cochran, Catherine Motuz, and all the members of "Julie's lab" for their friendship and assistance at crucial moments along the way. I am proud to be amongst such a bright and merry company.

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My thanks go to the tireless work of the staff of the various libraries and databases that I have had the pleasure of utilizing, starting of course with the wonderful library system and staff here at McGill, from ILL to the tranquil faces that greet any query or trouble with equanimity. I am in awe of the technical advancement and generosity embodied by the incredible digital resources now available that allowed me to peruse Compere's *Omnium bonorum plena* from the *Trentino Cultura* website in one browser window while clicking through the various editions of *De tous biens plaine* from Peter Woetmann Christoffersen's extremely thorough and well-documented *Chansonnier* website, in another, all the while referring tirelessly to DIAMM or JSTOR, and all from my the comfort of my own study. I am also grateful to the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique for allowing me to study and photograph diagrams from works by Tinctoris and Burtius.

I have benefited from the inspiring fellowship of musicologists, art historians, and performers alike. I am particularly grateful to Wolfgang Fuhrmann, Katelijne Schiltz, and Phillippe Vendrix for inviting me to present a portion of this dissertation at the *journée d'étude*, "Notation as Mode of Thinking" as part of the Séminaire de Musicologie Ricercar in Tours this past May. The feedback and presentations of all of the other participants gave me the stimulation and motivation that powered me through the final and formidable stretch of putting it all together. Others who have provided feedback at key points, read parts of this study, or provided materials or translations include David Rothenberg, Wolfgang Fuhrmann, Tom Beghin, Jeffrey Dean, Patrick Macey, Lars Lih, Ruth DeFord, Leofranc Holford-Strevens, Margaret Bent, Honey Meconi, Bronwen Wilson, David Boffa, Susan Forscher Weiss, George Nemeth, and Philippe Morel.

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Introduction

"Be still, noise and tumult of the world! Flee, anxiety, which gasps hoarse in the chest! Allow us to sing in the ritual and to make our measures equal!" These are the initial demands of Compere in his mythologically inflected prayer motet for musicians, *Sile fragor*. Compere dramatically silences the world and banishes anxieties, while drawing attention to both the physical act of singing and the mental acuity and training that it requires. In a similar vein Josquin ends the prima pars of his acrostic-bearing Marian prayer motet, *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*, by asking "that our throats may call out to you with pure praises and may with zealous art shout: 'ave!'" The secunda pars of Josquin's text continues the self-reflexive trope by including reference to the actual singers of the motet and its singular cantus firmus drawn from solmization syllables—"You alone, consoler friend, can save those singing 'la mi la' in your praise!"[1] These pieces provide a tantalizing window into the hopes, desires, and professional activities of the community of musicians employed in the performance of liturgical music circa 1500.

Compere and Josquin's musicians' motets are just two of over ninety pieces composed between 1450 and 1530 that refer directly to musicians or music (see Appendix A: Music about Music and Musicians for the complete list). These pieces cover the range from complex cantus-firmus Mass cycles on solmization themes to simple German songs incorporating the hexachord. Many musicologists have used the texts of these works to establish elements of composers' biographies or to reflect on connections between composers and the musical gatherings that might have prompted self-referential composition.[2] Other pieces have been investigated for their complex and beautiful musical structures based on abstract elements of

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[1] The syllables are derived from the name Maria through the technique of soggetto cavato, a practice first described by Zarlino in both the first and second editions of his *Istitutioni harmoniche*. See chapter 66, Part III of

[2] To name just a few of the sources on *Illibata de virgo nutrix* alone see Antonowycz, "*Illibata dei virgo*" (1976); Sherr, " Josquin's Roman Style" (1988); Macey, "*Illibata dei virgo nutrix* and Galeazzo Maria Sforza" (1994); Clutterham, "Dating Josquin's Enigmatic Motet" (1997); Rodin, *Josquin's Rome* (2012). Some other relevant articles include: Smijers, "Een kleine bijdrage over Josquin" (1925); Rifkin, "*Omnium bonorum plena* Reconsidered" (2009); Fallows "Josquin and Trent 91" (2004); Montagna, "Caron, Hayne, Compère" (1987); Wegman, "From Maker to Composer" (1996) and "Ockeghem, Josquin and Brumel" (2008).

music theory.[3] A number of them are also anonymous or obscure compositions that have received little attention from modern scholars.[4] What was the purpose of writing a piece of music *about* music, and why did such a broad range of composers participate in this practice during this time of transition and cultural conversion? My dissertation will show that these pieces are evidence for the emergence of the early modern concept of the composer and how, despite the diversity of forms and styles, they are related to each other through the common thread of *musica*—music as a liberal art.

During the late fifteenth century, the concept of the composed work increased in importance and was significantly altered, contributing to the iconic status of certain composers. Paula Higgins asserts that before 1460 music theorists rarely mentioned composers by name and that ascription of musical works in manuscripts was less common from the thirteenth through the early fifteenth centuries than in later manuscripts.[5] Jessie Ann Owens has written about the importance of composer genealogies and the elevation of composers to heroic status in the sixteenth century.[6] Looking for earlier documentation of this process, Rob Wegman has proposed that during the second half of the fifteenth century there was a shift from a medieval "maker" of music in general to an early modern "composer" of distinct musical works.[7] He and Giovanni Zanovello have shown that because Isaac was paid to be the court composer of Maximilian I while he resided far from the court in Florence, he should be considered the first professional composer.[8] How and why did this change in the status of the composer come about and what did it mean for the discipline of music as a whole?

This dissertation looks for answers to that question in compositions that refer to music and musicians in their texts and compositional features. These compositions are important sources of information for how the composer gained and communicated his status. I have compiled a list containing three types of pieces, composed between 1450 and 1530, that

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[3] For example *In hydraulis*: Brothers, "Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition" (1991); van Benthem, "Text, Tone, and Symbol" (1999).
[4] For example the anonymous motet *Decantemus in hac die* and Van Stappen's *Exaudi nos*, both published by Petrucci in Venice.
[5] Higgins, "Musical 'Parents' and Their 'Progeny'" (1997), 172.
[6] Owens, "Music Historiography" (1990).
[7] Wegman, "From Maker to Composer" (1996).
[8] On Isaac as a "court composer" see Zanovello, "Isaac in Florence, 1502-17" (2008); and Wegman, "Isaac's Signature" (2011).

foreground a shift in the status of music and composition (available in Appendix A). The first two categories, musicians' motets and laments for musicians, are defined by the subject matter of their texts (music or musicians), and the social context of the composition (as a memorial or praise). Works of the third type, which I have termed *musica* pieces, are motets and Masses notable for their construction based on elements of music theory or pedagogy, including hexachords, solmization syllables, and/or mensural structures. Some of the musicians' motets and laments are also themselves *musica* pieces. All three categories are tied together by the shared, though admittedly abstract thread of self-referentiality expressed in three ways. First, these pieces mark bonds of musical parentage, presenting claims of influence between different generations of professionals. Second, they reveal in their construction and texts the impact of abstract music theory and contemporary intellectual trends on composed music. And finally, they reveal one of the means through which musicians created and presented their public selves, which contributed significantly to the creation of the composer as a distinct profession recognized by a newly emerging public for music.

As the early modern concept of the composer developed circa 1500 it allowed the formation of publics around famous individual musicians. A public is a group of people associated with each other through a common interest or idea outside the bounds of class or profession and is an important marker of the early modern period.[9] Shortly after the advent of the printing of polyphonic music, begun by Petrucci in Venice in 1501, it became common to find single-composer prints and historical anthologies, both of which were marketed to a general audience using the names of famous composers.[10] Not surprisingly the first single-composer volume is by Josquin Desprez, entitled simply *Misse Josquin*, which was printed in Venice in 1502. As David Fallows has pointed out, apparently even this early the name "Josquin" held enough cultural capital to sell a collection of Masses.[11] The interest must have

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[9] For more information on publics and public making see the volume edited by Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin, *Making Publics* (2010) and the *Making Publics* website, http://www.makingpublics.org.

[10] To name a few studies on the impact of printing on composer reputation, mostly on Josquin, see Schlagel, "A Credible (Mis)Attribution to Josquin" (2006) as well as her dissertation "Josquin des Prez and His Motets" (1996); Owens, "How Josquin Became Josquin" (1997); Wegman, "Who was Josquin?" (2000); Higgins, "The Apotheosis of Josquin" (2005); van Orden, "Josquin des Prez" (2011), and *Music, Authorship, and the Book* (2014), 3.

[11] *Josquin* (2009), 1.

been high since this first volume generated the publication of another two volumes of masses by the same composer with a total of eleven different editions and reprints ofthe Josquin Mass collections over an eighteen-year period.[12] Historical anthologies, like those printed in Nuremburg by Ott and Formschneider in the late 1520s, were advertised on the merits of a "great composer," in this case again Josquin, and when these volumes were reprinted by Berg and Neuber thirty years later Josquin's works were still advertised, but this time with the works of "other classic composers, some old, some recent."[13] The use of these "classic" composers to sell printed music indicates the formation of a public united by an interest in the works of specific individual musicians. How did musicians come to be recognized as composers, creators of specific musical works that were marketed to a general audience?

I argue that compositions about music show how singers in the late fifteenth century were actively asserting the intellectual and scholarly status of composed music while fostering the development of a musically interested public. I have limited my list of pieces to include only compositions created between 1450 and 1530 that refer directly to music and/or the musical community. I propose to analyze some of these compositions to show how composers self-consciously presented and advertised themselves and their art through compositions about music, both in the texts and in the conspicuous presentation of certain musical features of music theory or pedagogy. I will examine the relationship between these texts and musical structures to show how composers communicated about their own status to members of their public, both musically literate and non-musical, through their compositions.

Literature Review

The pieces that I will discuss in my dissertation include some of the most popular and well-known compositions from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth centuries. Many individual works have been discussed by various modern scholars but rarely in relation to each other or as evidence of changes in the status of music or the composer in the early modern period. Previous literature relevant to the topics covered is similarly diverse and spans the

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[12] Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci* (2006), 409-13.
[13] "Nunc quidem locupletatum plus centum non minus elegantibus carminibus, tum Josquini, tum aliorum classicorum symphonistarum tam veterum quam recentiorum." Title page of *Novum et insigne opus musicum (Nurnberg, 1558-59)* facsimile ed. by Brown (1986).

disciplines of music and social history, from information on the social status and employment of musicians to the development of music theory in the Renaissance as well as ideas of public-making and the reception and status of individual musical works. My contribution will be to bring these resources together to show how musicians and music theorists were able to effect change in the status of music and composition.

PATRONAGE AND MUSICAL INSTITUTIONS: THE STATUS OF THE COMPOSER

During the past twenty years, the complex structures of various fifteenth- and sixteenth-century musical establishments across Europe have been revealed through the painstaking archival research of various musicologists. This new social historical approach allows musicologists to broaden our understanding of how music and musicians functioned in European society in the early modern period. Beginning in the 1970s and 80s, Craig Wright began investigating the employment records and economic establishments of various institutions that supported music, both sacred and secular. His pioneering study, *Music at the Court of Burgundy 1364-1419: A Documentary History* (1979), demonstrated that a complex of interactions between political and economic forces shaped the flowering of the musical establishment at the Burgundian court. The chapel of the court acted as a symbol of wealth and prestige for the Duke in an international environment.[14] Wright has uncovered a wealth of biographical information as well as important connections between political centers that led to the transmission of repertoire across Europe. In his work he has shown how cultural and economic factors influenced performance practice and shaped the ways in which music was preserved and transmitted.

Following in the footsteps of Wright, Christopher Reynolds, Paula Higgins, and Pamela Starr have enhanced the usefulness of considering the cultural context for polyphonic music by looking at wider patterns of musical migration between musical establishments and the impact that this had on musical style. Reynolds's book, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's, 1380-1513* (1995), sketches a fuller picture of the musical establishment of a prominent Roman church and the essentially international musical culture of that institution,

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[14] Craig Wright later made a similar study of the musical establishment at Notre Dame in Paris. *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

considering musical as well as societal and economic changes.[15] Paula Higgins has investigated the career choices of Antoine Busnoys among others, revealing some surprising aspects of fifteenth-century musical culture and prestige, and deepening our understanding of the ways that musicians demonstrated their skill to potential employers.[16] Pamela Starr explores what she calls "musical entrepreneurship" or the choices that individual musicians made to promote their own careers. She argues that despite the fact that we "lack letters, testimonials, autobiographical statements—any of the usual apparatus that informs us of the personalities and professional aspirations of musicians of later periods," we can still draw conclusions about these things by recognizing the individual agency of a musician during his life through his actions.[17]

Through the close reading of a vast body of contemporary documents and analysis of the terms used to describe music and musical performance, Rob Wegman has made significant progress towards understanding the status of music and musicians in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[18] His article "From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450-1500" (1996), shows the rising importance of composition in early modern discourse on music, and has guided my thinking in many ways. Wegman points out the striking differences between the ways that Isaac and Josquin accepted and functioned within the new social role of professional composer.[19] Other recent texts by Jesse Rodin, Robert Nosow, and Andrew Kirkman have chosen to focus on repertoire that can be tied to as specific location and the liturgical or musical contexts for the same places, investigating both how the music sounded but also how it functioned in society.[20]

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[15] "Musical Careers, Ecclesiastical Benefices, and the Example of Johannes Brunet" (1984). In his article, "Aspects of Clerical Patronage and Musical Migration" (1993) Reynolds exposes potential reasons that Northern musicians left their homes to seek employment in Italy.

[16] "*In hydraulis* Revisited," (1986); "Tracing the Careers of Late Medieval Composers,"(1990); "Musical Politics in Late Medieval Poitiers," (1999).

[17] "Musical Entrepreneurship in 15th-Century Europe," (2004), 119. Also see Starr, "Rome as the Centre of the Universe" (1992).

[18] "Music and Musicians at the Guild of Our Lady in Bergen ob Zoom, c. 1470-1500," (1990); *Born for the Muses*, (1994); "From Maker to Composer," (1996); *The Crisis of Music in Early Modern Europe, 1470-1530*, (2005); "Ockeghem, Josquin and Brumel," (2008); "Testament of Jean de Saint Gille" (2009); "Obrecht and Erasmus" (2011); "Isaac's Signature" (2011).

[19] "Isaac's Signature" (2011).

[20] Jesse Rodin, *Josquin's Rome: Hearing and Composing in the Sistine Chapel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Robert Nosow, *Ritual Meanings in the Fifteenth-Century Motet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

The social context of the complex interaction between musical practice and scholarly activities pertaining to music in the decades leading up to 1500, including education of both professional musicians and amateurs, is central to the argument of this dissertation. Stefano Mengozzi's recently published book, *The Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (2010), calls for a revision of the way that modern scholars think about musical space in Medieval and Renaissance music.[21] Mengozzi argues that modern scholars have been led astray by late-fifteenth and sixteenth century music historiography and have overemphasized the importance of the hexachord as an organizational principle, neglecting the continuity of the octave-based model. Although I believe he presents an over-simplified opposition between the hexachord and the octave that is both inaccurate and unnecessary in the first half of the book, I believe that the second half of the book reveals an interesting evolution in the way that Renaissance musicians used the figure of Guido and the syllables of the hexachord, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

Humanism, as an important force in shaping the power structures and the cultural hierarchy of the early modern period, also influenced the discourse of music theory. The work of Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine have dramatically altered the way that we understand the goals of humanistic education and the practices around reading that revolutionized learning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[22] In his article "Humanism and the Language of Music Treatises" (2001), the classicist Leofranc Holford-Strevens makes a crucial contribution to understanding the development and influence of Humanism on the discipline of music through the linguistic structures of music treatises from the fourteenth to the early sixteenth centuries.[23] Paul Gehl's online scholarly monograph and blog, *Humanism for Sale: Making and*

2012); Andrew Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2010).

[21] Also see Mengozzi, "Constructing Difference" (2008); and "Josquinian Voices and Guidonian Listeners" (2001) among other articles related to this topic.

[22] Grafton, "Humanist as Reader" (1999); Jardine and Grafton, "How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy" (1990); Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities* (1986).

[23] He points out that during fifteenth and sixteenth centuries music theorists began to identify more with the cultural trend towards humanism. This can be traced in the gradual replacing of problematic medieval terms for

Marketing Schoolbooks in Italy, 1450-1650, initially published in 2008 but continuing to be updated and commented upon, provides a fascinating forum for discussion of humanistic texts, including music theory and performance practice texts in "Chapter 6: Vernacular Literacy, Commercial Education and How to do Stuff." Gehl describes how music theory textbooks functioned as part of a significant change in the goals of educational publishing.

A number of recent publications on music education similarly reveal how texts are the products of the functioning of individuals within significantly different cultural systems, revealing some of the factors that shaped their works and lives in different ways. The volume *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (2010), edited by Russell E Murray Jr., Susan Forscher Weiss and Cynthia J. Cyrus, includes articles that provide a culturally situated approach to music theory texts and institutions.[24] They break down their approach into five basic issues: method, repertoire, identity of the students and teachers, location, and motivation. Benjamin Brand has taken a similar methodology in his discussions of John Hothby, as a scholastically educated Englishman who had a long and successful career as a music educator and was a choirmaster in Lucca.[25] Brand masterfully navigates the socio-economic role of Hothby in Lucca and the implications of this investigation on polyphonic musial education. He reveals that in addition to running the cathedral choir, Hothby provided free education in a number of topics, including music, to students from poor families and aspiring clerics.[26] These studies show that the social contexts for music theory and education are exciting venues for continued investigation and have implications for significantly enhancing and altering our understanding of the relevance of music making as a social and professional activity in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance.

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music theory with words that, although they are difficult to interpret musically, had precedence in the Latin of antiquity.

[24] Particularly useful to me have been the Introduction by the three editors, Pesce, "Guido d'Arezzo, *Ut queant laxis*," Schubert, "Musical Commonplaces," Weiss, "Vandals, Students, or Scholars?" and Wilson, "Isaac the Teacher."

[25] His article, "A Medieval *Scholasticus* and Renaissance Choirmaster: A Portrait of John Hothby at Lucca" (2010) is drawn from his dissertation, "Liturgical Ceremony at the Cathedral of Lucca," completed at Yale in 2006.

[26] "A Medieval *Scholasticus* and Renaissance Choirmaster" (2010), 758.

The implications of the processes and content of music education for both professionals and amateurs are crucial for the formation of a musical public. In my work I view a public as a social space defined by a collective interest in something outside the strict parameters of social class. This idea is drawn from the work of Michael Warner and the *Making Publics* project.[27] Music is an excellent model for studying public making. In his article, "How Music Created a Public" (2004), Harold Love argues that music represents an ideal forum for the establishment of truly free public associations.[28] Love makes the important point that literature about music, primers and textbooks, are key indicators of the existence of a musical public. These kinds of materials indicate the existence of a group of people who were interested in talking and learning about music, not just performing it in a professional capacity.

Looking at the earliest polyphonic music prints, Julie Cumming investigates these publications for information about the identity of the musical public in her contribution to the *Making Publics* volume edited by Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin.[29] Cumming established connections between the content of Petrucci's motet anthologies and two previously established markets—the market for printed books of hours and the market for classical humanist texts.[30] Cumming shows how the printing of anthologies of motets encouraged the formation and expansion of a musical public because these objects allowed less musically skilled amateurs to have access to easily performable polyphonic music and provided a repertoire or pseudo-canon of musical works to be discussed by music theorists and humanists. Cumming calls amateur musicians, collectors, and music theorists, "new publics" but I believe that my dissertation will give evidence that these publics were already forming in the

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[27]Michael Warner, "Publics and Counterpublics" (2002); *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things, Forms of Knowledge* (2010), ed. by Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin; *Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe: Performance, Georgraphy, Privacy* (2013), ed. by Angela Vanhaelen, and Joseph P. Ward.

[28] Love is investigating social musical in seventeeth-century England as an alternate venue of association, freer than the coffeehouse and newspapers—were both of which were biased and exclusively geared or to like-minded individuals. His discussion of a musical public is somewhat compromised by his modern bias for music as an art to be performed and appreciated passively in the concert hall and hence he undervalues the primarily participatory nature of musical engagement that was the norm for music making circa 1600 in Britain.

[29] "Petrucci's Publics for the First Motet Prints" (2010).

[30] She shows that books of hours include many of the same Latin texts as the motet volumes, and demonstrates the similarity in format and novelty between the Petrucci prints and octavo prints of classical texts.

manuscript culture of the fifteenth century and that Petrucci and other early printers of polyphony were responding to the needs of an expanding but already existent musical public.

STUDIES OF PIECES WITH A UNIFYING THEME

  This study will focus on pieces unified not by language, musical form, or specific geographical location, but instead by a similar theme and their implications in a broad cultural context. In her book *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in his Musical Works* (2002), Anne Walters Robertson provides a model for this kind of a study as she argues for an overlying organization of Machaut's motets based on the organization of Henry Suso's *Horologium sapientiae*. She draws her conclusions from a combination of a careful study of the local religious and scholarly context of Reims and a sensitive reading of the interactions between the tenors and the other more secular texts. In her dissertation on Italian political motets, Julie Cumming discusses the way that occasional elements were reflected in musical and textual features.[31] She shows how composers working with different musical palettes responded to similar political motivations in the same genre—the polytextual, political motet. Both Robertson and Cumming focus on local contexts to understand the content and meaning of specific compositions by known composers.

  A unifying theme is also a useful way to trace musical and social elements over a broader geographical area and span of time because, while the musical styles may change very much, the musical needs and functions often remain the same or similar. Musical scholars who look at music as part of medieval and early modern Christianity can trace similar themes and influences across Europe. In his book, *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (2011), David Rothenberg draws connections between sacred and secular musical genres through examining the various elements of courtly culture and Marian art and liturgy. His study successfully covers the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries, revealing a culture steeped in Marian symbolism. Michael Anderson presents an interesting study of similar scope and methodology, revealing the fascinating and complex mixing of popular and ecclesiastical religion in the musical products of rituals associated with

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[31] "Concord out of Discord: Occasional Motets of the Early Quattrocento," (PhD Diss. for UC Berkeley, 1987).

St. John the Baptist and St. Anne.[32] Anderson shows how, as cultural practices around a certain saint change over time, so do the musical works. In my dissertation I hope to show that self-reflexive features in musical compositions also reflect changing attitudes about the discipline of music and about musicians as learned members of society.

Chapter Outline

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters of varying lengths and functions. There is a basic division into two sections. "Section I: Music about Musicians," encompassing Chapters 1-4, examines pieces that memorialized individual musicians in their texts, like musicians' motets and laments for musicians. The next, "Section II: Music about Music," is comprised of Chapter 5-7 and turns away from texts, showing instead how compositions displaying abstract concepts of music theory, like the hexachord and solmization syllables, worked in tandem with the theoretical treatises of Tinctoris, Gaffurius, and others to promote the status of music as a humanistic discipline. Each section is introduced by a brief introductory chapter (Chapters 1 and 5) that shows how expressions of the professional concerns of musicians in compositions are mirrored in the way similar issues are expressed in paintings associated with local Guilds of St. Luke, the patron saint of painters. Each of the body chapters present a list of compositions (drawn from Appendix A) unified by self-referential features or approach.

The subgenre of the musicians' motet is the subject of both Chapter 2 and 3. Chapter 2, "*Ut nos quos amabat*: Du Fay Building Community Through Musical Devotions at Cambrai Cathedral" explores self-referential features in two musicians' motets by Du Fay— *Fulgens iubar / Puerpera, pura parens / Virgo post partum* and *Ave regina celorum* III. Situating these compositions within the professional, liturgical, and devotional environment and practices of Cambrai Cathedral reveals how these pieces works both as musical prayers and also to reinforce and support the community of musicians connected to Du Fay. Chapter 3, "*Ora pro nobis*: Aspects of Self-Reference in Musical Prayers for Musicians," builds on this close reading

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[32] His article "Fire, Foliage, and Fury: Vestiges of Midsummer Ritual in Motets for John the Baptist" (2011) is drawn from his dissertation, "Symbols of Saints: Theology, Ritual, and Kinship in Music for John the Baptist and St. Anne (1175-1563)" (University of Chicago, 2008). His book was published in the fall of 2014, tool late for inclusion in this study.

of Du Fay and Cambrai by comparing the texts and musical features of seven more musicians' motets composed between 1450-1505. These pieces are all musical prayers for musicians, although not all of them include the names of specific musicians, and none of them can be associated with a specific patron. These musical prayers reveal a preoccupation with the role of humans as creators of distinct musical objects that will endure, while at the same time drawing attention to the physical and ephemeral act of music making.

The musical and textual features of twenty different laments for musicians written between 1460 and 1585 and their transmission histories are the subject of Chapter 4, "*Plorer, gemir, crier*: Musical Mourning and the Composer." The laments reveal a changing sense of history within the musical community and the growing importance of composition as a preservation of musical voice. As extremely personal and idiosyncratic compositions, fifteenth-century musical laments draw on generic norms of the motet and chanson. The combination of languages, musical textures, and diverse presentations of pre-existent music all act as markers of meaning. Through the continuity of compositional skill these pieces honor the deceased musician for past musical achievements while simultaneously drawing attention to the composer of the lament and the living musical community.

The basic argument of the second half of the dissertation, laid out in Chapter 5 "Introduction to Music about Music," is that abstract musical features, like comprehensive explorations of mensural or modal structures and constructed or hexachordal tenors represent musical tools of the trade and evoke professional identity, similar to brushes or painterly techniques presented in Guild paintings of St. Luke. Chapter 6, "Simple Lessons? Music Theory as Emblem of Composition" explores relationships between twelve works composed between 1460 and the 1490s that display aspects of music theory or terms in their compositional framework. I argue that these pieces are interacting with late medieval music theoretical discourse and highlighting the role of the composer through the foregrounding of the work as a material object, created by an individual.

The final chapter is concerned entirely with compositions based on a singular and complex musical symbol—the hexachord. Entitled "Constructing the Composer: Symbolic use of the Hexachord in Compositions c. 1500," Chapter 7 lays out how the hexachord was central to an important conflict in music theoretical discourse in Italy in the late fifteenth century and

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the multiple ways that the hexachord was used in a variety of sources and contexts, including humanistic compendia of knowledge. As a cantus firmus, the hexachord instilled compositions with a particular range of associations that were related to the professional identity of musicians and their efforts to establish musical practice within the tradition of the Liberal Arts. This chapter focuses in particular on motets and polyphonic Masses included in Petrucci's Venetian publications, as pieces that were both widely disseminated and intended to be consumed by a broad market including both professionals and amateurs. I hope to show how these pieces reinforce the different ways that musicians navigated the professional landscape circa 1500 and successfully redefined the role of the Medieval maker into the individual composer of the early modern period.

Part I: Music about Musicians

Chapter 1:   Introduction to Music about Musicians

Communities of professionals existed all over Europe in the fifteenth century in the form of guilds and confraternities and were central to dramatic social changes as the corporate representatives of the thriving middle class. The growing body of research on these organizations shows that although they used a wide variety of formal structures depending on profession, location, and other affiliations, most of them bound together people practicing a particular trade for both professional and spiritual benefit.[33] Though it may be easier to comprehend and quantify the many earthly functions of these groups, like professional protections and providing care for widows and the elderly, it is important not to overlook the promised spiritual benefits. In these groups professional and spiritual matters were often blended and the tools of the trade became invested with symbolic meaning and were used to represent the particular interests of the community in paintings and other objects associated with the guild. Research about guilds and confraternities focuses on written statues or foundation documents and membership rosters, but also examines works of art commissioned for side altars or meeting halls associated with the group.[34] Paintings commissioned by guilds generally depict a miracle or saint's story, allowing the fifteenth-century practices of the craft to be depicted alongside a saintly and historic subject.[35]

Rogier van der Weyden's depiction of *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin Mary* (c. 1425-30) is the earliest surviving example of this subject, a motif strongly connected to the many fifteenth- and sixteenth-century local guilds of painters and illuminators (shown in Figure 1.1). It exemplifies the multiple ways that guild paintings and other devotional objects worked, as a focus of prayer, but also as a nexus for professional identity and an opportunity to articulate tradition. In this painting the Virgin Mary is depicted in the traditional, devotional pose of

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[33] Black and Gravestock, *Early Modern Confraternities* (2006).

[34] Eisenbichler, ed., *Crossing the Boundaries* (1991); Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion* (1995); Glixon, *Honoring God and the City* (2003); Wilson, *Music and Merchants* (1992); Humfrey, "Competitive Devotions" (1988); Humfrey and MacKenney, "The Venetian Trade Guilds as Patrons" (1986).

[35] Well-known examples include Gentile Bellini's *Processione in San Marco*, painted for the Scuola di San Giovanni and discussed in Brown, "On Gentile Bellini's *Processione*" (1981), 649-58; and the various paintings of St. Luke in the act of depicting the Virgin Mary for guilds of painters that will be discussed later in this chapter.

Maria lactans, feeding Christ from one exposed breast, a picture type that would have been central to the repertoire of every professional artist in the fifteenth century.

Figure 1.1: Rogier van der Weyden, *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin*, c. 1425-30.
Oil on panel, 137.5 x 110.8 cm, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.[36]

This intimate moment is being captured by St. Luke who, while genuflecting on one knee, quickly sketches his observations of the scene onto a small piece of paper. The reticence and darkness of the room is contrasted with the openness and light of the background landscape where two figures gaze into the distance over a parapet, an overt reference to Jan van Eyck's *Madonna with Chancellor Rolin*.[37] The depiction of St. Luke is also a self-portrait, blurring the line between an artistic saint in the act of veneration and the traditional "donor" prayer stance,

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[36] Accessed on *ARTStor*. Web. 23 July 2014.
[37] Paris, Musée du Louvre. For a discussion of the relationship between these works see Acres, "Luke, Rolin, and Seeing Relationships" (1997).

as depicted in van Eyck's portrait of Chancellor Rolin. St. Luke was the patron saint of painters and many Byzantine and psuedo-Byzantine images of the Virgin were attributed to St. Luke in the fifteenth century, reinforcing the historical nature of this image and validating the painter's profession.[38] Rogier's painting was extremely influential, existing in at least four full-size versions from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and standing at the head of a tradition of closely related painters' guild paintings of St. Luke that continued for over 150 years across Europe, especially in the wealthy, northern cities of the Low Countries.[39]

James Marrow provides an excellent summary of the scholarship on the significance of Rogier's painting of St. Luke. He articulates three important innovations:

1) it evokes actual, contemporary practices of portraiture, through the making of a quick silverpoint drawing of an illustrious patron, in this case the Virgin Mary, who in contemporary practice would not have been asked to pose for the lengthy process of an actual oil painting;

2) it replaces the traditional, bearded version of St. Luke with a clean-shaven self-portrait, eliding Rogier the professional painter with St. Luke; and

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[38] The cathedral at Cambrai housed one of these paintings and in October of 1468 Charles the Bold and Louis XI converged in Cambrai where they both venerated this relic. See Houdoy, *Histoire Artistique* (1880), 246. Another important work attributed to St. Luke was a painting at St. Maria Maggiore in Rome, mentioned in Voraigne's *Golden Legend* (1993), as bringing healing during a plague. "The plague was still ravaging Rome, and Gregory ordered the procession to continue to make the circuit of the city, the marchers chanting litanies. An image of the Blessed Virgin was carried in the procession. It is said that this image is still in the church of Saint Mary Major in Rome, that is was painted by Saint Luke, who was not only a physician but a distinguished painter, and that it was a perfect likeness of the Virgin," 174. Apostolos-Cappadona discusses the function of these Byzantine and pseudo-Byzantine works in her article "Picturing Devotion" (1997). During Du Fay's lifetime Cambrai instituted a celebration of the feast St. Mary of the Snows and it was on this feast that he requested his memorial service be celebrated. See Bibliothèque Municipale, MS *B. 39*, fol. 56r, translated and discussed in Strohm, *Rise of European Music* (1993), 285.

[39] Although there is physical evidence to suggest that the panel at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts is the original, the panels in Munich, Bruges, and St. Peterburg are not significantly different and are probably almost contemporary to the original work. Other partial copies are also extant as well as a tapestry version. For a comprehensive listing see Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, vol. 2 (1924). Although the exact location where Rogier's painting originally hung remains unknown, all the extant paintings of this scene, as well as a number of lost works depicting the same subject, were hung either on the side altars or in the halls of professional guilds of painters active in the Low Countries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For more in depth discussions see Schaefer, "Saint Luke as Painter" (1986); and Kok, *De heilige Lucas tekent en schildert de Madonna* (2006).

3) it overtly emulates famous paintings of the previous generation, establishing Rogier's place in and articulating the value of that venerable tradition.[40]

Following Rogier's example closely, multiple artists created similar works, all of which depict contemporary, fifteenth-century painters tools or techniques, seem to include self-portraits, and were associated with painters' guilds, demonstrating that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries "the very subject of St. Luke portraying the Virgin was preeminently a vehicle for the expression of distinct notions of artistic identity, self-reference and affiliation."[41] When these kinds of works were displayed in a church on an altar, often in a side chapel, supported by the members of the painters' guild, these self-referential paintings acted with the dual purpose of interceding on behalf of the community of artists while also advertising the skill and commemorating the life of the work's creator, even beyond the painter's death.

I argue that the three aspects of these St. Luke paintings identified by Marrow, "artistic identity, self-reference, and affiliation," are also evident in the numerous self-referential pieces of music that were composed in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Although there are no formal statutes extant for a guild of singers, Rob Wegman has uncovered evidence that loosely organized groups existed in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century.[42] His research shows that they were commonly called "companions of music," could be headed by a provost, and regularly congregated with esteemed colleagues visiting from near and far on important feast days. Wegman proposes that these groups of musicians reflected guild or confraternal structures in three ways. First, he notes that musicians often performed "neighborly acts of charity" for each other by protecting the benefices of absentee musicians, particularly those working in Italy, and promoting each other to distant patrons. Second, he finds evidence of

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[40] "Artistic Identity in Early Netherlandish Painting" (1997), 53-4.

[41] Marrow, "Artistic Identity in Early Netherlandish Painting" (1997), 56. If there is no identifiable portrait of the artist extant it is impossible to determine if it is actually a self-portrait. Since each St. Luke has a unique face, this indicates that most of them are at least portraits of contemporaries and probably self-portraits, following Rogier's example, for which there is a contemporary drawing, reproduced in Marrow's article.

[42] Wegman, "From Maker to Composer" (1996), 471-73; "Ockeghem, Josquin and Brumel" (2008), 212. For information on guilds for minstrels and instrumentalists see "The Minstrel School" (2002); Peters, "Urban Minstrels" (2000), for a discussion of minstrel guilds in sourthern Franc see 222-27; Slocum, "*Confrérie, Bruderschaft* and Guild" (1995), for an excellent summation of scholarship on the Parisian Confrérie of St. Julien des Menestriers see footnotes 13-15 on page 262; Gómez and Haggh, "Minstrel Schools" (1990). The only mention of a specific confraternity of singers (*confraternitas chori*) is in footnote 74 of "*In hydraulis* Revisited" (1986), 53. She cites Reinhard Strohm as the source of this information. Interestingly it seems to be a record of dead confraternity members from St. Sauveur in Bruges, from c. 1510.

musicians coming together for subsidized, celebratory meals. The church accounts from Bruges, Brussels, and Troyes record payments for wine and bread at these meals, which often also include a note about a famous visitor dining with the local singers, for example Josquin or Ockeghem. Celebratory gatherings were common features of other professional groups and generally occurred on the feast day of the patron saint. The fact that groups of singers congregated on Marian feast days suggests Wegman's third speculation—that the Virgin Mary was the patron saint of singers. Wegman also suggests that the vast quantity of Marian music produced in the late fifteenth century can be explained, in part, by her special status among musicians.

Recognizing a number of parallels between self-referential elements in St. Luke guild paintings and musicians' motets can help explain the function of music about music or musicians, and illuminate their implications for guild-like communities of musicians. I propose that, like the self-referential paintings of St. Luke, music about music is evidence of a growing professional consciousness and sense of community among musicians in the fifteenth century. Table 1.1 isolates and demonstrates parallels between the guild paintings and the self-referential compositions that will be discussed in this dissertation.

Table 1.1: Parallel Features of *St. Luke* Paintings and Self-Referential Music

	Patron Saint	Self-reference	Affiliation	Artistic Identity
Guild Paintings	-St. Luke as artist	1) self-portrait of the artist as St. Luke 2) depiction of the act of drawing or painting	1) visual reference to famous works 2) acts of homage to artists of the previous generation	1) depictions of the artist's studio 2) specific techniques or tools of the trade
Music about Music and Musicians	-Mary	1) composer named in the text 2) textual references to other musicians or professional concerns	1) musical reference to famous works 2) laments for musicians of the previous generation	1) presentation of specific tools of the trade -Comprehensive structures -Hexachords -Solmization mottos
	All Chapters	**Chapter 2 and 3**	**Chapter 4**	**Chapters 5-7**

The general prominence of the Virgin Mary as the patron saint of musicians will be evident in the amount of Marian music included in Appendix A and discussed in all of the chapters, but is especially important in connections with musical prayers for musicians, to be

discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. While the artists often depict their patron, St. Luke, as a self-portrait showing him as a fifteenth-century painter engaged in the act of drawing or painting, many composers also name themselves in the text or include references to singing, the choir, or the work itself. Chapter 2:will explore the professional implications of two self-referential motets by Du Fay by placing them in their devotional context, and Chapter 3 will expand this discussion to other musicians' motets of the following generations. Just as St. Luke paintings advertised affiliation and built group identity by commemorating the works of a specific artist or artists from the previous generation through reference to their works, self-referential compositions, especially laments, honor specific musicians from the previous generations, building a sense of musical patrilineage. The development of this tradition through the body of laments for musicians will be the topic of Chapter 4:. Finally, while painters depicted pens, brushes, and other easily recognizable features of their craft, including their studios, musicians composed a lot of music around comprehensive mensural or modal structures, hexachords, and solmization models. The second section of the dissertation, "Music about Music" (Chapters 5-8), will focus on compositions that highlight musical "tools of the trade," showing how these works blend spiritual and earthly concerns by appealing to both heavenly and worldly patrons. In both the compositions and the paintings these self-referential aspects focus on the craft, foreground modern technical achievements, and appeal to an in-crowd of other professionals and individuals knowledgeable about the internal workings of the painting or composition.

Chapter 2: *Ut nos quos amabat:* **Du Fay Building Community Through Musical Devotions at Cambrai Cathedral**

Like Rogier van der Weyden, Guillaume Du Fay stands at the threshold of early modernity, with one foot in medieval traditions, and the other squarely in the more sensual cultural environment of early modern artistic creation.[43] Although Du Fay's works did not make it into the early polyphonic music prints, there is documentation of the copying and performance of his works into the early sixteenth century, including the continued use of his hymns at the Sistine Chapel.[44] His theoretical works have not survived but he was cited as an authority by theorists and historians from the pages of Tinctoris in the fifteenth century to Giovanni Battista Martini in the eighteenth. Despite this recognition, changes in notational practice and musical style have kept large portions of his *oeuvre* in relative obscurity, both in the sixteenth century and also today. While much of the music of the Josquin-generation is reasonably comprehensible and accessible to audiences and performers, awkward ranges in the middle voices, complex rhythmic and proportional relationships, and functional, *alternatim* musical styles relegate Du Fay's compositions primarily to the interests of specialists and medievalists.

Du Fay was extremely influential during his lifetime, working in the major centers of Savoy and Rome at different times, and was both educated at the Cathedral of Cambrai and also held important administrative positions there in later life. As perhaps the most important center of musical education in Europe in the fifteenth century, Cambrai provided the basic network and impetus for the musical career of Du Fay and other professional singers and was also an important location for secular musicians, hosting minstrel schools in the fourteenth

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[43] I am not the first to compare Du Fay's compositions to the great Flemish painters. See Brown, "Dufay and the Early Renaissance" (1974), 219; and Nosow's discussion devotional images and motets in *Ritual Meanings* (2012), 143-66.

[44] Jeffery Dean proposes that it was in use in the Sistine Chapel until at least the 1490s, when it was copied into VatS 15. The use of them may have ended at some point in the 1530s, when the hymn cycle of Costanzo Festa was copied for the Sistine Chapel into VatS 18. See "Importance of Old Music" (1998), 143.

and fifteenth centuries.[45] Cambrai straddled the political spheres of Burgundy and France, as well as maintaining important connections with Italy, especially Rome.

Du Fay, like other fifteenth-century musicians, used compositions, specifically chansons and motets, as commemorations or celebrations of personal and professional connections, like a group photo posted on facebook or a commemorative dedication in a book. Compositions by Du Fay that mention names include an occasional motet bearing an acrostic for the lofty Robert Auclous, secretary of Cardinal Louis Aleman, to a rowdy May song, *Hé, compaignons*, which lists nine of Du Fay's fellow revelers. While the large number of occasional texts set by Du Fay, including his self-referential motet, *Ave regina celorum III*, have provided fascinating glimpses into Du Fay's network, the way that these works functioned in the fifteenth century has drawn less attention. By exploring the devotional and professional context for Du Fay's two Latin-texted composition that refer specifically to musicians, *Fulgens iubar* and *Ave regina celorum III*, I will show how the act of self-referential musical commemoration empowered the composer's individual voice, amplifying both Du Fay's concern for the welfare of his soul and the musical community to heavenly and earthly audiences alike. Through references to music pedagogy and theory as well as the venerable traditions of plainchant and Marian worship, Du Fay creates a remarkable musical signature, which bolsters the efficacy of his musical monuments and his actual tombstone through connections to the living community of musicians.

The Devotional Context

Musical prayers for musicians and self-referential guild paintings occupied similar niches in the lives and deaths of fifteenth-century professional musicians and artists. Just as the commercial sale of generic devotional paintings for both private and public use was a burgeoning source of income for fifteenth-century painters, performance and composition of

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[45] For an excellent looking into the musical practices of Cambrai see Houdoy, *Histoire Artistique* (1880); C. Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai" (1975) and "Performance Practices" (1978); C. Wright and Bridgman, "Musiciens à la Cathédrale" (1976); Haggh, "Evolution of the Liturgy at Cambrai Cathedral" (1992), "Nonconformity in the Use of Cambrai" (2000) and "Foundations at Cambrai" (2004); Curtis, "Simon Mellet, Scribe of Cambrai" (1999) and "Music Manuscripts" (1991); Planchart, "Choirboys in Cambrai" (2008) and "Four Motets of Guillaume Du Fay in Context" (2012); Naruo, "Masters of the Choirboys" (2003) Rifkin, "*Omnium bonorum plena* Reconsidered" (2009). On meetings of musicians at Cambrai see Wegman, "The Minstrel School" (2002), and "Ockeghem, Josquin and Brumel" (2008).

polyphonic hymns and settings of other prayer texts were increasingly central to the financial stability of professional singers, as is indicated in records for various kinds of votive services. Although documentation of performance of specific motets was rare during the fifteenth century, it is generally accepted that one of the most important functions for motets, as an extremely flexible but serious genre of composition, was as an adornment for votive services, which were usually paid for through an endowment of money or land.[46] Typically endowments for polyphonic music were made through the bequest of land or property to the church, the revenues of which could be used to pay singers to perform a musical prayer of some kind at a specific time for the soul of the deceased.[47] Endowed performance of motets embellished the liturgical practices of a location and also benefited the souls of individuals, families, or, in some cases, confraternal or guild members.[48]

Extant records of endowments for special services regularly include instructions for both a musical item and a devotional image or location as the focus of the performance.[49] Sometimes these instructions include the title, performance ensemble, or musical style, but more often the specific musical choices are left to the discretion of the performers, probably based on local custom and the nature of the image, liturgical season, or location of performance. For example Johannes Martini, a canon at Cambrai Cathedral but not the famous composer, made a large endowment for the weekly performance of a motet around sunset after the Saturday *Salve* service for the Virgin Mary, in place of the *Benedicamus*. He

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[46] Information on endowments comes from a variety of documents, including obit books, a variety of financial records, and the extant copies of the last will and testament of various individuals. For more information on music for votive services and endowments see Brown, "The Mirror of Man's Salvation" (1990); Haggh, "The Meeting of Sacred Ritual and Secular Piety" (1992), "Singing for the Most Noble Souls" (2007), "Music and Ritual From the Time of Ockeghem" (1997), and "Foundations or Institutions?" (1996); and Nosow, *Ritual Meanings* (2012).

[47] For a general background on endowments for music see Haagh, "The Meeting of Sacred Ritual and Secular Piety" (1992). The record of property purchased for Josquin's endowment is a famous example, and can be read in Appendix A of *Fallows* (2009), translated on page 346.

[48] In his book, *Ritual Meanings in the Fifteenth-Century Motet*, Robert Nosow has drawn together the scholarship of multiple authors to sketch out the ritual profile of a number of important cultural locations and proposed different ways that the surviving motets associated with these locations functioned in their specific devotional environments. These locations include the English Chapel Royal under Henry V, the Veneto in the first half of the fifteenth century, civic ceremony in Bruges, and personal endowments at Cambrai Cathedral. In chapters 7-8 shows that endowed performance of motets was a key feature of the civic and devotional environments of Bruges and Cambrai in the second half of the fifteenth century.

[49] Sources for these included in the testament documents for individuals and also in cathedral or chapel calendars and obit books. See Haagh, "The Meeting of Sacred Ritual and Secular Piety" (1992).

specifies that the motet should be performed at the "altare feretrorum in ecclesia nostra," or "altar of the shrine in our church," by the six "pueri altaris" with their master, and assisted by only one contratenor.[50] While he is careful to specify the ensemble, he leaves the choice of motet to the master of the choirboys, since, as an ongoing, weekly performance, the motet will change with the season and the contemporary repertoire of the ensemble for the duration of the endowment, the terms of which were indefinite.

Ostensibly contemporary practice would have made the exact location of the performance clear, since the indication to sing at the "altar of the shrine" is slightly ambiguous. Perhaps, like the general request for a motet, this wording also made allowance for the evolving customs surrounding the growing body of appropriate Marian images, altars, and relics housed at the Church of Our Lady at Cambrai, including three costly Marian reliquaries, one containing a lock of Mary's hair, as well as the famous pseudo-Byzantine icon of Mary.[51] This icon, believed to have been painted from life by St. Luke, was installed in the Trinity Chapel in 1451, and was the nexus of the devotional activities of the confraternity that formed around it, of which Du Fay was a member.[52] From her extensive experience with the records of Cambrai, Barbara Haggh asserts that this endowment was intended to be performed on the right side of the transept, which seems to have had an altar, founded in 1369, called *Notre dame de la Flamenghe*.[53] Whatever the actual place intended for this endowed motet, this discussion illuminates the connection between a weekly musical activity and a range of possible devotional Marian images, both icons and the works of contemporary painters and sculptors, and the body of Marian polyphony performed and composed at Cambrai.

Fifteenth-century devotional images and prayer motets performed similar functions, being the products of the activities and tastes of the middle and upper classes and reflecting

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[50] Found in Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, fonds ancien B 39, one of two extant obit manuscripts from Cambrai, discussed in Strohm, *Rise of European Music* (1993), 285, and transcribed in as document no. 9 in Appendix C of Nosow, *Ritual Meanings* (2012), 248-9. The manuscript belonged to the main choir of the cathedral.

[51] Maillard-Luypaert, "D'une 'Image de Notre-Dame'" (2010); Houdoy, *Histoire Artistique* (1880).

[52] This confraternity was founded in 1453. For a discussion of this image see Wilson, "Reflections on St. Luke's Hand" (1995); Wood, "Byzantine Icons in the Netherlands" (2013); and Maillard-Luypaert, "D'une 'Image de Notre-Dame'" (2010).

[53] It is unclear if she is basing this assertion on the ambiguous wording of the document, or on other information implicit in the manuscript. Haggh, "Foundations at Cambrai" (2004). For the original endowment see Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, fonds ancien B 39, fol. 54r, transcribed in Nosow, *Ritual Meanings* (2012), 246.

cutting-edge artistic innovations through religious expression.[54] Both devotional images and the prayer texts of motets are regularly found in Books of Hours for private use in the home but also in the semi-public space of votive altars, the prime location for musically embellished ceremonies like the *Salve* service noted above in connection with Martini's endowment.[55] Sources for some prayer texts include the promise of an indulgence, which could only be attained when the prayer was recited or performed before a specific type of image. Bonnie Blackburn discusses a number of links between images and prayer motets in her articles on musical settings of the "Ave sanctissima" prayer.[56] She points out that the image necessary to obtain the enormous indulgence attached to the "Ave sanctissima," the "Maria in sole," was included on the first opening of at least three manuscript sources for musical settings associated with this text, a chansonnier and two books of polyphonic Masses.[57] This confirms both the prayer function of the musical settings and the strong connection between devotional images and prayer motets in popular religion.

Even though musical prayers seem to be more transient than a devotional painted image, lasting only for the duration of a performance, in the fifteenth century many paintings were covered much of the time, both to preserve the painting and reserve the image for certain times of the year. It seems to have been normal for the covering on a guild painting to be opened for public viewing only during the major feast days associated with the guild's patron saints. Gerd Unverfehrt has pointed out that in 1520 when Albrecht Dürer visited Brussels his personal records show that he paid 2 *Stüber* to the local artists' confraternity in order to view the Saint Luke painting that was installed on their altar in St. Gudula's Church.[58] The image

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[54] For an interesting discussion of the influence of secular musical interests on liturgy see Haagh, "The Meeting of Sacred Ritual and Secular Piety" (1992). Interesting too is the taste for Byzantine icons and images, that seems counter to the hyper-realism of modern Netherlandish painting.

[55] For a fabulous discussion of the soundscape of a late Medieval church in Florence see Zanovello, "Music and Devotional Spaces" (2014).

[56] Blackburn, "For Whom do the Singers Sing?" (1997); Blackburn, "Virgin in the Sun" (1999), 180-9. Blackburn also refers to musical settings of the "Salve sancta facies" and their connections to St. Veronica and the image of Christ that appeared on her veil, discussed by Howard Mayer Brown, "On Veronica and Josquin" (1992).

[57] The pieces discussed are La Rue's canonic 6 from 3 motet, included at the beginning of BrusBR 228 and La Rue's *Missa Ave sanctissima*, included in two different manuscripts from Jena. See "Virgin in the Sun" (1999), 188-9.

[58] Unverfehrt, *Da sah ich viel Köstliche Dinge* (2007), 74-5. Interestingly this painting hung on the altar of St. Catherine in the church of St. Gudula's, the same church where Du Fay's Requiem was performed and also where

that he paid to see was probably the famous example by Rogier van der Weyden (Figure 1.1), discussed in Chapter 1. Dürer was expected to pay either to enter the side chapel where the painting was housed, or to have the painting uncovered for his viewing; thus his interest in and veneration of this specific painting, infused with sacred and secular power, financially supported the artists' guild. This demonstrates that in many cases devotional images and motets were occasional, available to those willing and able to pay for viewing, or to endow or attend musical services on specific feast days.

Given this background on the general context of popular devotions, I argue that prayer motets for musicians and devotional images for guilds of painters had similar functions in the fifteenth century and reflect complex networks of professional fraternity. Self-referential works for musicians and artists extended the professional activities of both trades to the spiritual benefit of their respective communities in a semi-public setting, adopting the practices of their patrons and peers in other professions. One of the main activities of guilds and confraternities was to retain the names of deceased members in their records, and include them in weekly memorial services for their souls. In Rogier van der Weyden's painting of St. Luke, by assuming the prayer stance and guise of St. Luke, Rogier places himself in a position of perpetual adoration, a state that will be witnessed in perpetuity by his fellows. As mentioned in Chapter 1, although there are very few records for confraternities of singers or composers, we do have endowments for musical memorials for a number of individual musicians, including Du Fay and Gilles Flannel, canons at Cambrai cathedral, and a record regarding one for Josquin Desprez in the sixteenth century, among others.[59] In providing endowment income for the performance of his own compositions, including his troped *Ave regina celorum III*, Du Fay ensured that his soul would be remembered through his own compositional voice in the professional activities of his musical comrades.[60]

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a portrait and epitaph for Josquin was displayed in the sixteenth century. For a look at the musical connections of this institution see Haggh, "Collegiate Church of St. Gudila" (2001), and also "Josquin's Portrait" (1994).

[59] For Cambrai see Nosow, *Ritual Meanings* (2012), 168-200; and for Josquin see Kellman, "Josquin and the Courts" (1976), 26-8; and Fallows, *Josquin* (2009), 346. For yet another see Wegman, "Testament of Jean de Saint Gille" (2009).

[60] In his will Du Fay provides income for the performance of a hymn, probably of his own composition, as well as his personal prayer motet at his deathbed, but because of a lack of time they were performed after an extremely well attended funeral the next day. Houdoy, *Histoire artistique* (1880), 409-14.

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Like the paintings of St. Luke as an artist, compositions about musicians should be seen as the musical products of the guild-like social structures that I believe existed among groups of singers. Since singers in the fifteenth-century were essentially itinerant, it is not surprising that no formal, written statutes for their professional associations remain, but Reinhardt Strohm has found a register for a *confraternitas chori* at the church of St-Sauveur in Bruges.[61] Wegman describes various gatherings of singers and, in his article on Moulu's *Mater floreat florescat*, David Fallows proposes this sort of context for the original performance of Moulu's musicians' motet.[62] In their professional capacity, musicians frequented the same public spaces that housed many devotional works of art—the side chapels and ceremonies of important civic churches. When performing a musical prayer for a musician or for musicians as a whole in these same spaces, these pieces turn their focus inward but also advertise the skills of the group. Like the guild paintings, these works reflect the public image that the professional communities wanted to project to potential customers. Thus self-referential works could increase the financial security of the group directly, through endowments for performance, or, in the case of guild paintings, fees collected for viewing sessions, and also indirectly, by advertising connections between individual producers of spiritually efficacious works to potential patrons through their own musical and artistic creations.

Tradition vs. Innovation in Two Chant-based Musicians' Motets by Du Fay

At least two motets composed by Du Fay for use at Cambrai Cathedral mention professional musicians by name. Table 2.1 lists relevant details about these two pieces, including genre, information on the unique source for each piece, and features that make these motets relevant to discussions of self-reference and professional communities of musicians. Both motets set Marian texts, and can be linked to the Lenten and pre-Lenten season, the time of year Wegman proposes as ideal for professional gatherings of musicians.[63]

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[61] Cited in Higgins, "*In hydraulis* Revisited" (1986), ft. 74, 53; and also in her entry on Busnoys in *Grove*.
[62] Wegman, "From Maker to Composer" (1996), 471-73; and "Ockeghem, Josquin and Brumel" (2008), 212. Fallows, "Moulu's Composer Motet" (2012).
[63] Although Wegman is discussing secular musicians, I think his findings are relevant here since boundaries between sacred and secular musicians were at least somewhat fluid. Also, primarily sacred musicians were even more likely to observe the restrictions on musical performance during Lent. "The Minstrel School" (2002).

Table 2.1: Musical prayers for musicians composed by Du Fay at Cambrai

Title	Subgenre	Features	Unique Sources
Fulgens iubar / Puerpera, pura parens / Virgo post partum quem genuit adoravit	isorhythmic motet	~Purification theme ~acrostic in motetus, "we" in triplum ~solmization puns in triplum	1448, Ferrara (ModE alpha.X.1.11)
Ave regina celorum III	tenor motet / chant paraphrase	~Marian antiphon for season of Lent ~2 tropes for Du Fay, 2 for "us" ~ solmization puns in musical signature	1464-74, Rome (VatSP B80)

Fulgens iubar is unequivocally about the Purification, which occurs on February 2, and, at least in current practice, the *Ave regina celorum* is the Marian antiphon used in Compline from Purification until the Wednesday of Holy Week.[64] Du Fay's motets also make subtle use of solmization puns and the newly written texts use the second person plural at least once, ostensibly referring directly to the performers of the piece. Almost twenty years separate the two unique sources, and although the two musicians named in the motets, Pierre de Castel and Du Fay himself, were both employed at Cambrai, the manuscripts are both from Italy and associated with the repertoire of Italian institutions, the Este chapel and Roman basilica of San Pietro in Vaticano.[65] Similar to van der Weyden's formative painting, *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin Mary*, self-reference is the key element of innovation in Du Fay's two musicians' motets, expanding the boundaries of the occasional motet for the purpose of personal and corporate devotions.

Du Fay, *Fulgens iubar / Puerpera, pura parens / Virgo post partum*

Like previous motets commemorating musicians, Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar / Puerpera, pura parens / Virgo post partum* is cast in the traditional form for occasional works, the isorhythmic motet. [66] In these pieces individual and contemporary concerns, voiced in a variety

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[64] *Liber Usualis* (1961), 274-5. In his study on music in Medieval Britain, Harrison shows that there was a lot of variety in the appropriate Marian antiphon for the different seasons of the liturgical year. *Music in Medieval Britain* (1963), 81-8.

[65] Reynolds, Introduction to the facsimile of *San Pietro B 80* (1986). For ModE alpha.X.1.11 see *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550* (1979-88), vol. 2, 172, and vol. 4, p. 441. A facsimile of this manuscript is available through the *Biblioteca estense universitaria*, web, 23 July, 2014, http://bibliotecaestense.beniculturali.it; made available by DIAMM.

[66] For a discussion of the context for early fifteenth-century occasional motets, particularly in Italy, see Cumming, "Concord out of Discord" (1987).

of languages and textual forms, were superimposed over a pre-existent cantus firmus.[67] The interplay between the presentation and associations of a pre-existant melody, usually drawn from the sacred repertoire of plainchant, and the two or three original texts written for the upper voices generate a complex web of meanings.[68] These works cover a range of topics, from politically-infused motets for powerful rulers, like the motets composed for rulers in the Veneto, to works marking important events, like Du Fay's *Nuper rosarum flores* which is associated with the dedication of Florence cathedral.[69] Amongst these illustrious compositions from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries there are a number of isorhythmic motets setting texts dealing with musical topics and individual or groups of musicians. These do not include prayer-like supplications on behalf of the singers, relying more on symbolic self-recommendations to music or rhetoric, and are perhaps more evocative of courtly interactions with earthly patrons than with confraternal environments.[70] *Nove cantum melodie / Tanti gaude germinis / ... enixa meritas* by Binchois is an isorythmic motet, partially preserved in the mid-fifteenth-century manuscript ModE alpha.X.1.11, along with *Fulgens iubar*. It includes a long list of musicians in the context of celebrating the birth of the first son of Philip the Good, baptized on 18 January 1431.[71] The text asks Anthony to hear the musical prayer of the musicians, offered on behalf of Philip, his bride, and their new heir.[72] Although the act of singing is made explicit in Binchois text and the list of musician's named in it, a political event remains the main emphasis of the motet. While Du Fay's motet, *Fulgens iubar*, is directly

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[67] Although Margaret Bent has recently questioned the validity and meaning of the term "isorhythm," I will use it as a way to refer to polytextual motets from before 1450 with a recurring *colore* (melody) and *talea* (rhythm). For Bent's main discussion of the problems with the term see her article "What is Isorhythm?" (2008).

[68] Robertson, *Machaut and Reims* (2002) and "The Savior, the Woman, and the Head of the Dragon" (2006); Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (2005); Cumming, *Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (1999) and "Concord out of Discord" (1987); Lütteken, *Dufay und die isorhythmische Motette* (1993); Allsen, "Style and Intertextuality" (1992).

[69] On isorhythmic motets for the Doge and other rulers from the Veneto see Nosow, *Ritual Meanings* (2012), Chapter 3: "Processions in the Veneto," 56-83; and Cumming, "Music for the Doge" (1992). For the most recent contributions to the discussion of the relationship between *Nuper rosarum flores* and Florence Cathedral see Trachtenberg, "Architecture and Music Reunited" (2001); and C. Wright, "*Nuper rosarum flores*" (1994).

[70] Five isorhythmic musicians' motets from c. 1400 are transcribed and discussed in Harrison, *Musicorum Collegio* (1986).

[71] Weller, "Rites of Passage" (2000).

[72] "O Anthony, praised by the holy martyrs, listen kindly to the *singing* of your followers. Protect our Duke and Duchess, our hope leading them to heavenly glory." Translation from *Sacred Music of Gilles Binchois,* ed. by Philip Kaye (1992), 315. Italics are mine. For a discussion of the list of musician's named see Weller, "Rites of Passage" (2000), 70-1.

descended from these kinds of isorhythmic musicians' motets, it exhibits a growing sense of community amongst musicians as a distinct group, without association through a particular patron.

At first glance Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar* seems to be a simple Marian motet for the feast of the Purification or Candlemas on February 2.[73] The cantus firmus in the tenor, "Virgo post partum quem genuit adoravit," aligns with the text and music at the end of two different Matins responsories associated with the Purification of the Virgin in a thirteenth-century antiphoner from Cambrai.[74] Although the lowest voice in the texture is textless and is not based on the chant melody, it is consistently paired with the tenor and labeled "tenor secundus" in both partes. These two tenor voices are set apart from the upper voices by differentiation of temporal values and extended periods of rests. Fallows points out how the isorhythmic structure of the cantus firmus, consisting of three repetitions of the *colore* each composed of two *taleae*, is related to the influence of English motets, particularly Dunstable.[75] This structure is reflected in the careful distribution of texts in the upper voices. New stanzas or half stanzas in each of the two upper voices are aligned with the beginning of structural points, articulating the form and emphasizing the diminution of values in the lower voices, shown to the left in Figure 2.1. The upper pair of voices set original texts with similar structures: four stanzas of text with the same rhyme scheme as the traditional French ballade—ababbcbC (transcribed and translated in Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1: Du Fay, *Fulgens iubar / Puerpera, pura parens / Virgo post partum*
TRIPLUM

Talea 1	Fulgens iubar ecclesiae dei,	Shining glory of God's church,
	Peccatorum salus promptissima,	Most speedy salvation of sinners,
	Si precibus quibuscumque flecti	If thou mayst be swayed by any prayers
	Queas, nobis da, virgo beata,	Grant us, blessed virgin,

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[73] *Fulgens iubar* has been previously discussed by Nosow, *Ritual Meanings* (2012), 183-4; Fallows, *Dufay* (1982), 60-1 and 118-23; Allsen, "Style and Intertextuality" (1992), 199.

[74] Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 38, fols. 248ᵛ and 249ᵛ, *CANTUS Database*, http://cantusdatabase.org. Also discussed in Holford-Strevens, "Du Fay the Poet?" (1997), 145. Holford-Strevens cites personal communication with Barbara Haggh who confirms that the melodies in the Cambrai source are similar to the tenor of the motet.

[75] Fallows, *Dufay* (1981), 119-20. He argues that this structure may explain why it shows up in a fascicle of otherwise English motets in ModE alpha.X.1.11. Rob Wegman and Thomas Brothers also discuss this element of these works. Wegman, " Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus*" (1991), 296; and Brothers, "*Contenance angloise*" (1997), 34-5. For a discussion of how this piece relates to similar compositions from the same time period see Cumming, *Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (1999), 206-215.

Ut omnes qui tue mysteria	That all we who venerate
Purificationis colimus	The mysteries of thy purification
Post temporis hujus curricula	After (completing) the course of this age
Sublimemur sanctorum sedibus.	*May be raised aloft in the dwellings of the saints.*

Talea 2

Quae semine viri peperisset,	In former times the law compelled
Mulierem lex quondam cogebat,	The woman who had given birth by a man's seed
Ut ad templum purganda veniret	To come to the temple to be cleansed,
Partum ferens; lex haec non urgebat	Bringing her child; this law did not bind
Mariam, quae virum non noverat.	Mary, who knew not a man.
Illa tamen pro nobis omnibus	But she for all our sakes
Legem tulit, **ut** nos quos amabat	Submitted to the law, that we whom she loved
Sublimemur sanctorum sedibus.	*May be raised aloft in the dwellings of the saints.*

Talea 3

Quod purgari non indignaverit,	That she did not disdain to be cleansed,
Huius festo monstrat ecclesia	The Church makes manifest in her feast
Per cereum, quem tunc quisque gerit.	By a taper that each worshiper then holds.
Luce enim qua fulget candela,	For by the light which the candle shines

Talea 4

Persplendorem vite in Maria	We all signify in harmony
Concorditer omnes ostendimus,	The complete splendour of life in Mary,
Ut per sue tandem precamina	That at length by her prayers
Sublimemur sanctorum sedibus.	*May be raised aloft in the dwellings of the saints.*

Talea 5

O igitur virtutis exemplar,	Therefore, o pattern of virtue,
Virginum lux, gloriosa virgo,	lustre of virgins, glorious maiden,
Decus nostrum et, **ut** verum loquar,	Our adornment and (to say true),
Viva virtus, pulcra pulcritudo,	Living virtue, beautiful beauty,

Talea 6

Sanctitatis excellens ymago,	Pre-eminent image of holiness,
Humiliter a te requirimus,	We humbly beg of thee
Ut post mortem cum dulci gaudio	That after death ,with sweet joy, we
Sublimemur sanctorum sedibus.	*May be raised aloft in the dwellings of the saints.*

MOTETUS

Talea 1

Puerpera, pura parens	Mother, pure parent
Enixa regem seculi,	That didst bear the King of the world,
Tibi non fit, orba parens,	Thy mind doth not become blind
Ritu mens: vales seculi	As it obeyeth the ritual law customary rites;
Vitam reddere, nonnulli	Thou hast power to restore life; and several
Salvati sunt hoc limite;	Have been saved at this bounding line;
Das hec merito tituli:	You grant these things by virtue of thy saying:
"Fili, peccata remitte!"	*"My son, forgive sins!"*

Talea 2

Eya, virgo lapsu carens,	Hail, maiden without sin,
Carta qua Ditem expuli,	The charter whereby I have expelled Death,
Annuisti legi verens	Thou consentedst to the law
Solvere legem; et puli	For fear of undoing the law; and the offered
Turturum tis infantuli	Young of turtledoves
Ex monstrant oblati vitae	Show forth the light of the life
Lucem; prome quod intuli.	Of thy little child; utter the words I have put to thee:
"Fili, peccata remitte!"	*"My son, forgive sins!"*

Talea 3

Larga mater, lux oriens	Generous mother, the dawning light
Omen dedit opusculi,	Provided the omen for a little work,
Cum Simeon non moriens	When Simeon, not dying,

Talea 4	**A**mplexatur hunc: "oculi	Embraces Him: "Mine eyes
	Numen vident" et servuli	behold the Godhead," and in the manner of a servant
	Tenore dat verbum "mitte!"	Utters the words: "Let me depart!"
	Ad Christum dic: "te protuli:	To Christ say: "I gave you birth;
	Fili, peccata remitte!"	*My son, forgive sins!"*
Talea 5	O igitur virgo clemens,	Therefore, O merciful maid,
	Que nos omnes redemisti,	Who hast redeemed us all,
	Domus dei, gemma fulgens,	House of God, shining jewel,
	Dulcis porta paradisi,	Sweet gateway of Paradise,
Talea 6	Dic nunc, queso, tue proli,	Say now, I beg, to thine offspring,
	Quem lactasti tuo lacte:	Whom thou didst suckle with thine own milk:
	"Istis qui serviunt tibi,	"For those that serve thee,
	Fili, peccata remitte!"	*My son, forgive sins!"*

TENOR

Virgo post partum quem genuit adoravit	After childbirth, the Virgin worshipped him she bore.

Trans. by Leofranc Holford-Strevens[76]

The texts of these upper voices relate a typical fifteenth-century understanding of the Virgin Mary's role as an example of obedience and humility through her willingness to submit to Jewish law, despite the fact that she was a virgin and therefore was not in need of ritual purification after childbirth.[77] This is closely related to the discussion of the Virgin's Purification in Voragine's *Golden Legend*, a book we know was in Du Fay's library and is listed in an inventory of his belonging at the time of his death.[78]

The primary element that ties this motet to professional musicians is an acrostic inscribed into the motetus. The first letter of each line for the first three stanzas of the motetus text, *Puerpera, pura parens,* creates the imperative statement "Petrus de Castello, canta!" (shown in bold in Figure 2.1). Alejandro Planchart has discovered documents showing that a Pierre de Castel was the master of the choirboys at Cambrai for at least lengthy segments of a ten-year period during Du Fay's tenure, from November 10, 1437 until December 1447.[79] Although the acrostic is essentially a simple message telling the master of the choirboys to sing,

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[76] "Du Fay the Poet?" (1997), 145-47.

[77] The texts are discussed and translated in Holford-Strevens, "Du Fay the Poet?" (1997), 145-50. The importance of Mary's obedience to Jewish law in submitting to a ritual cleansing is also a standard topic for late-Medieval sermons, as discussed in Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Mind* (2001).

[78] For an inventory of Du Fay's books see C. Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai" (1975). It is lacking from Houdoy because he only transcribed a partial inventory of Du Fay's books. For a modern translation of Voragine's discussion of the Purification see Voragine, *Golden Legend* (1993), vol. I, 143-51.

[79] Planchart, "Du Fay's Second Style" (1997), 314.

and perhaps even specifying which vocal line was intended for him, it has regularly been interpreted as bearing a deeper meaning. David Fallows suggests that it was written for the installation of Pierre as the new master of the choirboys, while Denis Stevens suggests that it would have been more appropriate for his dismissal.[80] Stevens even ventures to propose, based on recorded difficulties concerning the choirboys and a surprisingly large expenditure on a boy found to be lacking vocal talent from around the time of Pierre's resignation, that the references to law breaking and innocent turtledoves in the texts of *Fulgens iubar* indicate that Pierre was dismissed for inappropriate behavior with the children.[81] As I have shown in my discussion of the texts above, obedience to the law and an offering of turtledoves at the temple were extremely typical in the context of Mary's purification, both in extant sermons and the text of the *Golden Legend*. The refrain, "Fili, peccata remitte," asking Mary to intercede on behalf of sinners, fits comfortably into typical prayer texts and works of devotional art, and does not necessarily reflect badly on the musician named in the acrostic.[82]

Laurenz Lütteken shows that the tenor of Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar* can be association with a silver reliquary for the Purification which was repainted in 1445-46 and bore the final three words of the cantus firmus, "quem genuit adoravit," further strengthening the links between this piece and Purification rituals at Cambrai.[83] Robert Nosow describes in detail how, at least by 1501-02, this reliquary along with two others were carried in a large, public procession on the feast of the Purification, requiring the presence of the twelve peers of the county of Cambrai and all the commoners of the town. He argues that Du Fay's motet was composed to celebrate the gift of this precious reliquary in the fiscal year 1445-46 and that it was performed during the procession on February 2 in that year.[84] Although I agree that there are clear connections between the procession, the reliquary, and Du Fay's motet, it seems

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[80] Fallows, *Dufay* (1982), 60-1; and D. Stevens's review of Fallows, *Dufay* in *Musical Quarterly* 69 (1983), 604-6.
[81] Stevens is basing his argument on information cited by Fallows from the year 1447-8 in Lille, Archives du Nord, 4G 7762, f. 11v. Apparently there was a high turnover in the choirboys during this period and large sums were paid to boys who were not being retained. Planchart shows, however, that Pierre remained in good standing with the Cambrai, and that the positions of master of the choirboys seems to have been an extremely difficult job and few stayed in the position for long periods of time.
[82] Du Fay names himself a "sinner" in the tropes of *Ave regina celorum III*.
[83] Lütteken, *Dufay und die isorhythmische Motette* (1993), 300-1. The reliquary is described in an inventory compiled in part by Du Fay and reproduced in Houdoy, *Histoire Artistique* (1880), 351.
[84] Nosow, *Ritual Meanings* (2012), 183-4.

unwise to assume such a direct causal relationship between the inscription on the reliquary and the cantus firmus of the motet. Both items are explicitly connected to the Purification through the chants and their cultural implications. These were common currency for those actively involved in the liturgical cycles of Cambrai in the mid-fifteenth century and the correspondence simply shows that they were aligned with normative expressions of this important theme of Marian devotion. Nosow describes in detail the liturgical chants requested by Johannes Martini in his endowment for processions on Marian feast days and even states that "no obvious position presents itself for the performance of Du Fay's motet."[85] Although it is clear that this motet would have been appropriate in this context, other endowments by Martini himself specify exactly when and where a motet would be expected, weakening Nosow's claim for a specific performance date and location.

Nevertheless, it is fascinating that for this piece we have a link between a ritual context (the musical establishment at Cambrai during Pierre's tenure), a piece of devotional art (the reliquary for the Purification), and a specific composition including a reference to an individual musician. The inclusion of an imperative statement in the acrostic for the motetus voice (essentially saying "Sing, Pierre!") indicates both that this line was intended to be sung by an certain individual, but also perhaps that he especially is recommended to the Virgin. As Nosow has pointed out, records for Cambrai indicate that the upper lines of motets were regularly performed in this way, with the boys on the top line supported by their master on the next highest line in the texture.[86] The upper two lines in *Fulgens iubar* are interdependent, often moving in similar note values and cadencing together. These voices are presented as a duo in the introductory sections of the *talea*, while the two tenor voices have rests. All of this corroborates the interpretation that these two upper voices could have been performed by the choirboys and their master. The independence of these lines from the two tenors would allow this ensemble of younger musicians to practice without the two tenor parts, which could be added in performance.

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[85] Nosow, *Ritual Meanings* (2012), 183.
[8686] Discussed by Nosow, *Ritual Meanings* (2012), 186; and also evident in Du Fay's will, Houdoy, *Histoire Artistique* (1880), 409-14. For a broader discussion of performing ensemble see Fallows, "Specific Information" (1983).

A variety of elements, including the acrostic, highlight this composition as a made object, drawing attention to the physicality of the composition and texts. The acrostic can only really be appreciated when the text is written out in its original strophic form, and must be first be detected and then carefully deciphered in the musical setting. In Figure 2.2 the letters of the acrostic for the first stanza are circled, showing how the constraints of the musical notation disguise the acrostic.

Figure 2.2: First stanza of motetus from *Fulgens iubar* from ModE alpha.X.1.11, fol. 122v[87]
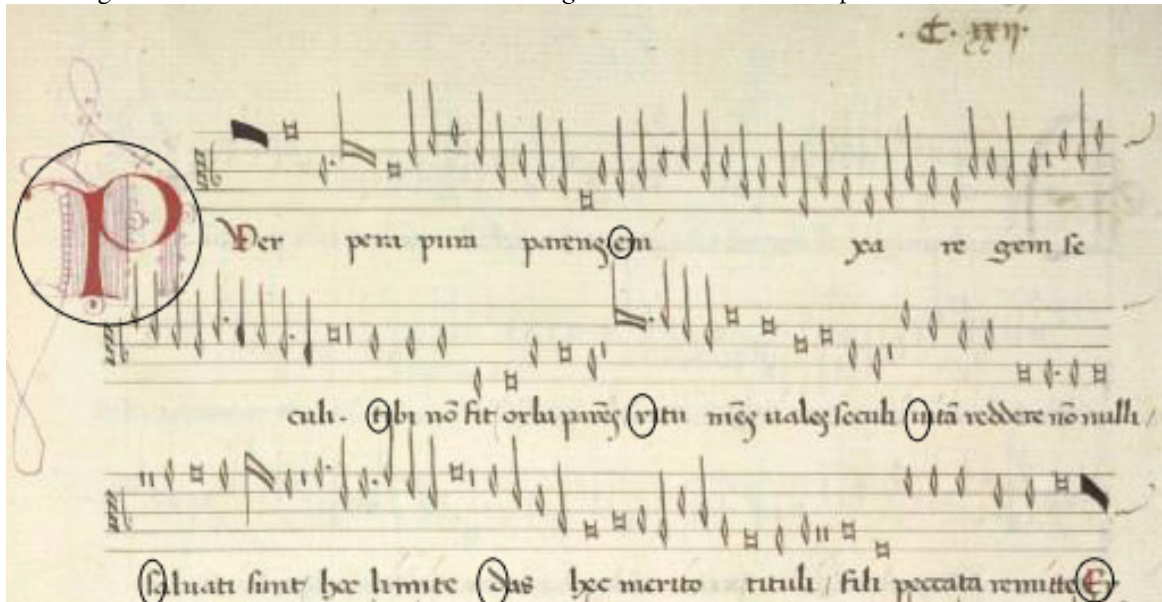
The scribe of ModE alpha.X.1.11 did nothing to draw attention to the letters of the name in this section of music which contains"Petrus de," although Du Fay's musical setting carefully places the beginning of each new phrase after a leap or a rest, accentuating the form of the text musically and often setting each phrase syllabically. With the word "canta," shown in bold in stanza 3 of Figure 2.1, the acrostic refers directly to the act of singing. Although this confirms the original intention of this text for a musical setting, ironically this setting obscures the acrostic and personal associations of the text.

In addition, every single time the top voice sings the Latin word "ut" (underlined in Figure 2.1) it is set to the notes G, F, or C. Figure 2.3 shows the triplum for first opening of

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[87] Image made available by DIAMM and downloaded from *Biblioteca estense universitaria*, web, 23 July, 2014, http://bibliotecaestense.beniculturali.it.

the motet, with boxes drawn around the three "ut"s and their corresponding notes in the prima pars. G, F, and C are the pitches that can be sung to the syllable *ut* in the six-syllable system of solmization current in the fifteenth century.[88] Notably, the third occurrence in Figure 2.3, on the seventh staff from the top of the page, includes a direct ascent to a signed bb♭, affirming the implied soft hexachord on F.

Figure 2.3: Triplum from ModE alpha.X.1.11, fol. 121v[89]
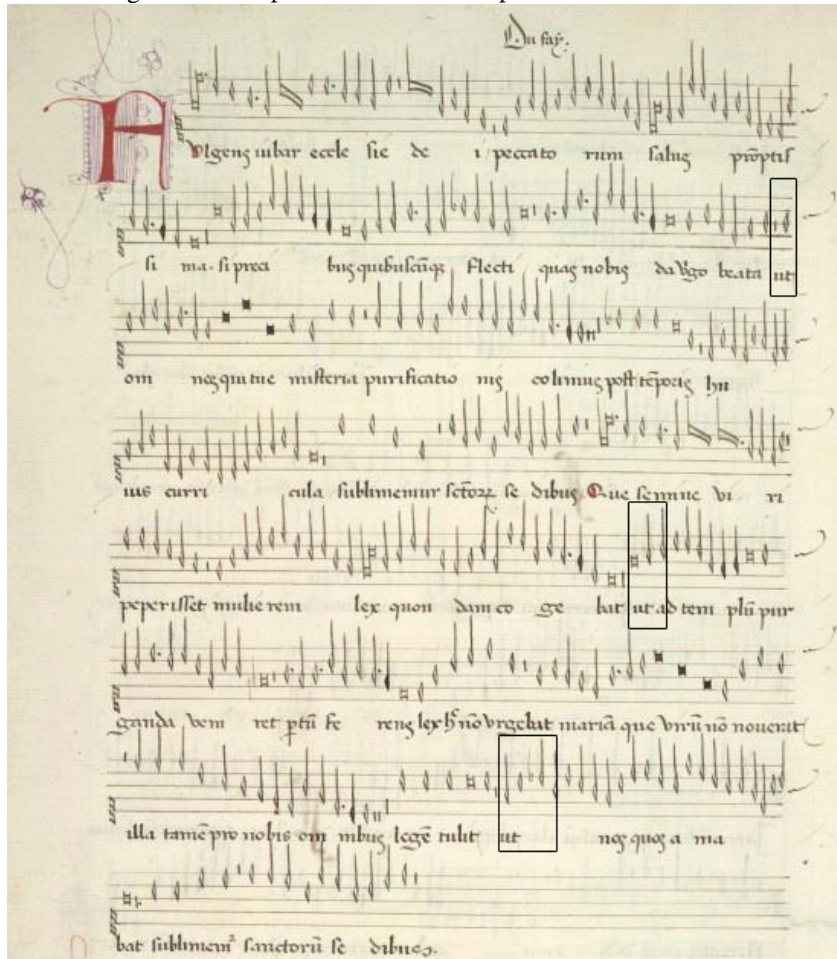
Certainly one or two occurrences of the Latin word "ut" set to a note equivalent to the solmization syllable *ut* in one of the three possible hexachords, could be understood as accidental, but the fact that it happens a total of six times in a single motet on every single

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[88] In the modern edition by Bessler, *Du Fay: Opera Omnia*, vol. I (1951), 124-30, these occur in measures 26, 64, 87, 134, 159, and 184. Solmization will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. For a general introduction to late-Medieval solmization see Cohen, "Notes, Scales, and Modes" (2002).

[89] Image made available by DIAMM and downloaded from *Biblioteca estense universitaria*, web, 23 July, 2014, http://bibliotecaestense.beniculturali.it.

occurrence of this word in the triplum text and uses all three hexachords implies that Du Fay was making a musical pun.[90] This is particularly significant since this top voice was probably performed by the choirboys, who were in the process of being educated about music by the singer named in the acrostic for the *motetus*. If my interpretation of the performance ensemble of this piece is correct the upper two voices, one containing solmization puns and the other referring directly to the act of singing, were intended for the choirboys and Pierre, the very singers who were engaged with music pedagogy and using solmization as a tool on a daily basis.[91]

Understanding the self-referential aspects of this work illustrates how it is representative of the community of musicians associated with Cambrai and how their identity as professionals could find expression in paraliturgical practices, like the paintings of St. Luke for painters' guild altars. Based on the extremely different levels of skill exhibited in the rhymes of the two texts, and awkwardness evident in the motetus, Leofranc Holford-Strevens suggests that the strophic texts of the upper voices, although clearly related in content and form, were collaborative, written by two different authors but intended to work together.[92] Although it certainly could have been used in Purification rituals at Cambrai and elsewhere, it seems more likely that this motet would have been composed for special gatherings of musicians that coincided with the Feast of Mary's Purification. Wegman has shown both that gatherings of musicians were common on Marian feasts and also that professional and courtly musicians were often able to travel in or around Lent, since this was a time when there were restrictions

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[90] With the word "pun," I do not intend to imply that this was a frivolous choice or action on Du Fay's part. In the discussion after my paper for the special session "Notation as mode of thinking" at the CESR, organized by Katelijne Schiltz and Wolfgang Fuhrmann, all the the participants had a fruitful discussion of the serious implications of ludic elements in fifteenth century culture. I am grateful for the responses of Katelijne, Wolfgang, Philippe Vendrix, Fabrice Fitch, and Jane Alden and I look forward to the completion of Katelijne's book, *Music and Riddle Culture in the Renaissance* (forthcoming 2015), for a thorough discussion of various aspects of this topic.

[91] Although Stefano Mengozzi has recently argued that solmization was less uniform than modern scholars have assumed, even its greatest opponent, Ramos de Parejia, used it as a way to talk about notes and musical space, so it was clearly a reliable and universal way to communicate about pitches, at least in writing. For more evidence of how it was employed as a point of reference in teaching music theory and improvised counterpoint see Anna Maria Busse Berger's *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (2005), 85-98 and 118-40.

[92] Holford-Strevens suggests that the triplum text might be a pre-existent text which Du Fay responded to in writing the acrostic-bearing motetus text. "Du Fay the Poet?" (1997), 148-9.

on elaborate entertainments and music.[93] Since Purification often falls in or near the beginning of Lent, it could be an excellent time for a meeting of singers, at or near Cambrai.[94] Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar* could easily have served the dual purpose of celebrating the Virgin on her Purification while honoring the musical establishment gathered at Cambrai through a motet bearing a covert message to the fellowship of singers, both through an acrostic and solmization puns. Du Fay's motet fits well within the traditional form and function of the isorhythmic motet, but contains the seeds of innovation and personal devotional concerns that will flower into the elaborate and personal prayer motets of the next generation.

Du Fay, *Ave regina celorum III*

As mentioned before, Du Fay's third setting of the *Ave regina celorum* antiphon provides the perfect musical foil for guild paintings of St. Luke.[95] Although the only extant source for the motet is the Roman manuscript, VatSP 80, the Cambrai accounts for 1464-1465 record a payment to Simon Mellet for copying "une athienne de N. Dame *ave regina celorum* c^t II feulles que a fait Me G. du Fay."[96] This implies that it was composed and probably in the repertoire of the cathedral at least ten years before Du Fay provided income for its performance at his deathbed in his last will and testament, drafted in early July 1474.[97] Demonstrating his continued musical relevance, Du Fay does not use the archaic, somewhat rigid structures of the occasional isorhythmic motet for his *Ave regina celorum III*. Instead his personal prayer motet and musical testament integrate his individual concerns into an

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[93] Wegman, "From Maker to Composer" (1996), "The Minstrel School" (2002), and "Ockeghem, Josquin and Brumel" (2008).

[94] Barbara Haggh and Craig Wright have shown how important Cambrai was as a center for musicians in the fifteenth century. Haggh, "Collegiate Church of St. Gudila" (2001); and C. Wright, "Performance Practices" (1978). It is also suggestive that when Ockeghem stayed with Du Fay for fifteen days in 1464, it was from 20 February to 5 March, a period that fell within Lent. C. Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai" (1975), 227.

[95] Previous discussions of this motet include Fallows, *Dufay* (1982), 134 and 211-12; Cumming, *Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (1999), 277-78, 286-87; Nosow, *Ritual Meanings* (2012), 3, 196-200 and 204-5; T. Brothers, "*Contenance angloise*" (1997), 28, and *Chromatic Beauty* (1997) 185-7; Planchart, "Du Fay's Last Works" (1995) 55-63, and "Du Fay's Benefices" (1988); Wegman, "*Miserere supplicanti Dufay*" (1995), 19, 31; C. Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai" (1975), 219-20.

[96] The entry for the copying of a long setting of the *Ave regina celorum* by Du Fay, presumably the one with personal tropes, is transcribed in Houdoy, *Histoire Artistique* (1880), 195.

[97] Du Fay's will and testament are also available in Houdoy, *Histoire Artistique* (1880), 409-14.

innovative hybrid of generic elements from the tenor and chant-paraphrase motet subgenres.[98] For example, Du Fay weaves a series of short prayers for his own soul and the welfare of the choir, elements of the occasional tenor motet, into the text and musical fabric of an entire pre-existent Marian chant, a common feature of devotional chant-paraphrase works.[99] Although the new tropes and antiphon text are only clearly laid out in the superius voice, the contratenor and bassus each have an extended section of text from both the antiphon and the original tropes, mostly in the second opening for the piece.[100] The musical content of these lines also incorporates elements of the preexisting antiphon with highly original sections that amplify the ardent pleas in the novel tropes.

Figure 2.4: *Ave regina celorum* antiphon, from *Liber Usualis* (1961), 274-5.

1a   A - ve * Regína cae- ló- rum,

1b   A- ve Dómi na Ange-ló- rum :

2a   Sál-ve rá-dix, sálve pórta, Ex qua mún- do lux est ór- ta :

2b   Gáude Vírgo glo-ri- ó-sa, Su-per ó-mnes spe-ci- ó- sa :

3   Vá-   le,   o valde decóra, Et pro nó- bis Chrí- stum * exó-   ra.

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[98] Julie Cumming provides a thorough analysis of the range of motets composed around a cantus firmus between 1450-1475 and divides them into subgenres based on their features. My discussion in the following pages relies heavily on her work, particularly the discussion and tables in *Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (1999), 257-87.

[99] Rather than the isorhythmic approach which would repeat a shorter segment of chant according to some series of diminution in the tenor.

[100] See Reynolds, facsimile of *San Pietro B 80* (1986), fol. 27v.

The *Ave regina celorum* is a votive prayer that was incorporated into a rotation of votive Marian antiphons sung at the end of the monastic office of Compline, among other flexible public and private uses, and was often reproduced in Books of Hours for devotional contemplation.[101] The version of the antiphon tune that Du Fay used for his personal motet is very similar to the one in the modern *Liber usualis* (shown in Figure 2.4), classified as transposed mode 6. It demonstrates a plagal range centered on C and incorporates an occasional b^b. The text and music are from the twelfth century and reflect late-Medieval chant structures, including a clear modal center and symmetry of musical and textual lines. The first four lines are clearly divided into couplets, which I have labeled 1a/1b and 2a/2b in the first column of Figure 2.4 and alongside the Latin text in Figure 2.5.

Figure 2.5: Text for Du Fay's *Ave regina celorum III*

PRIMA PARS

1a:	Ave regina caelorum	Hail Queen of heaven
1b:	Ave domina angelorum.	Hail mistress over the angels.
	*Miserere tui labentis **Du Fay***	*Have mercy on thy dying **Du Fay***
	Peccatorum ne ruat in ignem fervorum.	*Lest, a sinner, he be hurled down into hot hellfire.*
2a:	Salve radix sancta	Hail holy source,
	Ex qua mundo lux est orta.	From which light entered the world.
	Miserere genetrix Domini	*Have mercy, Mother of God,*
	Ut pateant portae caeli debiles.	*So that the gate of Heaven may be opened.*

SECUNDA PARS

2b:	Gaude gloriosa	Rejoice, glorious one,
	Super omnes speciosa.	Beautiful beyond measure.
	*Miserere supplicanti **Du Fay***	*Have mercy on thy suppliant **Du Fay***
	Sitque in conspectu tuo mors eius speciosa	*And may his death be beautiful in thy sight.*
3:	Vale, valde decora	Prosper greatly, most comely one,
	Et pro nobis semper Christum exora.	And pray for us always to Christ.
	*In excelsis ne damne**mur** miserere **nobis***	*Lest **we** be damned on high, have mercy upon **us***
	Et juva ut in mortis hora	*And help us so that in the hour of death*
	***Nostra** sint corda decora.*	***Our** hearts may be serene.*[102]

These textual repetitions are reflected by similar musical structures, using the double-versicle form associated with sequences. It was an extremely popular antiphon as is demonstrated by the fact that Du Fay alone had already composed at least two settings of this text and Julie Cumming lists ten different motets based on it in the index of works considered in her book

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[101] Hiley, *Western Plainchant* (1993), 105; and Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (1963), 81-8.
[102] Translation from Fuller, *European Musical Heritage* (2006), 159-60. The text is discussed and partially amended by Planchart, "Du Fay's Last Works" (1995), 55-63.

The Motet in the Age of Du Fay.[103] As a chant that was performed regularly in Compline as well as at a variety of endowed, votive commemorations, it is not surprising that there are so many different musical settings, especially utilizing devotional types of music, and it likely served regularly as the basis for improvised counterpoint.

The text of Du Fay's personal tropes are integrated into the antiphon text in Figure 2.5. The double-versicle structure of the antiphon is labeled to the left, with Du Fay's original insertions indicated in italics. Typical of Marian prayers from the late-Medieval period, the first five lines of the antiphon text begin with common Marian greetings—Ave, Salve, Gaude, and Vale—echoing the angelic salutation of Mary by the angel Gabriel, the Annunciation, and the ubiquitous *Ave Maria* prayer.[104] Du Fay carefully divides the antiphon text and music between the two partes of the motet, alternating the stock Marian prayer with his four original insertions. He arranges the texts so that each pars opens with a short section based entirely on motives from the original Marian chant and then moves directly to the two tropes including his own name (highlighted in bold in Figure 2.5). The text for each pars ends with a more universal appeal for assistance at the hour of death. In the secunda pars this request is made explicitly more general though the use of the second person plural (also shown in bold in Figure 2.5).[105]

I argue that this shift from the individual to the collective is an expression of a sense of community amongst musicians at Cambrai and among professional singers in general, similar to that evident in guild paintings and memorial membership rosters for guilds and confraternities. For Du Fay, "us" first and foremost indicated all the singers necessary for performance of his motet since his insertions were original for this composition. The singers were the people that formed the core of celebrants at the liturgical ceremonies during which his composition could be sung, although other non-musical celebrants and observers could also have been included as well as the general population of the diocese. In his last will and

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[103] See the entries on 385-86. Some of these may reflect slightly different versions of the text and melody. The only incipit that has more entries is the *Salve regina*, with 18 settings. The *Regina celi* has 9 entries, and *Tota pulchra* has 8. Not surprisingly these represent two Marian antiphons and a closely related centonate text from the Song of Songs and Cumming classifies most of them as kinds of cantilena settings.

[104] For more on the history of the *Ave Maria* see Anderson, "Enhancing the *Ave Maria*" (2010); Hatter, "Reflecting on the Rosary" (2012); and Freeman, "On the Origins" (1991).

[105] For more on music and the hour of death see Nosow, "Song and the Art of Dying" (1998).

testament, drafted in early July 1474, Du Fay indicated that he wished for his motet *Ave regina caelorum III* to be sung at his deathbed, in the actual *hora mortis* as stated in the text, shown in Figure 2.6. Du Fay went so far as to specify that the desired ensemble for his motet was different from the hymn, which was to be sung just before. For the motet he wanted to have choirboys alone on the superius, supported by their master and one choirboy on the upper contratenor and two other men on the lower two parts, the cantus firmus tenor and the low contratenor bassus.

Figure 2.6: Text from Du Fay's last will and testament, July 1474

…si, hora pati possit, sint octo ex sociis ecclesie juxta lectum meum qui, submissa voce cantent hympnum *Magno salutis gaudio*, pro quo lego XL solidos P.

quo hympno finito pueri altaris, una cum magistro eorum et duobus ex sociis, inibi similiter presentes decanetent motetum meum *Ave regina caelorum* pro quo eis lego XXX solidos." (Houdoy, 410)

…if time allows, let eight of the companions of the church sing the hymn *Magno salutis gaudio* next to my bed in a low voice, for which I bequeath 40 Parisian soldi,

and when this hymn is finished, the altar boys, one with their teacher and two of the companions, will in the same place also sing my motet, *Ave regina caelorum*, for which I bequeath them 30 soldi.[106]

Although they are labeled differently, the four voices in *Fulgens iubar* and *Ave regina celorum III* have almost identical cleffing (shown in Figure 2.7) and use very similar ranges.

Figure 2.7: Comparison of Du Fay's clefs

Fulgens iubar	C1	C3	C3	C4
Ave regina celorum	C1	C3	C3	C5

Therefore the same arrangement of voices would have been adequate for both of these musician's motets. Du Fay requests this specific ensemble, even though the eight adults who had just sung the hymn could certainly have also performed the motet.[107] As discussed

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[106] Translated by Lars Lih. It is notable that Du Fay provided 40 soldi for the performance of the hymn, 10 soldi more than he provides for his motet. Probably this indicates that he desired the hymn to be performed in polyphony rather than just plainchant and it likely refers to a lost composition. As the hymn was to be performed in a soft voice by eight of the "socii," probably indicating adult singers, this demonstrates that the unsurprising fact that the adult ensemble would be paid more per performance. This is also another example of pairing a hymn and motets in endowed performance.

[107] The implications of this deserve further investigation. Seemingly a single choirboy would join their master, who was probably singing in falsetto, in singing the altus. Would this improve the blend and how would it alter

previously, this arrangement is not uncommon at Cambrai and similar specification are made in a number of entries in the extant obit books from this time period. This is significant since, as arguably the most famous musician at Cambrai at the time and a long time leader in the musical community, Du Fay shows that he wished to be surrounded by his musical progeny, both the adult male ensemble and the boys, at this most important transition point from life to death.[108]

It is often overlooked, however, that even during Du Fay's lifetime this was certainly not the only appropriate performance location and context for this motet. Evidently this setting of the *Ave regina celorum* was a significant enough part of the repertoire of the choir to be officially copied by Simon Mellet for the Cathedral, a full ten years before Du Fay's death.[109] This indicates that although Du Fay certainly had specific intentions at the time of composition for his motet's use at his deathbed, made clear both by the textual tropes and the text of his last will and testament, the motet was probably also performed on a regular basis by the choir in other contexts. Thus, both before and after Du Fay's death, the performances of his *Ave regina celorum III* from the cathedral choirbooks and other sources, placed Du Fay and his community repeatedly before the intercessory gaze of the Virgin Mary, just like the many donor portrait bequeathed to chapels and side altars.[110]

Johannes Martini's endowment of a weekly performance of a motet following the Saturday *Salve* service, mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, was just one of many contexts for devotional Marian polyphony. Reinhard Strohm, Kristine Forney, Craig Wright, and others have shown that endowments by individuals and confraternal groups were necessary supplements to the income of singers in the Low Countries in the fifteenth and

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the quality of the sound? Why not have the choirboys also sing the hymn? If the hymn was a composition by Du Fay, it is easy to imagine that he desired to enjoy the strengths of both ensembles on two works composed specifically for each group. Although the relationship between modern and fifteeth-century vocal production is complicated, the number of times that the choirboys or men are specified in the Cambrai documents can give us a glimpse into the desired sound world of fifteenth-century polyphony and seems to warrant more thorough investigation.

[108] Sadly, it was not possible to honor his request during his final hours, but they were performed at the funeral. Houdoy, *Histoire Artistique* (1880), 409-14.

[109] Houdoy, *Histoire Artistique* (1880), 195.

[110] Interestingly in his will, just after his discussion of his deathbed arrangements, he bequeaths a devotional image or donor portrait of Symon le Breton with the Virgin Mary to the grand vicars so that they can display it on the altar during the obit services of both Symon and Du Fay. For a famous example of a donor portrait see Jan van Eyck's *Madonna with Chancellor Rolin* (Paris, Musée du Louvre).

sixteenth centuries.[111] During Du Fay's lifetime he was deeply involved in endowments and a variety of other activities that were building the stability and embellishing the beauty and ritual life of the newly consecrated Cathedral. Du Fay was active in all aspects of the life of the Cathedral, from forays to the south to investigate potential suppliers of wine, to supervising improvements to the choirbooks and musical repertoire, to surveying a damaged canal lock near Cambrai with qualified workmen.[112] By including a personal prayer and a prayer for the larger community of his musical colleagues into an extremely flexible musical item, Du Fay extended his commitment to the health of this community beyond the boundaries of his own lifetime. By composing musical works that were both personal and appropriate for use in multiple musical Marian devotions, Du Fay also ensured that he could be remembered by the *socii de musica* in his own endowed obituary services, but also in other musical services, like Marian processions and the weekly *Salve*.[113]

In *Ave regina celorum III* Du Fay's compositional approach is both innovative and affective, uniting the symbolic power of cantus firmus technique with the sensuous beauty of melodic paraphrase and sweet intervals, showing the influence of trends in popular devotions and the *contenance angloise*.[114] As Julie Cumming points out, "by combining the grandeur of the occasional motet and the cyclic Mass with the sacred liturgical associations of chant paraphrase, Du Fay created a motet with encyclopedic references to the subgenres of the large-

[111] Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval* Bruges (1985); Forney, "Music, Ritual and Patronage" (1987); C. Wright, "Antoine Brumel and Patronage" (1981); Robertson, "The Mass of Guillaume de Machaut" (1992); Haagh, "The Meeting of Sacred Ritual and Secular Piety" (1992).

[112] C. Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai" (1975), 194.

[113] Du Fay endowed a yearly memorial/obit service on the feast of St. Mary of the Snows. Recorded in Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS *B. 39*, fol. 56r and translated and discussed in Strohm, *Rise of European Music* (1993), 285. It is probably not a coincidence that this feast was closely associated with the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, the home of probably the most famous icon of the Virgin Mary believed to have been painted by St. Luke. Du Fay was a member of the newly formed religious confraternity for the another icon of Mary bequeathed to Cambrai in 1451 and also believed to have been painted by St. Luke. This image seems to have been a symbol of the plight of Byzantium and used to foster support and build funding for another crusade. For more information on the Roman image see Wolf, "Cult Images of the Virgin in Mediaeval Rome" (2005), 31-7. For discussions of icons associated with St. Luke in the Low Countries see Wood, "Byzantine Icons in the Netherlands" (2013), and Wilson, "Reflections on St. Luke's Hand" (1995).

[114] For some of the arguments around the *contenance angloise* see Brothers, "*Contenance angloise*" (1997); *Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (1999); and Fallows, "English Influence on Continental Composers" (1987).

scale motet of the time."[115] Thus, at the beginning and regularly throughout the rest of the motet, Du Fay holds back the tenor entry until the other voices have moved on to the personal prayer, evoking the gravity of the occasional motet and ensuring that his personal prayer receives the full sanctifying function of the cantus firmus. The result is that much of the time his prayer tropes are layered on top of the preexisting Marian text, like an isorhythmic motet, but without the restrictive structures of that form. By retaining the segmented approach to the cantus firmus in the tenor from the isorhythmic or occasional motet, but embellishing the melody, and adding a smooth rhythmic profile Du Fay fashions an iconic occasional work but infuses it with the intimacy and delicacy of a devotional image, like van der Weyden's representation of *Maria lactans* in his self-referential St. Luke painting.

Du Fay enhances the cohesiveness and rhetorical power of his composition by exploiting the internal repetitions of the chant through paraphrase and imitative techniques. At the beginning of the motet the first phrase of the chant melody is paraphrased by the superius and then by the contratenor altus before the entrance of the cantus firmus in the tenor. Figure 2.8 shows how Du Fay paraphrases the first line of the antiphon, phrase 1a from Figure 2.4, maintaining the basic outline, but adding rhythmic vitality and embellishing the melody, especially at points of arrival.

Figure 2.8: Du Fay's paraphrase of phrase 1a compared with the antiphon melody, superius [116]

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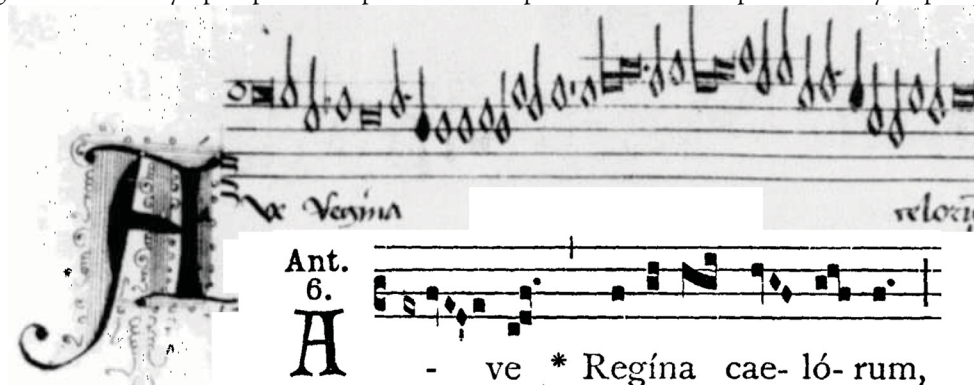
[115]*Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (1999), 278. She shows how this famous motet was connected to complex of three anonymous motets that blend chant paraphrase and tenor motet features—*Ave beatissima civitas* from TrentC 89, *Vidi speciosam* from LucAS 238 and VatS 15, and *Ave Maria* from TrentC 91.
[116] Images in the following figures are drawn from Reynolds's facsimile of *San Pietro B 80* (1986), and *Liber Usualis* (1961), 274-5.

The superius line is the upper voice in a duo with the contratenor altus. Following this duo, the contratenor altus presents a slightly different paraphrase of the same melody, but this time with the next phrase of text, phrase 1b, shown in Figure 2.9. The contratenor line is now the upper voice of a duo, this time with the bassus. In both of these, the paraphrased melody is at the top of the musical texture, presenting the highly recognizable opening phrase of the chant twice before the entry of the actual tenor, signaling the sacred associations of the cantus firmus for both earthly and heavenly listeners before stating Du Fay's personal prayer request in the newly written trope.

Figure 2.9: Du Fay's paraphrase of phrase 1b compared with the antiphon melody, contratenor

The secunda pars also opens with a paraphrase of the chant, this time line 2b, in both the superius and bassus. Figure 2.10 shows the opening melodic figures of the superius, bassus and tenor compared to the chant melody from the *Liber usualis*.

Figure 2.10: Opening of the secunda pars, superius, bassus, and tenor

Interestingly, the superius and tenor sing the motive an octave apart in basically the same values, creating a simple point of imitation. The only minor difference between the two lines is that the superius fills in the initial third with a dotted rhythm, but retains the same ascending

fifth. The bassus starts an octave lower than the superius and sings the same, slightly altered motive, but in diminution, halving the values of the superius. Because of the musical repetition integral to the structure of the antiphon, a similar ascending gesture also occurs in line 2a of the original chant, and the opening of line 3 (refer to Figure 2.4). Du Fay also paraphrases both of these motives in non-cantus firmus voices and in both instances the thirds are filled in. In the prima pars, at m. 45 in a modern transcription and shown in Figure 2.11, Du Fay created a two-voice module, with the upper voice of each based on the chant phrase for 2a.[117]

Figure 2.11: Motive and modules derived from phrase 2a of the antiphon[118]
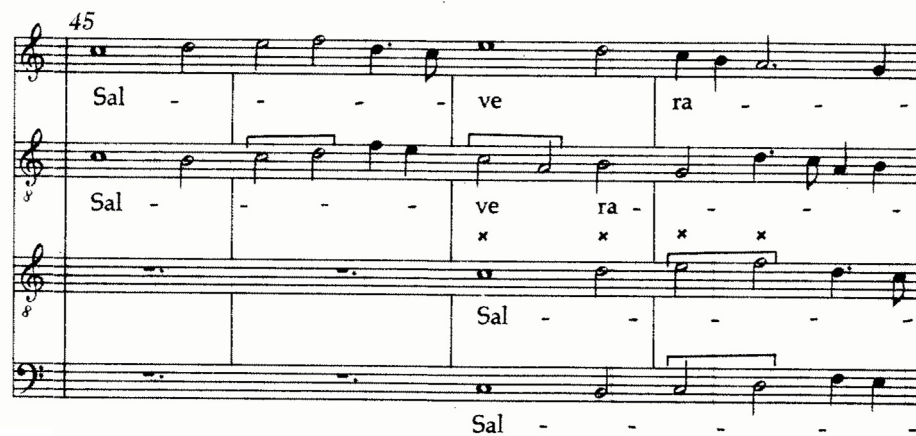
First the module is presented by the superius and altus, then two bars later by the tenor and bassus an octave lower. Later in the secunda pars a very similar motive is presented in the superius (at m. 109 shown in Figure 2.12), paraphrasing the beginning of the final phrase of the antiphon (line 3 in Figure 2.5). The tenor presents this same motive in the same note values at the octave below in m. 112. This use of imitation brings out the similarity between the opening of phrase 3 with the motives used in phrases 2a and b and creating a striking degree of motivic unity.

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[117] A module is a block of counterpoint, in two or more voices, that is repeated. The term was coined by Jesse Ann Owens in "The Milan Partbooks," 284, but has been used extensively by Peter Schubert, see his use of this term in "Musical Commonplaces" (2010), and Julie Cumming, especially see her description of the development of this kind of compositional technique in "From Two-Part Framework to Movable Module" (2013).

[118] Examples of *Ave regina celorum* III in score are all taken from Dufay, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Bessler, vol. 5 (1966), 124-30.

Figure 2.12: Motive derived from phrase 3 of the antiphon

Vá-   le,   o valde decóra,

Although it is possible that Du Fay was working with a slightly different version of the chant, it seems likely that he smoothed out the differences between the three phrases to strengthen the motivic cohesiveness of both the antiphon and his motet. He certainly brings attention to them by presenting these extremely similar motives in voices other than the tenor. Significantly in his presentation of phrase 3 of the cantus firmus, Du Fay withholds the highest note, g, until the entrance of the last personal trope. After the short statement of the opening of phrase 3 of the chant, shown in Figure 2.12, the tenor rests for a full 21 breves before continuing the chant paraphrase, shown in Figure 2.13.

Figure 2.13: Completion of phrase 3 and entrance of final personal trope

Set in homophony against the maxima g in the tenor, the longest possible value that could be notated in this mensuration, this striking moment marks the decisive move to the second person plural and precedes the most rhythmically complex section of the motet.

The extended trio section after the end of the cantus firmus statement in m. 133, includes a lively *stretto fuga* between the superius and contratenor altus which draws attention to the skill of the singers in the act of singing. Lasting for 6.5 longs, with an accompanimental bassus in similar small note values, this passage contrasts with the smooth musical surface of the rest of the motet.[119] Through this compositional gesture Du Fay reinforces the decisive move to the second person plural, overtly extending the prayer function to the performers of the motet. Through various imitative uses of chant-derived mottos, the distribution of the paraphrased cantus firmus in the tenor, and textural changes for dramatic points in the text, the votive antiphon and personal tropes are rendered into a powerful, textually and musically cohesive devotional object and stunning work of art. These subtle compositional choices expand Du Fay's personal request into a universal plea for the musical community, appropriate for use in a variety of votive liturgical contexts.

Du Fay's Musical Signature: Signifying the Musical Profession with Solmization Puns

Like other musicians in the late-fifteenth century, Du Fay includes a reference to his professional occupation by incorporating musical notation into his signature. The three examples shown in Figure 2.14 are drawn from three different kinds of sources, but each is directly connected to Du Fay's construction of his public self.[120] The first is one of the four rebuses or decorative shields from the corners of Du Fay's funeral monument from St.

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[119] The term *stretto fuga* was coined by John Milsom (see "'Imitatio.' 'Intertextuality,' and Early Music" (2005), 146-51) as a way to label the practice of improvising or writing a canon at the time interval of one unit of consonance. It has since been used and expanded by Peter Schubert and Julie Cumming. Depending on the interval of imitation, by following certain rules two or even three singers could improvise imitative polyphony and it was a technique commonly used in written music. For the best general description see the section on it in Schubert, "From Improvisation to Composition" (forthcoming); and also Schubert, *Modal Counterpoint* (2008). For an excellent analysis using it as one of many compositional techniques see Cumming, "Composing Imitative Counterpoint" (2011).

[120] Famous examples include the famous music scribe, Petrus Alamire, and attributions for the composers including Pierre de la Rue and Alexander Agricola in the Segovia manuscript. Herbert Kellman has shown that Alamire is a sobriquet, probably created by Peter van den Hove to advertise his professional status, while the other examples cited might be just scribal "puns," and may or may not have been used by the composers. For an insightful discussion of signatures see Wegman, "Isaac's Signature" (2011).

Stephen's chapel, which according to Fallows, was completed, except for the date, before his death and certainly approved if not designed by Du Fay himself.[121] The other two are signatures, one from an official receipt for salary due to another musician at Savoy and the other is a letter from Du Fay to Piero and Giovanni de' Medici.[122] Both the signatures and the funeral monument incorporate a combination of letters and musical notation, although the rebus version is more compact and symbolic of his full name and profession.

Figure 2.14: Examples of Musical Notation in Du Fay's Name

Corner of Du Fay's funeral monument.[123]
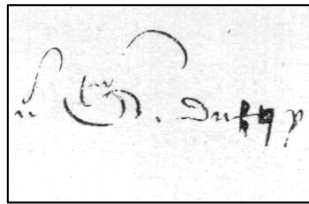
Receipt from Savoy signed by Du Fay.[124]
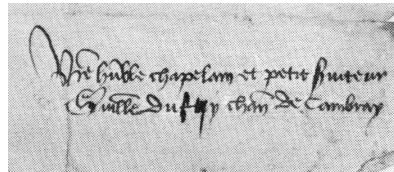
Autograph letter from Du Fay to Piero and Giovanni de' Medici.

In each signature, after the "Du" comes a c-clef with a single staff line through it containing a long, followed by the letter y. In the funeral monument the line curves around to become the capital letter G, standing for his first name, "Guillaume," and the arrangement of the "du" and "y" are vertical, filling the upper and lower halves of the G. In the system of solmization standard in Du Fay's time, the note c could be solmized "fa" in the hard hexachord based on g.[125] Du Fay clearly assumed that the people who would need to interpret his signature on these documents would be educated enough about music theory and solmization practice to interpret and appreciate his musical pun.[126] The use of a form of it as a heraldic device on his

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[121] *Dufay* (1982), 82.

[122] Fallows, *Dufay* (1982), Ill. 18, discussed on page 71.

[123] Photo by Stuart Frost, accessed on *Flickr*, www.flickr.com/photos/stuartmfrost/, accessed 20 May 2014.

[124] Both the signatures are scanned from Fallows, *Dufay* (1982), Ill. 18 and 19.

[125] It could also be "sol" in the soft hexachord, based on f with b♭, and could also serve as the first note of the natural hexachord, solmized as "ut." Solmization will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

[126] These are the only examples of Du Fay's signature that I have been able to view and in each he was clearly writing in his capacity as a musician, explaining why he would choose to include notation. It would be interesting to know if he used this form in other contexts.

funeral monument indicates that his status and achievements as a professional musician were central to his identity. Thus he identifies himself as the author of the individual documents, while at the same time reinforcing his identity as a professional musician.

I believe that Du Fay's choice to compose his personal musical prayer around the *Ave regina celorum* was influenced by the relationship between his musical signature and two prominent musical features of this version of the votive antiphon. As mention before, the *Ave regina celorum* melody (shown in Figure 2.4) revolves around C, beginning and ending almost every phrase with this note, the same note used by Du Fay in his signature and in the heraldic device on his funeral monument.[127] In addition to this, the antiphon exploits the affective quality of "fa," introducing B^b in the first pair of phrases and changing to B natural in the second. In fifteenth-century music theory B was the only letter name used in the gamut that regularly contained two different notes, which could be solmized as either "fa" or "mi."[128] Although Du Fay's signature uses C as "fa," B^b could also be "fa," and would have been another, less succinct option for his orthographically mixed signature. A fifteenth-century professional musician and pedagogue like Du Fay, who signed his name in documents and memorialized himself in stone with a musical pun would certainly be aware of and possibly attracted to the multiple expressions of the solmization syllable "fa," either as the focal note C, or as a signed B^b, in the votive *Ave regina celorum* antiphon, itself an integral part of his professional activities and personal devotions.

I propose that the two most striking moments in this motet, and arguably in the history of fifteenth-century music, are effectively the sounding version of Du Fay's musical signature.[129] These moments depend on both a solmization pun around Du Fay's name and the plaintive affect of invoking a "fa-mi" semitone for the settings of his self-referential tropes through a signed "fa" — "Miserere tui labentis Dufay" and "Miserere supplicanti Dufay" (see Figure 2.5 for the complete text). In each self-referential trope the superius enters after a rest on the note ee^b near the beginning of the pars, the highest note in a descending line. Figure

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[127] Of course, if there is a B^b C can become "sol" and can also be "ut" in other melodic contexts. This ambiguity is inherent to the system of solmization in use in the fifteenth century.
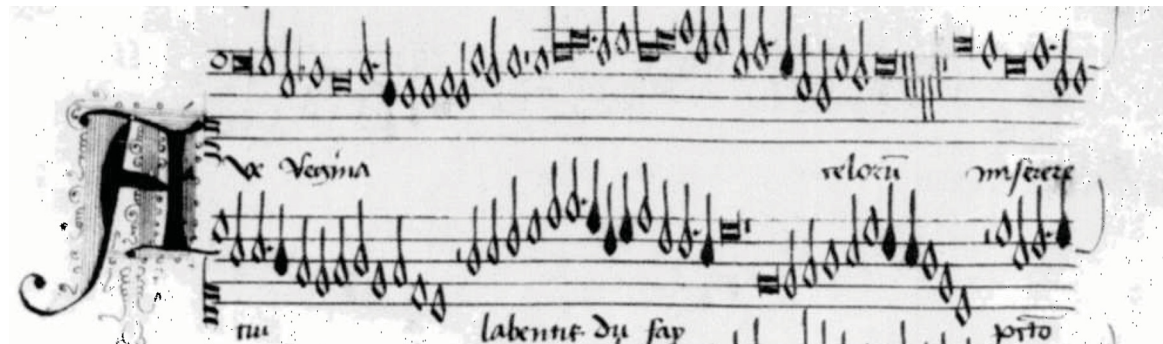
[128] See the example of b fa/mi on a scala generalis by from Gaffurius's *Practica musice* in Figure 6.19. E^b/e natural was considered, for the most part, to be part of fictive music, or outside the normal range of notes in the gamut, even though it was fairly common.

[129] See measures 21 and 86 in Bessler ed., *Du Fay: Opera Omnia*, vol. I (1951), 124-30.

2.15 shows the opening staves of music for the superius voice from both partes of the motet, with the entrance indicated by the word "Miserere" inserted above the staff lines. In the prima pars the first personal trope comes at the end of the first staff, precisely one semibreve after the entrance of first breve of the cantus firmus, while in the secunda pars it is placed right in the middle of the line and participates in an extended point of imitation with the contratenor while the cantus firmus rests.
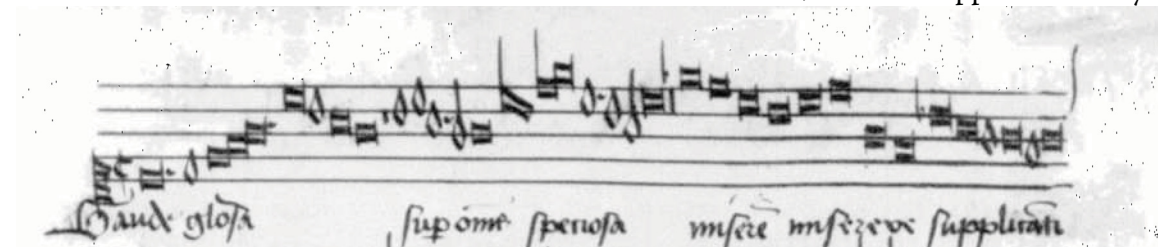
Figure 2.15: Opening of Du Fay, *Ave regina celorum*, Superius (from VatSP 80, 25v and 26v)

PRIMA PARS   "Miserere

tui   labentis Dufay"

SECUNDA PARS   "Miserere, miserere supplicanti Dufay."

Ironically each phrase sets the text syllable "mi" of "miserere" to the note ee[b] which was outside of the normal gamut in the fifteenth century and would have to be solmized as "fa."[130] In both cases, this "fa" is indicated by a "soft b" or flat sign on the staff just before the altered note. According to the practice of *soggetto cavato* or deriving musical subjects from the vowels of a name or phrase, first discussed by Zarlino in his *Istitutioni harmoniche* of 1558 but in use

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[130] Brothers calls the use of signed "fa"s in the personal tropes "discursive," and shows it connections to Du Fay's earlier chansons, *Chromatic Beauty* (1997), 186.

much earlier, the letter "y" could be interpreted as the solmization syllable "mi."[131] Since Du

Fay clearly had an interest in these kinds of puns, as his musical signature itself proves, the

placement of the plaintive ee^b of "fa" on the text syllable "mi" should be understood as a little

solmization puzzle. In this one note Du Fay represented both syllables of "Fay" or "fa mi."

Thomas Brothers proposes that the use of signed "fa"s in Du Fay's personal tropes are, in part,

a compositional expansion of an ambiguity between the two kinds of B in the verson *Ave regina*

celorum antiphon available to Du Fay.[132] Thus in multiple ways Du Fay recognized and

exploited the special affinity between his surname, including both "fa" and "mi," and this

notable feature of the antiphon melody, with B^b and B natural, in the plaintive setting of his

personal tropes.

The importance of the "fa-mi" semitone to Du Fay as a self-reference is made clear

through its prominent usage in music strongly associated with his personal narrative of

salvation. First, although the supplicatory request "Miserere" occurs in each of the four original

tropes, signed "fa"s only occur in the ones that use Du Fay's actual name. In the first of these

the superius enters a semibreve after the first note of the cantus firmus in the tenor on C sol fa

ut, shown in Figure 2.16.

Figure 2.16: Setting of "Miserere tui labentis Dufay," m. 21

[131] As far as I know, the first instance of this is in the ostinato figure of Josquin's *Vive le roy* where the "y" of "Roy" is performed as an E in the natural hexachord and a B in the hard. Zarlino, *Istitutioni harmoniche (Venezia, 1558)* (1965).
[132] *Chromatic Beauty* (1997), 186.

The superius sings a notated ee[b] which would have been solmized as "fa," followed by a descent of a semitone to d, which could have been "la" or "mi."[133] When they enter, the upper voices turn the open octave between the bassus and tenor into a sweet minor chord. The flat in the superius is not obligated by the polyphonic context, but is rather added *causa pulchritudinis*, for the extra beauty and plaintive quality of the minor color.[134] Thus Du Fay enhances the supplicatory text by foregrounding the "fa" of his musical signature, both in the C-centric exposition of the cantus firmus and also in the exposed and expressive addition of ee[b] of the superius.

The "fa-mi" semitone is even more prominent in the second personal trope, near the beginning of the secunda pars. The secunda pars opens with two trio sections, the first incorporating a motive based on phrase 2b of the cantus firmus, shown in Figure 2.10. The second trio presents a clearly identifiable canon between the superius and contratenor, supported by a closely related line in the bassus. All three lines are highly inflected with signed "fa"s. Shown in Figure 2.17, the canonic upper voices begin with E flats and the bassus even has a notated A flat while in bars 90-92 each B is carefully marked with a "fa" sign. All three lines exploit a pair of descending semitones, which must be solmized as "fa mi" in standard fifteenth-century hexachordal solmization. Indicated above or below the individual lines in Figure 2.17, this set of periodic imitative entries brings attention to this plaintive "fa mi" motto. This is an expansion of the affective opening of the superius voice in the first personal trope of the prima pars into two other voices and extended by a repetition at other pitch locations (shown above the staff in Figure 2.16).[135] For the superius and contratenor these are E[b] to D and C to B natural in two different octaves, and for the bassus they are written as A[b] to G followed by E[b] to D.

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[133] It would have been "la" if applying the rule of "una nota super la est semper fa" and "mi" if solmizing in the fictive hexachord on B[b]. For more on rules for solmization and musica ficta in the late Medieval period see Cohen, "Notes, Scales, and Modes" (2002), 341-46; and K. Berger, "The Guidonian Hand" (2002) and *Musica Ficta* (1987), 2-55.

[134] *Causa pulchritudinis* is a term used by Anonymous II in the *Tractatus de Discantu*, ed. and trans. by Albert Seay (1978), 32-3. For a detailed discussion of this term and an application of the concept to the fifteenth-century chanson repertoire see Brothers, *Chromatic Beauty* (1997), esp. 185-7 where he discussed the *Ave regina celorum III*.

[135] Although in the prima pars the solmization could have been "fa la" rather than "fa mi" because of polyphonic context, the relationship between the two mottos is clear since they are actually the same pitches.

Figure 2.17: Setting of " Miserere supplicanti Dufay," m. 86

Although the imitation is not exact in the bassus, it clearly still should be solmized as "fa mi" because of the signed "fa"s and may constitute the first motivic use of *inganno*.[136] Also relevant to this discussion, is the fact that when the superius sings the text "Du Fay" it is given the notes e and C, which could, with one mutation, be solmized again as "mi /fa," in m. 95-96 of Figure 2.17. Although this melodic motion does not represent a semitone and relies on a change from the natural to the hard hexachord, the fact of the clear presence the author's actual name and the content of the previous music encourages a broader application of solmization puns. Although the ee^b in the first self-referential trope, shown in Figure 2.16, might seem simply to anticipate the B^b of the chant, which occurs with the next breve, perhaps it is more significant that these chromatic inflections constitute a destabilizing of the harmonic context to reinforce

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[136] *Inganno* is the use of a motive that uses the same solmization syllables but creates a differend melodic outline because of changes between hexachordal locations. The history and use of the term is discussed in Schubert, "A Lesson from Lassus" (1995), 10-11.

the prominence of the syllable "fa" as a representative of Du Fay and his unique relationship with the *Ave regina celorum* antiphon through his musical signature.

The interpretation of these signed "fa"s as the compositional equivalent of his musical signature is reinforced by the incorporation of the second of these musical self-representations into his polyphonic *Missa Ave regina celorum*, another piece which is strongly connected to Du Fay's self-presentation to both earthly and heavenly patrons. This Mass was included in one of the manuscripts bequeathed by Du Fay to Charles the Bold, arguably the most important earthly patron of music in northern Europe during Du Fay's lifetime.[137] In 1471-72 Du Fay instituted a memorial service for himself, providing income to support the performance of a mass on August 5th, the feast of Mary of the Snows.

> Die quinta Augusti in quaquidem solemnitas agitur sancte Marie ad Nives fiet de eadem beata maria missa celebris pro Magistro Guillermo du fay Canonico sacerdote quamdiu uiuet et post decessum eius obitus de xii lb. turon. distribuendis prout in missa domini decani continetur.

> On the 5th of August, when the solemn feast of Saint Mary of the Snow is celebrated, will be sung a solemn Mass of the same Blessed Virgin Mary for Magister Guillermus Du Fay, canon and priest, throughout his lifetime, and after his death an obit, with 12 *livres* of Tour to be distributed in the manner described in the Mass of the chapter dean.[138]

As Strohm points out, the entry in the obit book indicates that a Marian mass was to be performed each year until his death and that after his death the performance would change to an obit service, probably including his now lost Requiem mass. It is likely that the "missa de... beata virgine" would have been his *Missa Ave regina caelorum*, a polyphonic work based not only on the same votive antiphon but also parodying and quoting polyphony from his personal prayer motet, *Ave regina caelorum* III.[139] In most of the sources for this mass the middle of the final movement, *Agnus dei* II, includes a striking section of music borrowed directly from the motet, quoting exactly the music of Figure 2.17. Interestingly, Wegman has shown that in the copy of the Mass in Brussels 5557, the quotation from Dufay's motet was a later addition or

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[137] Discussed in C. Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai" (1975), 218.

[138] Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS *B. 39*, fol. 56r. Transcription and translation from Strohm, *Rise of European Music* (1993), 285.

[139] Strohm proposes that he composed the Mass precisely for his memorial service, *Rise of European Music* (1993), 284-6. Planchart, although he originally proposed that it was composed for the dedication of Cambrai Cathedral, has accepted Strohm's idea and elaborated on it in "Du Fay's Last Works" (1995). Fallows discusses the musical connections between the Mass and motet, *Dufay* (1982), 210-11.

second version.[140] Whether this was recomposed by Dufay or constitutes an elaboration by another musician who was aware of that this section of the *Agnus dei* II was a direct quotation from the motet, it reinforces a personal interpretation of this passage.[141] The relatively drastic chromatic movement and remarkably stark, imitative texture make both of these moments stand out from the rest of the composition. Whether in the motet or polyphonic Mass, this eloquently constructed polyphonic complex musically represents Du Fay before the Virgin Mary, just like Rogier van der Weyden's portrait of himself in the guise of St. Luke, kneeling before the Virgin and Child.

Conclusion

Thorough analyses of these two self-referential compositions by Du Fay demonstrate how musical and professional identities could be and were expressed through music, and how intimately these identities were connected with fifteenth-century devotions and professional identities. As a prominent musical figure with a stable and fairly well-documented career as a church administrator, and connections to musical establishments in both Italy and Northern Europe, Du Fay presents an excellent point of reference for understanding what it meant to be a successful musician in Europe in the fifteenth century. Du Fay's incredible skill in navigating the complex political environment of Italy, sliding deftly between Rome and Savoy in the early years of his career, has long been admired.[142] What has not been as widely recognized is how his self-presentation in documents and late compositions express a continued dedication to this work of network building, both for professional musicians and for the general welfare of Cambrai.

[140] "*Miserere supplicanti Dufay*" (1995), 21.

[141] The fact that this is clearly a reworking of the Mass reinforces the relevance of this quotation as a musical reference to Du Fay, whether the recomposition was completed by Du Fay or by another musician who was aware of both self-reflexive compositions and wished to enhance the Mass with the inclusion of the beautiful music of Du Fay's personal trope. Interestingly, Wegman has shown that in the copy of the Mass in Brussels 5557, the quotation from Dufay's motet was a later addition or second version. Whether this was Dufay's intention or an elaboration by another scribe, it connects the personal intention of the two works.

[142] Du Fay also created various occasional compositions that document or narrate his early political and professional movements, from *Adieu ce bons vins de Lannoys*, a song of farewell to the region of Laon dated 1526, to the acrostic bearing, occasional motet for Robert Auclou, *Rite majorem Jacobum canamus*. On *Adieu* see Fallows, *Dufay* (1982), 26-8, 86-98. On *Rite majorem* see Fallows 108-13; Planchart, "Du Fay's Benefices" (1988), 128-9 and "Four Motets of Guillaume Du Fay in Context" (2012), 17-25.

Du Fay's funeral slab (shown in Figure 2.18) and memorial endowment represent his delicate balance between Burgundian, French, and Roman political spheres through the inclusion of prominent local saints and Roman liturgical connections. Although there is no agreement about who the other figures are, this monument certainly includes a self-portrait of the composer in the figure kneeling to the far left, which has unfortunately been significantly damaged. The central image is the resurrection of Christ, an obvious subject for a funeral monument. Considering the numerous references to St. Waldtrude and Du Fay's name saint, St. William the Confessor or William of Bourges, in Du Fay's will, it is likely that these saints are represented in his funeral monument.

Figure 2.18: Du Fay's Funeral Monument,
Palais des Beaux Arts de Lille.[143]

The adult female figure directly behind Du Fay probably represents St. Waldtrude, the patron saint of Mons.[144] Her four children, also important local saints, would account for the two solders in front and the two smaller female figures in the background.[145] The male figure on

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[143] Scanned from Fallows, *Dufay* (1982), Illus. 1, inserted between pages 4-5.

[144] Houdoy, *Histoire artistique* (1880), 409-14. Du Fay's connections to Mons are catalogued by Fallows, *Dufay* (1982), 64-5.

[145] Fallows also interprets this figure as St. Waldtrude, but does not seem to realize that in many hagiographies she is said to have four children, not three, thus accounting for both of the saintly solders. Their names are Saints Landry, Dentelin, Aldetrude, and Madelberta. She comes from a family of saints, with both her parents being saints, a sainted sister who is also Saint Aldetrude and she was married to the man who came to be known as Saint Vincent of Soignies. See Dunbar, *Dictionary of Saintly Women*, vol. 2 (1904-5), 298-99.

the far right behind Christ and holding a staff could be St. William of Bourges, who was an abbot and was known for his austerity. The monument situates Du Fay's devotional life squarely in the north and reflects the political networks of Cambrai, with a family of Belgian saints accompanied by a French one. In addition the establishment of his endowment on the feast of St. Mary of the Snows, a new feast imported from Rome's Santa Maria Maggiore, confirms his interest in supporting Cambrai's Roman connections, reinforced by the exchange of personnel between Cambrai and the Papal curia.[146] The spiritual and professional concerns thoughtfully laid out and provided for in his will and presented in his memorial reinforce the similar concerns evident in his self-reflexive motets and polyphonic Mass.[147]

In *Fulgens iubar* Du Fay uses the occasional function of the traditional isorhythmic motet, a pithy acrostic, and solmization puns to draw attention to the musical profession. In his final *Ave regina celorum* setting Du Fay transforms the antiphon setting by incorporating some isorhythmic elements with more modern forms of devotional music and personal concerns both in the text and the music. Through a dramatic use of cantus firmus and paraphrase techniques Du Fay crafts a personal musical object, blending tradition and innovation to convey a compelling narrative of salvation, exemplified by his musical signature or a kind of self-portrait. The fact that this musical self-portrait was comprehensible when transferred into the final "Agnus" of the Mass, where it musically signifies Du Fay in an appeal both to the Virgin, as the recipient of the *Ave regina* itself, and to Christ, as the Agnus Dei, confirms the growing importance of compositions as made objects and as the product of individual skill.

Yet *Fulgens iubar* and *Ave regina celorum III* are only two of Du Fay's many pieces that make reference to music-making or musicians, others including his *Hé, compaignons*, which lists nine musicians, and *Je veuil chanter de cuer joyeux*, which sets a text that forms an acrostic

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[146] Rome was important for all clerics. It was especially important for musicians as the locus of benefice acquisition and the home of the Sistine Chapel choir, the ultimate musical ensemble for clerical musicians. For more on the importance or Rome to professional musicians see Starr, "Rome as the Centre of the Universe" (1992) and "Musical Entrepreneurship" (2004).

[147] He also supervised the recopying and significant improvement of the manuscripts and repertoire of the choir at Cambrai, also demonstrating his interest in the continued health of the musical establishment.

for an individual who was possibly a singer and also talks about singing.[148] David Fallows has proposed that Du Fay also wrote an important musical lament for Binchois, *En triumphant de cruel deuil*, a piece that will be discussed in Chapter 4:.[149] In addition, Du Fay was himself the subject of Compere's famous musicians's motet, *Omnium bonorum plena*, and his name was included in Moulu's *Mater floreat florescat*, as well as being listed amongst the historical musical figures in music theory texts for many generations. In this context, how should we understand the high number of self-reflexive works that survive by Du Fay and the composers of the subsequent generations?

Although self-referentiality was certainly not new in the fifteenth century, if, like the self-referential paintings of St. Luke for artist's guilds, they represent the way that musicians expressed connections amongst themselves as a corporate body with shared education and skills, they can provide a window into the process of professionalization that led to the first professional composers and the establishment of individual musical voices and styles. The public, corporate devotions of guilds and confraternal groups provide an excellent forum for teasing out these complex threads of fifteenth-century constructions of professional identity and devotion as expressed by musicians. Du Fay, like Rogier van der Weyden, reflects contemporary devotional practices while situating his memorial artifacts and musical signature or self-portrait within a venerable tradition, providing tools for future generations of composers. The following chapters will explore how two closely related compositional trends, musician's motets (Chapter 3:) and musical laments for musicians (Chapter 4:), are related to the structures of musical community as they were expressed in Du Fay's self-referential motets.

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[148] On the connection between some of the singer's and the Malatesta musical establishment see Planchart, "Du Fay's Benefices" (1988), 124.

[149] Fallows give the argument for interpreting *En triumphant* as Du Fay's lament for Binchois in "Two More Dufay Songs" (1975), 358-9.

Chapter 3:   *Ora pro nobis*: Aspects of Self-Reference in Musical Prayers for Musicians

I have identified a total of ten pieces composed between c. 1450 and 1505 that can be called "musicians' motets" (shown in Table 2.1). These are all musical prayers that include the names of musicians in the text or refer to the act of musical production as the main subject.

Table 3.1: Musical prayers for and about musicians, c. 1450-1505

Composer	Title	Genre	Features	First Source
Du Fay	Fulgens iubar / Puerpera, pura parens / Virgo post partum quem genuit adoravit	isorhythmic motet	Purification theme, acrostic in motetus, "we" in triplum, solmization puns	1448, Ferrara (ModE alpha.X.1.11)
Du Fay	Ave regina celorum III	tenor motet / chant paraphrase	Marian antiphon with personal tropes, also prayer for singers	1464-74, Rome (VatSP B80)
Compere	Omnium bonorum plena / *De tous biens plaine*	tenor motet (c.f. is a chanson)	Marian prayer for Du Fay and his followers	1460-80, Trent (Trent 91)
Busnois	Anthoni usque limina	constructed tenor motet	St. Anthony, signature, prays for choir	1460-80, Bruges (BrusBR 5557)
Busnois	In hydraulis	constructed tenor motet	Pythagoras and Orpheus, homage to Ockeghem, highlights royal patrons	1466, Innsbruck (Leopold Codex)
Josquin	Illibata Dei virgo	constructed tenor motet	Marian prayer for musicians, acrostic in prima pars, solmization puns in tenor and secunda pars	1495-1500, Rome (VatS 15)
Compere	Sile fragor	imitative motet	Humanistic Marian prayer, describes musical ritual, ends with a festal meal	1495-1500, Rome (VatS 15)
Anon.	Decantemus in hac die	imitative motet	Discusses musical prayers, asks Mary as for aid for "musicians and singers"	1505, Venice (*Motetti libro quarto*)
Josquin	*Ce povre mendiant/ Pauper sum ego*	motet-chanson	Professional advancement, 1st person transposed cantus firmus	1505-6, Bruges (LonBL 35087)

In contrast to earlier motets listing musician employed by a particular patron or in a certain location, these groups of musicians cannot be directly connected through a specific patron.[150]

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[150] While *In hydraulis*, which mentions the Duke of Burgundy and the French King, I feel that the main focus of Busnoys's motet is on the connection between the two musicians in the text, Ockeghem and Busnoys.

Musicians' names can either be directly stated, as they were in two of the four tropes inserted into Du Fay's personal setting of the *Ave regina celorum* antiphon, or incorporated into the text in some slightly concealed but easily identifiable way, like the acrostic which names the master of the choirboys in the *motetus* of Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar*.[151] The texts of many of these pieces also refer to the act of musical prayer, and some pieces include descriptions of the actions of the choir as a corporate body, without naming any individual musicians. Organized by sub-genre, Table 2.1 also shows the date and location for the earliest sources. Relevant textual and musical features are noted in the fourth column. A few of these motets also include musical mottos, like hexachords or solmization themes, or other musical techniques that draw attention to the musical medium, issues that will be discussed in Chapters 5-7.

Self-reference is evident in the text of a composition in two main ways: through the inclusion of the names of individuals known to be musicians, or through the evocation of the act of making music. While the Latin-texted compositions in this category have been referred to as musicians' motets, a term that indicates a sense of corporate identity through the recognition of features that would appeal to professionals or others with musical training, the implications of this sense of musical community have rarely been explored.[152] This seems a particularly important field of enquiry for study of the second half of the fifteenth century, a period which Rob Wegman claims to have seen the birth of the professional composers, and which led to the first single composer prints (beginning with Petrucci's *Missae Josquin*, published in Venice in 1502).[153] While Isaac (the first "court composer") and Josquin certainly stand out for their individual musical and career achievements, they were also members of a broader, interconnected community of musical professionals, all struggling for recognition and

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[151] Both of these examples were discussed in Chapter 2.

[152] Fifteenth century musicians' motets are more commonly used in discussions of the biographies of individuals, rather than explored for their implications as expressions of corporate identity. One notable exception is Higgins discussion of compositions by and for Ockeghem as an expression of "creative patrilineage." For her more recent discussion of this subject see "Lamenting 'Our Master and Good Father'" (2007). Wolfgang Fuhrmann also gave an interesting presentation on the subject entitle "Musicians motets and musicians' motets in the Late Middle Ages: Notation, Self-reflexion and Social Identity" at the conference, "Notation as Mode of Thinking," at Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance – séminaire de musicologie (29-30 May 2014) in Tours. Self-reference and authorship in Machaut and ars subtilior are fairly widely written on and will be discussed later.

[153] For a discussion of the implications of Petrucci's *Missae Josquin*, see Fallows, *Josquin* (2009), 1-7. For the basic discussion of musical professionalization, see Wegman, "From Maker to Composer" (1996).

financial stability in a rapidly changing world.[154] What do the musicians' motets listed in Table 2.1, as traces of this musical community, tell us about how connections between professionals were formed and recognized in the decades leading up to 1500?

These motets are excellent candidates for use in environments associated with musical guilds and confraternities, because they are musical prayers for musicians, relatively independent from specific patrons or courtly contexts. Although there is a certain amount of influence from the courtly environment of chanson production and performance, I will not discuss individual self-referential chansons in this chapter. I have also chosen to exclude pieces like Binchois's *Nove cantum melodiae*, which includes a list of musicians, or Mouton's *Exsultet conjubilando Deo*, which makes explicit reference to the act of singing, because in both of these motets musical references are clearly presented as an extension of service to a specific patron.[155] Most of the pieces include the names of individual musicians either in the text or as an acrostic, except Compere's *Sile fragor*, the anonymous motet, *Decantemus in hac die*, from Petrucci's *Motetti libro quatro*, and Josquin's motet-chanson, *Ce povre mendiant / Pauper sum ego*. Instead the texts of these three pieces, which will be discussed in the second part of this chapter, foreground music through references to professional activities or concerns. Although some of the texts are "autobiographical," many also include references to other musicians, including a "teacher/father" figure from the previous generation.[156] This group of pieces demonstrates connections among musicians through a combination of the memorial and prayer function of naming individuals, and the evocation of group identity with references to specific aspects of the profession, both features of guild and confraternal practice. In the following pages I will

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[154] On Isaac as a "court composer" see Zanovello, "Isaac in Florence, 1502-17" (2008); and Wegman, "Isaac's Signature" (2011). We also have a wonderfully candid, contemporary (and much cited) account of Josquin and Isaac's highly contrasting public personas and compositional strategies, from the Ferrarese agent Gian di Artiganova. See Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara* (2009), 225-8; and Fallows, *Josquin* (2009), 235-39. For a discussion of the particular challenges facing professional church musicians c. 1500 see Wegman, *Crisis of Music* (2005).

[155] Binchois was providing music to celebrate a royal birth and Mouton was honoring Pope Leo the X, possibly as part of the political campaign of the Francis I. Heyink, "Zur Wiederentdeckung der Motu proprio-Erlasse Papst Leos X. an Jean Mouton" (1992), 53-4.

[156] Although Senfl's *Lust hab ich gehabt* seems to be the result of a the same trend and shares many features (including autobiographical content, an acrostic for the composer, an homage to and prayer for a famous teacher, and reference to the tools of the musical craft as a motto) with the musicians' motets, I have not included it because it is a German strophic song from a significantly later period. The unique source for this piece is WienNB 18810 (Augsburg, 1524-33).

attempt to tease out how these interrelated strains of self-reference both built a sense of the musical community and contributed to the elevation of the musical profession, especially composition.

Authoring the Author: Machaut and Establishing Musical Tradition in the 14th Century

Self-referential motets and chansons were not new in the mid-fifteenth century, as numerous compositions and poems by Machaut attest, including the canonic *Ma fin est mon commencement* and the *Voir dit*, and the large number of pieces from the *Ars subtilior* that explicitly discuss music making or musicians.[157] Diverse scholars have discussed issues of authorial voice and signature in both the musical and non-musical poetry of Machaut's highly self-conscious oeuvre.[158] A significant amount of work is required of the reader to unveil most of Machaut's hidden signatures, including writing down "clues" that must be manipulated to find some form of Machaut's name and sometimes also a patron. In his reassessment of Machaut's anagrams, Laurence de Looze demonstrates that the process of "finding" the name "hidden" in the text is actually a fiction, since in reality the reader must know the author in order to either begin or complete the quest. Yet in this ludic process, "the reader authors the author who in turn authorizes the reader's discovery of Machaut in text after text."[159] Nicole Lassahn has pointed out how the complexity of Machaut's anagrammatic signatures, along with various features of the content of his *Remede de Fortune* and the *Dit de la fonteinne amoureuse*, "are related to the explicitly written character of his poems, and to his status as professional writer and *poète*."[160] In her book, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician*, Elizabeth Eva Leach presents a masterful look at the life and works of Machaut and the

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[157] On Machaut see Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician* (2011) and "Dead Famous" (2009) among others. For some discussion of the *Ars subtilior* see Stone, "Self-Reflexive Songs" (2003); Plumley, "Playing the Citation Game" (2003); Tanay, "Fourteenth-Century *Sophismata*" (1998). Ciconia also includes his name in multiple compositions, see Stone, "The Composer's Voice" (2003) and "A Singer at the Fountain" (2001). Also see Bent, *Two 14th-Century Motets in Praise of Music* (1977). Also discussed in the conference presentation by Wolfgang Fuhrmann mentioned in footnote 152 "Musicians motets and musicians' motets."

[158] Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician* (2011). Other important works in this discussion include Lassahn, "Signatures from the *Roman de la rose* to Guillaume de Machaut" (1999); de Looze, "A New Look at the Anagrams of Guillaume de Machaut" (1988); Brownlee, *Poetic Identity* (1984).

[159] de Looze, "A New Look at the Anagrams of Guillaume de Machaut" (1988), 540. He demonstrates his point by showing that the letters of one of Machaut's anagrams can be used to find a wide variety of names, including the contemporary Machaut scholar "Sylvia [H]uot," "Victor [H]ugo," Georges Sand," and "August Rodin" among others, indicating that one finds the name based on more criteria than just the letters. See pages 548-9.

[160] "Signatures from the *Roman de la rose* to Guillaume de Machaut" (1999), 77.

interplay between the musical and non-musical works in his manuscripts, demonstrating how the man is reflected, revealed, and, at points, concealed through the physical artifacts of his works.[161] Machaut thus promotes himself through his work, asserting his status as a professional author through ludic presentations of his own name and drawing attention to the physical and enduring qualities of written objects. Machaut's self presentation, preserved by and disseminated through the painstaking collection and organization of his works in manuscripts, is a nascent form of the professional identity presented in the late-fifteenth century musicians' motets to be discussed later in this chapter.

The Chantilly codex is a notable source for the purposes of this discussion because it contains a significant number of compositions that name musicians or discuss technical aspects of music making. It is indebted to the momentous figure of Machaut and the dissemination of his work and reputation into the fifteenth century.[162] The self-referential content of this source is perhaps unsurprising because it contains *Ars subtilior* repertoire, itself a mannered musical style, known to regularly present and reflect upon notational complexities and puzzles.[163] Through an analysis of eight compositions with self-referential texts from the Chantilly codex, Jehoasch Hirshberg has argued that these works should be understood as "self-reflexive biting criticism... presented as pejorative illustrations" of the notational and rhythmic innovations of the *Ars subtilior*.[164] Interestingly, Kevin Brownlee has pointed out that it is in the Chantilly codex the term *poête*, a term previously reserved for authorities from antiquity, was first applied to a roughly contemporary author by Deschamps and Andrieu in their musical lament for Machaut.[165] Both the music and text of this lament for Machaut are uniquely preserved in this manuscript.

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[161] Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician* (2011).

[162] The Chantilly codex contains three pieces by Machaut and the lament written for him by Deschamps and Andrieu. See Elizabeth Eva Leach's discussion of Machaut's influence in the Chantilly codex in "Dead Famous" (2009); and also Upton, *Music and Performance* (2013). Upton includes an excellent discussion of the dedicatory ballades in Chantilly, which she claims "can be seen as material survival from an otherwise undocumented social event," 76.

[163] On self-referential or self-reflexive compositions in the Chantilly codex see Hirshberg, "Criticism of Music and Music as Criticism" (2009); Stone, "Self-Reflexive Songs" (2003); and Leach, "Dead Famous" (2009).

[164] "Criticism of Music and Music as Criticism" (2009), 134.

[165] Brownlee, "Identity of Discourse" (1978), 220.

In their analysis of the fifteenth-century ownership and cultural context for the Chantilly codex, Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone propose that its first documented owner, a Florentine banker named Francesco, acquired it between 1526-36 while he was serving the Papal Curia.[166] They assert that "certainly by 1461 and probably several decades earlier, the manuscript had become a collectable, a fifteenth-century Florentine banker's souvenir of a world already antiquated and beginning to be historicized."[167] The next owners were the daughters of an affluent Florentine banker Tommaso Spinelli, with connections to the Medici family.

Table 3.2: Musician's Motets in Chantilly Codex[168]

Alanus, Johannes	*Sub Arturo plebes / Fons citharzancium / In omnem terram*	-Triplum praises contemporary English composers and theorists -Duplum gives history of great musicians, leading up to himself, both composer and performer of this line
B. de Cluni	*Apollinis eclipsatur/ Zodiacum signis/ In omnem terram*	-Triplum praises 12 contemporary composers, "the light of Apollo" equates music and the sun[169] -Duplum praises historical theorists and claims the composer to be master of theory and practice -Added voice in later source about the christianization of pagan practices of music
J. de Porta	*Alma polis religio/ Axe poli cum artica /[In omnem terram]*[170]	-Praise of Augustinian musical achievements -Music of the spheres -Ends with hymn quotations
Anon.	*Inter densas / Imbribus / Admirabile*	-Mensural transformation of a hexachordal cantus firmus through 8 different mensural species
Anon.	*Pictagore per dogmata / O terra sancta / Rosa vernans caritatis*	-Pythagoras -Motetus names poet and composer -Triplum names contemporary singers
Anon.	*D'ardant desir / Se fus d'amer / Nigra est set formosa*	-Notational joke involving red notes, related to content of tenor

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[166] "Buying Books, Narrating the Past" (2004), 96-7. They present a number of alternate scenarios in *Codex Chantilly* (2008), "Introduction," 179-82.

[167] Plumley and Stone, "Buying Books, Narrating the Past" (2004), 98. They also consistently argue that it would not have been performable in the mid-fifteenth century. Yet it seems possible that if the original owner collected the repertoire during his youth in Paris, one of the possible scenarios, or even a little later in Rome, he probably could still do so, even if more modern compositions used different notational conventions.

[168] For additional information on these pieces see the facsimile edition of the *Codex Chantilly*, ed. and intro. by Plumbley and Stone (2008); Bent, *Two 14th-Century Motets in Praise of Music* (1977); Harrison, *Musicorum Collegio* (1986); and Howlett, "*Apollinis eclispsatur*" (2005).

[169] See transcription and translation in Howlett, "*Apollinis eclispsatur*" (2005).

[170] Wolfgang Fuhrman pointed out the similarities between this melody and the melody used in the tenor of *Apollinis eclipsatur/ Zodiacum signis/ In omnem terram* in the presentation noted in footnote 152. Although it sets a different version of the melody, the tenor of *Sub Arturo plebes / Fons citharzancium / In omnem terram* is associated with the same text.

The legal format of the inscription on the front page, recording the receipt of this manuscript by the Spinelli family in 1461 indicates that it may represent the payment of a financial debt, demonstrating that despite the datedness of its repertoire and notation the Chantilly codex continued to be valuable into at least the mid-fifteenth century.[171]

Although most of the repertoire is secular, the fifth and final gathering of the Chantilly codex contains thirteen polytextual motets, six of which are musicians' motets (shown in Table 3.2). Three of these combine long lists of musicians' names while the others demonstrated conspicuous musical features that highlight the written form, including the mensural transformation in *Inter densas / Imbribus / Admirabile* which will be discussed in Chapter 6, and connections to music theoretical discourse.[172] In addition to the concerns with notation and the large number of musicians named in the texts or as composer ascriptions, this manuscript also includes a grotesque miniature (shown in Figure 3.1) depicting two groups of clerical singers, intensely engaged in singing from books, like the Chantilly codex itself, creating a little mise-en-abyme.

Figure 3.1: Singers Depicted in the Chantilly Codex, fol. 37r[173]

Even if musicians and amateurs in Florence who encountered the Chantilly codex in the mid-fifteenth century could not perform the repertoire, they could have been influenced by the musician's names in the texts and ascriptions, by the discussions of musical practices in the texts, and by the notational games. Wegman has argued for a direct connection between Eloy

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[171] "Buying Books, Narrating the Past" (2004), 95.

[172] It may also be notable that five of the thirteen motets in the Chantilly codex are also cited in at least one music theory treatise, indicating a connection between this "historical" repertoire and music theoretical discourse.

[173] It is also interesting that these clearly clerical singers are depicted in on an opening containing a chanson in this primarily secular manuscript.

d'Amerval's *Missa Dixerunt discipuli* (composed c. 1570) and the Anon. *Inter densas / Imbribus / Admirabile*, preserved uniquely in the final gathering of the Chantilly codex.[174] There are also many striking similarities between Chantilly's anonymous musicians' motet, *Alma polis religio/ Axe poli cum artica* and Compere's *Omnium bonorum plena*.[175] The self-reflexive content in this source may have increased its value in the mid- to late-fifteenth century, at a time when there was a renewed interest in establishing a musical tradition and continuity between music theory and practice.

Name Dropping: Anagrams, Acrostics, Prayer, and Creative Patrilineage

The importance of musicians' names in compositions in the decades around 1500 is multifaceted, including the intersection of three main cultural trends:

1) the memorial and prayer function of names, especially in the form of names listed in obituary books or in registers of the dead which were read in confraternal groups and guilds;

2) the recognition of the composer as an independent artist, expressed especially in a growing interest in composer ascription ; and

3) the reinforcement of the continuity of the musical tradition from pagan antiquity to the Christian present through the creation of genealogies of historic and modern musicians in compositions and music theory treatises.

Musicians' motets from the *ars subtilior* were doing important cultural work, establishing the continuity of specific, contemporary musical makers with key figures from the pagan and Christian past, while highlighting the status of these compositions as man-made, musical objects. However, they did not, for the most part, evoke the memorial and prayer function that was a key feature of mid-fifteenth century confraternal practice and indicative of the professionalization of an international community of composers.

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[174] "Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus*" (1991), 251-2.

[175] Including of course the lists of musicians, but also the use of quotations from pre-existent hymns as evocations of the act of musical prayer: Sedulius's alphabetic hymn on the birth of Christ, "A solis ortus cardine" in the triplum, and seemingly two Marian texts in the motets, Fortunatus's "O gloriosa domina" and "Beata nobis gaudia," often ascribed to Hilary of Poitiers. In Compere musical prayers are evoke through the "Ave" and "Ecce ancilla domini."

In both of the motets by Du Fay from the mid-fifteenth century that were discussed in Chapter 2, names functioned to single out a specific individual from a larger assembly of musicians who were, as a group, praying for aid to the Virgin Mary. Both of these motets can be fairly securely situated in the devotional context of Cambrai Cathedral and the community of musicians active there during Du Fay's lifetime. As the multifaceted church career of Du Fay exemplifies, ecclesiastical musicians were engaged in various roles at the institutions where they were employed. Yet musical prayer in endowed services was the main professional activity of musically skilled clerics.[176] The obituary calendars of Cambrai Cathedral often specify the performance of a hymn or motet and show how memorial pieces, like Du Fay's *Ave regina celorum III*, functioned in the day-to-day and year-to-year liturgical cycles. Foundations for musical performance ensured that the names of the individuals entered into the registers would be brought to the attention of the Virgin Mary and other saints for the purpose of preserving their souls and lessening time in purgatory.[177] In memorial compositions for musicians these musical actions become self-reflexive, drawing attention to the musical medium of the prayer, and often naming individual musicians. This act of naming also increases the sense of a community among musical professionals, advertising connections between musicians to heavenly as well as earthly patrons.

Compere's *Omnium bonorum plena* and Musical Genealogies

In contrast to the wealth of documentation placing Du Fay's votive prayer motets in the sweet voices of Cambrai's famous choirboys (described in Chapter 2), we know very little about the origins of Compere's musicians' motet, even though its text lists the names of fourteen musicians and refers to a fifteenth through the manipulation of the text and music of a famous pre-existent chanson by Hayne van Ghizeghem. Although Du Fay's musicians' motets served prayer and memorial functions for an individual, they also show evidence of expressions of musical community in the late fifteenth century by foregrounding professional

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[176] C. Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai" (1975). Upton, *Music and Performance* (2013), 77-8.

[177] Many entries from the obit books are transcribed by Nosow in Appendix C of his book *Ritual Meanings* (2012). For a list of foundations compiled by Barbara Haggh from a variety of original documents see: http://www.music.umd.edu/faculty/music_directory/musicology_and_ethnomusicology/barbara_haggh-huglo/barbara_haggh-huglo_webpage. On the importance of praying for souls in the fifteenth century see Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (1984).

identity through solmization puns and textual references to the activity of musical prayer.[178] It is certainly no accident that Du Fay, as the author of two motets commemorating musical community and a highly placed cleric with connections to the preeminent musical establishments of Cambrai, Savoy, and the "college of singers" at the Sistine Chapel, was the main subject of Compere's motet for multiple musicians.

Despite the many names listed by Compere in the text, his motet has primarily been discussed in a debate about whether the name "Des Pres" should be considered as the first biographical evidence for the famous Josquin.[179] Although the musicians listed in the text seem to indicate that it was composed in the Burgundian circle, and some have argued strongly for a connection to the choir school at Cambrai, the two sources for it, TrentC 91 and a Vatican manuscript, VatSP B80, are of Italian origin and represent an international European repertoire.[180] Adelyn Peck Leverett remarks that the copy in TrentC 91 is "the more authoritative," and demonstrates "a marked facility with details that might have stemmed from experience with the piece in actual performance."[181] She bases her argument on the regular application of *sigla* for entrances, relatively detailed text underlay in all parts, and a more informative use of flat signs. However, the differences are slight and it is remarkable that both versions are highly detailed and clear, including significant amounts of text in all voices.[182] Does this perhaps indicate a particular interest in this motet on the part of the scribes, who were almost certainly musicians themselves?[183] Regardless of the probably insoluble questions around the identity of individuals named in the text, Compere's musical and textual references

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[178] The solmization puns were discussed in Chapter 2 and will also be expanded in the next section of this chapter, Nuts and Bolts: Musical Identity Through Professional Concerns.

[179] For an excellent survey of this discussion see Rifkin, "*Omnium bonorum plena* Reconsidered" (2009), 55-7, who problematizes the associations of this piece with Cambrai and as early evidence of Josquin Des Prez. For an even more recent addition to the discussion see Fallows, *Josquin* (2009), 25-9, who argues again for Cambrai, but not a specific gathering, but rather the circle of musicians associated with Du Fay; and also Fallows "Josquin and Trent 91" (2004), 205-8, and *Dufay* (1982), 77-78; Finscher, *Loyset Compère* (1964), 14-15; Hamm, "San Pietro B80" (1960), 48-49; Montagna, "Caron, Hayne, Compère" (1987), 110-15; Strohm, *Rise of European Music* (1993), 479; Wegman, "From Maker to Composer" (1996), 471-77; P. Wright, "Paper Evidence" (1995).

[180] Reynolds, facsimile of *San Pietro B 80* (1986). Interestingly for this discussion, the VatSP 80 also includes the only extant copy of Dufay's *Ave regina caelorum III* and Busnoys' *In hydraulis* directly follows Compere's motet in TrentC 91.

[181] Leverett, "A Paleographical and Repertorial Study" (1990), 116.

[182] Leverett, "A Paleographical and Repertorial Study" (1990); and Reynolds, facsimile of *San Pietro B 80* (1986).

[183] This brings at least two further musicians into Compere's musical circle of fifteen, the two scribes from two different locations who both exhibit a special interest in the musico-textual entity of Compere's musicians' motet.

to musicians and the careful scribal presentation of the motet in both sources all serve as evidence for associations between musicians of different generations and locations.

Like Du Fay's *Ave regina celorum III*, the text is a compilation of standard tropes of Marian prayer but also includes individuating features. Compere's text is personal (referring to the composer as "me, Loyset Compere" in line 44-5 of Figure 3.2) and also explicitly encompasses the greater community of musicians (see the text "pour fourth prayers to you son for the sake of singers" in line 31-2).[184]

<div align="center">Figure 3.2: Text for Compere, Omnium bonorum plena</div>
<div align="center">PRIMA PARS</div>

	Omnium bonorum plena	Full of all good things
	virgo parensque serena	serene virgin and mother
	quae sedes super sidera	who sits above the stars
	pulchra prudensque decora.	fair, wise and graceful.
5	Assistens a dextris Patris	Seated at the right hand of the Father
	celi terre plasmatoris	the creator of heaven and earth
	in vestitu de aurato	in golden clothing
	nullius manu formato.	made by no hand.
	Nullus tibi comparari	Surely none can be compared
10	potest certe nec equari	with you, nor equaled,
	cui voce angelica	you to whom by the angelic voice
	dictum est "Ave Maria."	was pronounced "Hail Mary."
	Turbata parum fuisti	You were little troubled
	sed consulta respondisti	but, when asked, replied
15	"ecce ancilla Domini"	"Behold the handmaiden of the Lord"
	sicut refers "fiat mihi."	thus you reply, "let it be done unto me."
	Dulcis fuit responsio	Sweet was this reply
	data celesti nuntio	given to the heavenly herald,
	per quam statim concepisti	by which you at once conceived
20	natum Dei et portasti.	and bore the Son of God.
	Illum nec non peperisti	Not only did you bear him
	et post partum permanisti	but after the birth remained
	virgo pura et nitida	Virgin pure and blooming
	virgoque immaculate.	and Virgin without stain.

<div align="center">SECUNDA PARS</div>

25	Omnium bonorum plena	Full of all good things
	peccatorum medicina	cure of sinners
	cuius proprium orare	to whom it is proper to entreat
	est atque preces fundare.	and also to found prayers.

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[184] For a detailed discussion of the tropes Du Fay inserted into the *Ave regina celorum* antiphon see the section of Chapter 2 entitled "Du Fay's Musical Signature: Signifying the Musical Profession with Solmization Puns."

	Pro miseris peccantibus	For poor sinners
30	a Deo recendentibus	slipping away from God
	funde preces ad filium	found prayers to your son
	pro salute canentium.	for the salvation of singers.
	Et primo pro G Dufay	And first for G Dufay
	pro que me, mater, exaudi,	for whom, mother, hear me,
35	luna totius musice	moon of all music,
	atque cantorum lumine,	and light of singers.
	pro Jo Dussart, Busnoys, Caron,	For Jo Dussart, Busnoys, Caron
	magistris cantilenarum,	Masters of songs;
	Georget de Brelles, Tinctoris,	Georget de Brelles, Tinctoris
40	cimbalis tui honoris.	with cymbals to your honour.
	Ac Okeghen, Des Pres, Corbet,	And Ockeghem, Des Pres, Corbet,
	Hemart, Faugues et Molinet,	Hemart, Faugues and Molinet,
	atque Regis omnibusque	and Regis and all
	canentibus, simul et me,	who sing: and likewise for me:
45	Loyset Compere orante	Loyset Compere, praying,
	pro magistris pura mente	pure in mind, for the masters,
	quorum memor, virgo vale,	who remember the virgin's greeting,
	semper Gabrielis "Ave."	Gabriel's eternal "Ave."
	Amen.	Amen
		Trans. based on that in Fallows (2004)

While Du Fay inserted personal tropes into a pre-existent Marian antiphon, Compere built his prayer for sacred and secular musicians around the textual and musical substance of a polyphonic rondeau by Hayne van Ghizeghem. This love poem (shown in Figure 3.3) with references to paradise (see the first a section) and service (in the second a) can be read as a sacred, Marian praise.[185]

Figure 3.3: Text for *De tous biens plaine* from Dijon and Laborde[186]

TEXT FOR ORIGINAL CHANSON

A	De tous biens plaine est ma maistresse	So full of all goodness is my mistress
	chascun lui doit tribut d'onneur;	that everybody should pay homage,
B	car assouvye est en valeur	for she is as full of worth
	autant que jamais fut deesse.	as ever was any goddess.

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[185] For sacred interpretations of chansons see Rothenberg, *Flower of Paradise* (2011), "Marian Symbolism of Spring" (2006), "The Meaning of Isaac's *Angeli archangeli*" (2004); and Huot, *Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* (1997).

[186] Transcription and translation from Christoffersen, *Copenhagen Chansonnier and the 'Loire Valley'* (2013), Web, 14 June 2014.

a	En la veant j'ay tel leesse	When I see her, I feel such joy
	que c'est paradi en mon cueur:	that there is paradise in my heart,
A	*De tous biens plaine... d'onneur*	[partial refrain]
a	Je n'ay cure d'autre richess	I do not care about any other riches
	si non d'estre son serviteur,	than to be her servant.
b	et pource qu'il n'est chois milleur	and because there is no better choice
	et mon mot porteray sans cesse;	I will always carry as my motto;
AB	*De tous biens plaine... deesse.*	[full refrain]

trans. by Peter Christoffersen

The musical reliance on this famous chanson is signaled in the text in two ways. First, the opening stanzas of each pars begin with a translation of the opening lines of the rondeau into Latin ("De tous biens plaine" becomes "Omnium bonorum plena"). This reinforces the sacred connotations of the original chanson. Also, in both VatSP 80 and TrentC 91, although all the voices are given long segments of the main Latin text, indicating that all the singers were expected to sing the same text, the tenor voice is provided with the French incipit, "De tous biens plaine," shown in Figure 3.4.[187]

Figure 3.4: Opening of the Tenor with French incipit moving to Latin text[188]
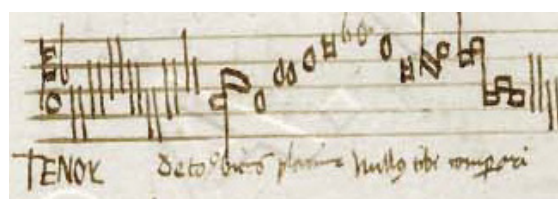
| VatSP B80, fol. 27v | TrentC 91, fol. 33v |

This may have been intended to remind the singers responsible for the cantus firmus of the identity of the melody before they sang it, but it seems that singers capable of singing the piece would recognize the melody on their own, without the incipit. Perhaps its more important roll was in broadening the audience capable of appreciating the intertextuallity of the motet from the notation alone. Thus those who might not recognize the melody at sight and were

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[187] For example both sources begin the tenor after the incipit with "Nullus tibi compari," rather than the beginning of the text. Although the text fragments could also be used to aid the tenor when entering after long periods of rest, a regular feature of this motet, the relatively careful underlay seems more indicative of performance, particularly in the syllabic secunda pars.

[188] Reynolds, facsimile of *San Pietro B 80* (1986). The image of TrentC 91 was downloaded from the *Trentino Cultura*, web, 23 May 2014, http://www.trentinocultura.net.

incapable of deciphering the notation themselves could still be alerted to the reference when viewing the score as a written object.

Multiple layers of intertextual references between the music of the pre-existent chanson and the newly formed motet bring the creative role of musicians as makers of musical Marian prayers to the attention of careful listeners.[189] Central to the text for the prima pars is a dramatization of the Annunciation of the Virgin from the Gospel of Luke, including the evocation of the words spoken by the Angel Gabriel, "Ave Maria," and Mary, "Ecce ancilla domini: fiat mihi" (shown in quotes in line 12 and lines 15-6 in Figure 3.5).[190]

Figure 3.5: Words from Luke in prima pars of Compere, *Omnium bonorum plena*

	Nullus tibi comparari	Surely none can be compared
10	potest certe nec equari	with you, nor equaled,
	cui voce angelica	you to whom by the angelic voice
	dictum est "Ave Maria."	was pronounced "Hail Mary."
	Turbata parum fuisti	You were little troubled
	sed consulta respondisti	but, when asked, replied
15	"ecce ancilla Domini"	"Behold the handmaiden of the Lord"
	sicut refers "fiat mihi."	thus you reply, "let it be done unto me."

The dramatic exchange between the Angel Gabriel and Mary was a standard text in Books of Hours, in the liturgies of many important Marian feasts, and also often appeared as gilded text in paintings of this scene.[191]

Compere highlights both of these quotes from Luke's Gospel by reducing the musical texture to two voices. The angelic greeting of Mary, the "Ave Maria," is set as an extended duo in *stretto fuga* at the fifth below for superius and contratenor altus, shown in Figure 3.6.[192]

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[189] Considering the popularity of this chanson, existing in 26 different sources and multiple reworkings and arrangements, it is reasonable to assume that any musically literate or knowledgeable person in the fifteenth-century, would recognize this song. Christoffersen, *Copenhagen Chansonnier and the 'Loire Valley'* (2013), Web, 14 June 2014. For an extensive list of pieces that use this chanson see the Appendix A of Meconi, "Art-Song Reworkings" (1994), 27-8.

[190] Luke 1:28—"Et ingressus angelus ad eam dixit: Ave gratia plena: Dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus," or "And the angel being come in, said unto her: Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women;" and Luke 1:38—"Dixit autem Maria: Ecce ancilla Domini: fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum. Et discessit ab illa angelus" or "And Mary said: Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it done to me according to thy word. And the angel departed from her." *Douay-Rheims and Latin Vulgate Online*, 2001-2013, web, 12 July 2014, http://www.drbo.org.

[191] For an example see the outer wings of Van Eyck's *Adoration of the Lamb*.

Figure 3.6: Duo from Compere, *Omnium bonorum plena*, prima pars, superius and altus, m. 43-9[193]
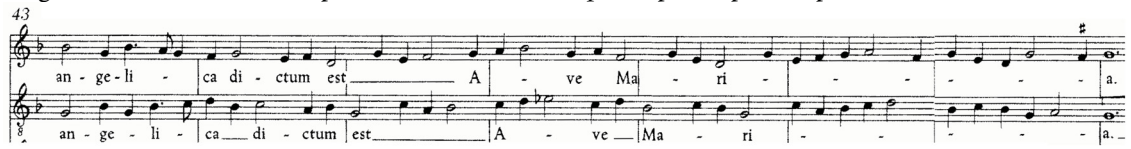
The imitation begins on the syllable "di" of "dictum" in m. 44 and only breaks for the cadence in m. 49.[194] As the research of Peter Schubert on *stretto fuga* has shown, this lively imitative duo relies on a technique that was a prime improvisatory tool for skilled, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century musicians.[195] In his article Schubert points out that this improvisatory technique is among the "secreti" that Zarlino was enthusiastically revealing in his 1573 edition of *Le institutioni harmoniche*, implying that previously it was part of the knowledge that distinguished a musical professional from an amateur. The use of *stretto fuga* for a moment of angelic acclamation, calls attention to the performers, the composer, and their elite, shared knowledge of music, a tool that may have seemed miraculous to outsiders.

Mary's decorous response to the angel, "Ecce ancilla Domini... fiat mihi" (see lines 15-6 of Figure 3.5), is also an extended duo, this time between the contratenor altus and bassus. In contrast to the imitation of the previous example, it highlights the symbolic role of the pre-existent chanson.

Figure 3.7: Comparison of Altus (top from m. 61-63) and second phrase of the chanson tenor[196]

In this duo the altus quotes the second phrase of the chanson tenor, originally setting the text "chascun lui doit tribut d'onneur" or "that everybody should pay homage." This melody had

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[192] This extended use of an imitative texture and reduction of voices is similar to Du Fay's use of an extended *stretto fuga* in m. 139-145 of the secunda pars of his *Ave regina celorum III*. See footnote 119 in Chapter 2 for a discussion of this term and references.

[193] Finscher ed., *Loyset Compère* (1964), vol. 4, 33.

[194] Measure numbers are from Finscher, *Loyset Compère* (1964), vol. 4, 33-4.

[195] Schubert, "From Improvisation to Composition" (forthcoming). Also see footnote 119.

[196] Motet excerpt from Finscher ed., *Loyset Compère* (1964), vol. 4, 34. Chanson transcribed from WolfB 287, *Herzog August Bibliothek*, Web, fol. 53v, <http://diglib.hab.de/inkunabeln/14-astron/start.htm>. My transcription.

just been sung by the motet's tenor in m. 51-61. Although in the altus voice of the motet presents the melody in halved note values and has slightly different ornamentation, it is clearly a direct quotation of the chanson tenor. This melody would be highly audible as the upper voice of a lengthy section of reduced texture for bassus and altus. In order to place both segments of the dialogue from Luke's Gospel in duos between statements of the tenor required the composer to carefully coordinate the text and music. Further, it seems that Compere is rendering this dramatic moment of conversion between heavenly angel and earthly maiden through symbolic musical techniques—evoking a sublime, improvisatory technique for the words of the angel, and a reworking of a written, secular song for the voice of the Virgin.

Gabriel's greeting, summed up by the word "Ave," returns at the end of the motet, and this time it is used explicitly as a symbol for musical Marian prayers, created by singers for the benefit of their souls and drawing them together through their professional activities. The final stanza of the text (shown in lines 45-8 of Figure 3.2) states that with this piece Loyset Compere was "praying, pure in mind, for the masters, who remember the virgin's greeting, Gabriel's eternal 'Ave'."[197] Indeed, from the prominence of music composed to the Virgin it seems that much of the works and activities of musicians were focused on magnifing the words of the angel through composed and improvised musical Marian prayer. Coming as it does after his list of names, Compere implies that the musicians on his list are "masters," not just skilled artisans, but literate and educated musicians, capable of honoring Mary with their works.

The focus on using and reusing musical works is confirmed at the end of the motet, where I have discovered that Compere incorporates the entire three-voice, polyphonic structure of Ghizeghem's chanson.[198] The final section of the motet is compared with the end of the chanson in Figure 3.8. The boxes in the motet show the borrowed material in each voice, with Compere's superius coming from Ghizeghem's cantus beginning in m. 48 of the chanson, the tenor from m. 49, and the bassus from m. 51. It is striking that this final segment

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[197] "Loyset Compere orante / pro magistris pura mente / quorum memor, virgo vale, / semper Gabrielis 'Ave'."
[198] The various vocal lines from the chanson are quoted at different points throughout the motet, in particular at the beginning of the prima pars where the upper voice is always paraphrasing a phrase of the cantus voice from the chanson until the entrance of the fifth line of text. This section also included another example of *stretto fuga* between the superius and altus, this time on the second phrase of the chanson tenor.

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of the motet, setting the motet's text about remembering, is the only point where all three voices of the original chanson are quoted simultaneously.

Figure 3.8: Simultaneous quotation of all three voices of Ghizeghem's chanson in Compere's motet[199]

[199] Finscher ed., *Loyset Compère* (1964), vol. 4, 38. Chanson transcribed from WolfB 287, *Herzog August Bibliothek*, Web, fol. 52r-53v, <http://diglib.hab.de/inkunabeln/14-astron/start.htm>. My transcription.

In recalling the entire polyphonic complex Compere equated durable musical objects, like Ghizeghem's chanson and the sacred Marian compositions of the masters listed in the motet text, to the eternal greeting of Mary by the angel Gabriel, the "Ave Maria."

The text for the secunda pars is well known to musicologists, because it contains the famous list of musicians and a disputed reference to Josquin, an aspect that has been thoroughly analyzed by others.[200] What has not been noticed is that Compere opens this pars with two stanzas that each recommend the efficacy of musical prayers to the Virgin. Both stanzas shown in Figure 3.9 use the construction "preces fundare" (see line 4 and 7). This can be translated as "to found prayers," with the verb "fundare" having the broader meaning of "laying a foundation" or "establishing."

Figure 3.9: Text for Compere, *Omnium bonorum plena*, secunda pars, lines 1-8

	Omnium bonorum plena	Full of all good things
	peccatorum medicina	cure of sinners
	cuius proprium orare	to whom it is proper to entreat
	est atque **preces fundare**.	and also to found prayers.
5	Pro miseris peccantibus	For poor sinners
	a Deo recendentibus	slipping away from God
	funde preces ad filium	found prayers to your son
	pro salute canentium.	for the salvation of those who sing.

Often translations take more poetic license, changing it to "offer prayers" or even "pour forth prayers." However, foundations for musical prayers to the Virgin were of central concern for musicians, the explicit subjects of this motet. Founding prayers could not only benefit the souls of those musicians mentioned in the text when trapped in purgatory or at the hour of judgment, but also ensured the health of their own pocketbooks during their lifetime. As clerics much of their income came from endowments, especially those specifying musical elements. The second stanza goes on to refer to the musical nature of these prayers by imploring Mary to aid in "the salvation of those who sing" (see lines 7-8), probably referring directly to those listed in the text, but also to those in the act of singing the motet as part of the always expanding corporate body of musicians.

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[200] See footnote 179 above.

The third stanza of the secunda pars, shown in Figure 3.10, presents Du Fay in the role of teacher or musical father to the list of musicians that follows.[201]

Figure 3.10: Text for Compere, *Omnium bonorum plena*, secunda pars, lines 9-24

	Et primo pro G Dufay	And first for G Dufay
10	pro que me, mater, exaudi,	for whom, mother, hear me,
	luna totius musice	moon of all music,
	atque cantorum lumine,	and light of singers.
	pro Jo Dussart, Busnoys, Caron,	For Jo Dussart, Busnoys, Caron
	magistris cantilenarum,	Masters of songs;
15	Georget de Brelles, Tinctoris,	Georget de Brelles, Tinctoris
	cimbalis tui honoris.	with cymbals to your honour.
	ac Okeghen, Des Pres, Corbet,	And Ockeghem, Des Pres, Corbet,
	Hemart, Faugues et Molinet,	Hemart, Faugues and Molinet,
	atque Regis omnibusque	and Regis and all
20	canentibus, simul et me,	who sing: and likewise for me:
	Loyset Compere orante	Loyset Compere, praying,
	pro magistris pura mente	pure in mind, for the masters,
	quorum memor, virgo vale,	who remember the virgin's greeting,
	semper Gabrielis "Ave."	Gabriel's eternal "Ave."
	Amen.	Amen

Interestingly, although Compere begins the secunda pars with the chanson tune in the tenor (shown in a box in Figure 3.11) he composes free material for the tenor until the beginning of the list of musicians (shown with an arrow above the original chanson tenor as it is written in the Copenhagen manuscript). This is the beginning of a gapped presentation of the entire chanson tenor which only ends and the conclusion of the motet.[202] It is slightly unclear if Du Fay himself is to be understood as the "moon of all music and the light of singers," or if that praise was intended for the Virgin Mary herself. Either way, Du Fay is given pride of place because he is listed first, is the only musician from the previous generation, is separated from the other musicians listed in the text, and the pronouncement of his name marks the entrance of the final statement of the pre-existent cantus firmus.

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[201] Fallows argues that they are all composers; "Josquin and Trent 91" (2004), 206. Rifkin disagrees and also calls into question the traditional connection between this piece and Cambrai. "*Omnium bonorum plena* Reconsidered" (2009), 64.

[202] This is also the only statement of the chanson tenor in its original form, since the prima pars presents the original notation, but alters it by imposing a triple mensuration onto it, thus altering the sounding values.

In addition, Compere exploits the association of the prominent e^b fa of the opening gesture of the chanson tenor, with Du Fay's musical signature.

Figure 3.11: Tenor from secunda pars of Compere's motet
compared with the original chanson tenor[203]
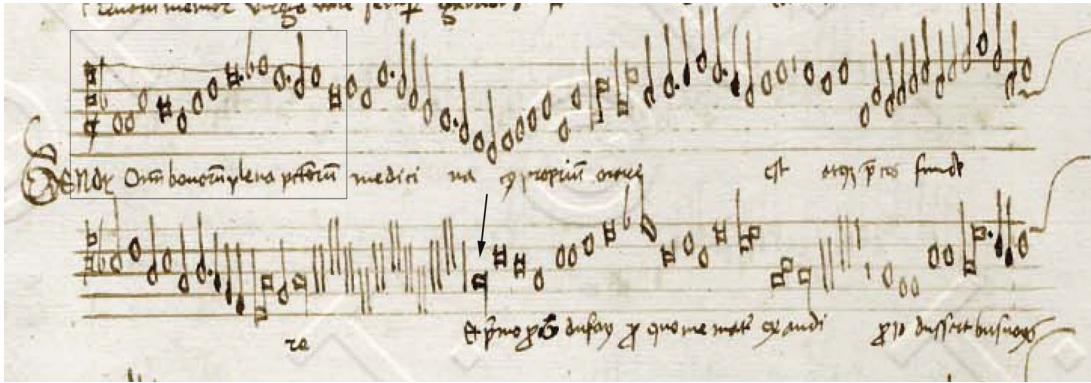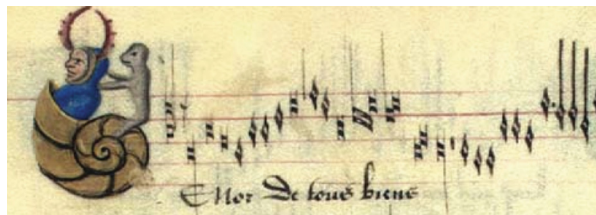
Copenhagen, The Royal Library, MS Thott 291 8°, fol. 5

As was discussed in Chapter 2, there is musical and orthographic evidence that Du Fay had a personal association with the solmization syllable "fa."[204] The e^b fa is the highpoint of the first phrase of the chanson tenor, shown in the facsimile of the Copenhagen manuscript at the bottom of Figure 3.11. The lowering of the e natural by a semitone is necessary because of the ascent from b^b, but the flat sign is also clearly marked in both sources for the motet (TrentC 91 is shown on in Figure 3.11 and VatSP 80 is shown in Figure 3.12 below).

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[203] The example from Compere's motet was accessed from *Trentino Cultura,* web, 12 July 2014, http://www.trentinocultura.net. The example from the chansonnier is from *The Royal Library: National Library of Denmark and Copenhagen University Library,* web, http://www.kb.dk.

[204] His signatures and funeral monument include the notation for C fa instead of the letters "fa." Also, his *Ave regina celorum III* exploited the plaintive high e^b fa in the two sections setting personal tropes, and the second of these was inserted into his *Missa Ave regina celorum,* replacing a previous, less personal version.

Figure 3.12 : Tenor for secunda pars, third stanza from VatSP 80[205]

This phrase has already been heard three times in the motet and the chanson was extremely well-known in the fifteenth century.[206] Figure 3.13 transcribes the motet tenor at the beginning of the stanza commemorating Du Fay, following the notation in VatSP 80 and expanding the "G" provided in both sources to the full name "Guillaume."[207]

Figure 3.13: Tenor with possible text underlay for secunda pars, third stanza[208]

It is significant that the syllables "fa" and "y" of "Du Fay" are set to the notes e^b and d (see the second half of measure 4 in Figure 3.13) which would have been given the solmization syllables "fa" and "mi" according to the practice of soggetto cavato.

Figure 3.14: "Fa mi" mottos in the second personal trope of Du Fay's *Ave regina celorum III*, m. 86-9[209]

This recalls the prominent "fa mi" motto in the personal tropes of Du Fay's *Ave regina celorum III*, in particular that of the second personal trope (shown in Figure 3.14).[210] As discussed in Chapter 2, each e^b fa in Du Fay's personal tropes comes on the first syllable of the word "miserere," so while Du Fay was making a sort of pun with his text placement, Compere seems to be trying to explicitly align the vowels of Du Fay's last name with a melodic figure highlighting its special associations with solmization practice.[211] As I discussed in Chapter 2, Du Fay established his personal connection with "fa" though his inclusion of musical notation in his signature and funeral monument, as well as in the personal tropes of his setting of the *Ave regina caelorum III*, a use that was reinforced by the reuse of the music of his second personal trope, shown in Figure 3.14, in the "Agnus" movement of the *Missa Ave regina celorum*.[212]

Compere's conversion of the e^b to d or "fa mi" of van Ghizeghem's tenor phrase into a musical signifier of Du Fay through text placement is a remarkable act of musical homage to a notable figure of the previous generation. Considering that the first gathering of VatSP 80 also included both Dufay's *Ave regina celorum III* and the Mass based on it, it seems likely that these three pieces were understood to be related to each other, even outside the direct influence of the Burgundian orbit, and that Du Fay's musical signature would also have meaning outside these circles. Like obituary registers and lists of the membership of confraternal groups, Compere's motet presents a list of the names of specific members of the musical community and asks the Virgin Mary to aid them. Through musical and textual references to their musical activities, both notated musical creations and improvisations, and their worthy place in a tradition of professionals engaged in musical prayer, Compere highlights both their collective worthiness and their individual mastery of the act of musical creation.

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[210] Du Fay's signature is discussed in detail in Chapter 2 "Du Fay's Musical Signature: Signifying the Musical Profession with Solmization Puns." Soggetto cavato is explained in Zarlino, *Istitutioni harmoniche (Venezia, 1558)* (1965).

[211] It is even possible that this prominent e-flat, coupled with a plausible Marian connection, explains the somewhat puzzling choice of a chanson by van Ghizeghem in a motet that placed Du Fay in pride of place.

[212] As noted in Chapter 2, it is possible that this section was recomposed by somebody other than Du Fay, but either way it shows that this music, highly inflected with flats, was strongly associated with Du Fay's name and signature.

Presentation of Names in Two Motets by Busnoys: In hydraulis *and* Anthoni usque limina

Self-promotion and naming are central to two well-known motets by Busnoys, one of which, *In hydraulis*, directly follows Compere's *Omnium bonorum plena* in TrentC 91. In her introduction to a collection of essays dedicated to Busnoys, Paula Higgins comments that in his motets *Anthoni usque limina* and *In hydraulis* Busnoys betrays "an overweening concern with constructing himself as an *auctor*."[213] She also notes Busnoys' interest in establishing "creative genealogy and signs of an absolute past" as well as his "description of himself as the metaphorical 'son' of a composer [Ockeghem] he allegorizes as the most gifted musician in Greek mythology."[214] While Busnoys was certainly bolder than Compere, his rough contemporary, in his use of these tropes, the previous discussion has shown that he was not alone in his foregrounding of concepts of creative genealogy and using names in his compositions as a way of constructing his public and professional profile.[215] Although the desire to understand these works as intimate glimpses into the mentality of a particularly interesting fifteenth-century musician is seductive, it may be more productive to view these two self-referential motets as extreme examples of a broader trend, including the promotion of the corporate body of professional composers through their musical creations and an evocation of continuity with antiquity.

The text of *In hydraulis*, as presented uniquely in MunSB 3154, has been used by Paula Higgins to establish the timeline for Busnoy's service to the Burgundian court, since it clearly refers to Charles as the "Count of Charolais," not yet Duke of Burgundy (see line 16-17 in Figure 3.15).[216] Although this text seems rather corrupt, written in two paragraphs on fol. 28v of MunSB 3154, this laudatory poem is generally considered to be by Busnoys himself, reflecting his personal taste for the antique and classicizing complexity.[217]

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[213] Higgins, "Celebrating Transgression and Excess" (1999), 3.

[214] For more on creative genealogy see Higgins, "Musical 'Parents' and Their 'Progeny'" (1997) and "Lamenting 'Our Master and Good Father'" (2007).

[215] As Elizabeth Eva Leach has pointed out, Machaut was doing similarly in the mid-fourteenth century. See *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician* (2011).

[216] Higgins, "*In hydraulis* Revisited" (1986); Higgins, "Antoine Busnoys and Musical Culture" (1987). For other discussions see Howlett, "Busnois' Motet *In hydraulis*" (1995); Higgins, "Lamenting 'Our Master and Good Father'" (2007). In particular in relation to Ockeghem's *Ut heremita solus* see van Benthem, "Text, Tone, and Symbol" (1999), and Lindmayr- Brandl, "The Case of *Ut heremitas solus* reconsidered" (1998).

[217] Blackburn and Holford-Strevens, "Juno's Four Grievances" (2002).

Figure 3.15: Text of Busnoys, *In hydraulis*, prima pars

1	In hydraulis quondam Pithagora	Long ago, when Pythagoras was
	Admirante melos pthongitates	speculating about the tones in water organs
	Malleorum secutus equora	and the sounds of the hammers against surfaces,
	Per ponderum inequalitates,	he discovered through the inequalities of the weights,
5	Adinvenit muse quiditates.	the essential natures of the muse [music].

	Epitritum ac **hemioliam**,	They (the differences between the weights of anvils in the blacksmith's shop) induce **epitritus** (4:3) and also **hemiola** (3:2),
	Epogdoi et **duplam** perducunt	**epogdous** (9:8) and even **duple** (2:1),
	Nam **tessaron pente** concordiam	for they lead not only to the concordant 4th and 5th,
	Nec non **phtongum** et **pason** adducunt	and also to the **tone** and **octave** as long as they (the differences)
10	Monocordi dum genus conducunt.	arrange the division of the monochord.
		Trans. adapted from van Benthem and Howlett[218]

Like Rogier van der Weyden's depiction of St. Luke in the act of sketching the Virgin and Child, the prima pars is concerned with establishing a historic event that provides legitimacy to contemporary musical professionals and practices. Pythagoras, a recognized authority on music and number, is described in the act of observation and discovery (see lines 1-4 of Figure 3.15). Busnoys carefully presents the Greek names for the mathematical ratios before labeling the appropriate musical intervals (see lines 6-9 of Figure 3.15). Finally he transfers the sounds of water organs and hammers to a didactic musical instrument, the monochord, that was still used in the fifteenth century.[219] These theoretical concepts, exposed in the text, are translated into sound in the constructed tenor and other musical voices, the implications of which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Having established the historical validity of musical practice, in the secunda pars Busnoys turns to praises of the foremost modern musical practitioner, Ockeghem.

Figure 3.16: Text of Busnoys, *In hydraulis*, secunda pars

11	Hec Oggeghen, cunctis qui precinis	You Ockeghem, who are chief singer before all in the service of
	Galliarum in regis latria,	the King of the Gauls,
	O practicum tue propaginis	O strengthen the practice of your progeny,
	Arma cernens quondam per atria	when, at some time, you examine these maters on occasion in the
15	Burgundie ducis in patria.	halls of the Duke of Burgundy, in your fatherland.

	Per me, Busnois, illustris comitis	Through me, Busnoys, unworthy musician
	De Charulois indignum musicum,	of the illustrious Count of Charolais,
	Saluteris tuis pro meritis	may you be greeted for your merits

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[218] van Benthem, "Text, Tone, and Symbol" (1999); and Howlett, "Busnois' Motet *In hydraulis*" (1995).
[219] Voss, "Musical Magic of Marsilio Ficino" (2001), 238-9.

Tamquam summam Cephas tropidicum:	as the highest trope-uttering Cephas;
20 Vale, verum instar Orpheicum.	Hail, true image of Orpheus.

<div align="right">Trans. adapted from van Benthem and Howlett[220]</div>

As the "chief singer," Ockeghem is shown to be both servant and musical equivalent of the King of France, while Busnoys humbly takes the subservient role of student and subject of the Count of Charolais and future Duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold.[221] The musical works of Busnoys, including this very motet, are presented as "practicum tue propaginis" or "the practice of your progeny," and Busnoys submits them to Ockeghem, as distinct musical objects, for evaluation and improvement (see lines 13-14 in Figure 3.16).[222] Notably Ockeghem is hailed with both Christian and Classical distinctions, as a "trope-uttering Cephas" as well as the "image of Orpheus," bringing together the ancient practice of Greek musicians with the sacred traditions of the church.[223]

The text of *Anthoni usque limina* was also probably written by Busnoys and is notable both for including the composer's name and for mixing Christian and Classical symbols in a particularly bold way. In it there are also two meta-references to singers.

<div align="center">Figure 3.17: Text of Anthoni usque limina from BrusBR 5557</div>

Prima pars

	ANTHONI USque limina	Anthony, you who to the furthest bounds
	orbis terrarumque maris	of land and sea
	et ultra qui vocitaris	and beyond call down
	providentia divina	wisdom from on high;
5	qui domonum agmina	you who most powerfully have overcome
	superasti viriliter	whole hosts of demons,
	audi cetum nunc omina	hear us now, who have come together
	psalentem tua dulciter.	**sweetly to sing your praises.**

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[220] van Benthem, "Text, Tone, and Symbol" (1999); and Howlett, "Busnois' Motet *In hydraulis*" (1995).

[221] The implication of placing the Duke into a slightly subservient role might explain why this motet was not included in BrusBR 5557, a manuscript that was clearly used by Charles the Bold.

[222] Does this imply that this motet was sent as a gift to an absent Ockeghem, as a physical object representing the sounding practice of Busnoys and his fellow musician employed by Charles? A presentation copy of this piece could have serves as an invitation for Ockeghem to return to his homeland. During his visit he would be able to evaluate and improve the practice of his former student, like a late-Medieval master class or singing school, as are well documented for secular musicians.

[223] van Benthem, "Text, Tone, and Symbol" (1999). "Cephas" is found in the Bible and seems to be Aramaic for Peter and is the name used for Simon Peter by Jesus in John 1:42. It is also a term that is found in the letters of Paul, notably 1 Corinthians 1:12—"Now this I say, that every one of you saith: I indeed am of Paul; and I am of Apollo; and I am of Cephas; and I of Christ."

Secunda pars

	Et ne post hoc ecilium	And lest, after this exile,
10	nos igneus urat Pluto	fiery Pluto consume us,
	Hunc ab Orci **chorum** luto	snatching this **chorus** from the mire of Orcus,
	eruens fer auxilium	bring your aid,
	porriga refrigerium	let the coolness extend to your limbs,
	artubus gracie Moys	through the blessing of water,
15	ut per verbi misterium	that, by the mystery of the Word,
	fiat in omniBUS NOYS	understanding may come to all.

Trans. from Perkins,
Collected Works, vol. 5, 65.

The final line of the prima pars refers to the act of gathering together to sing this motet (line 8 of Figure 3.17) and then in the secunda pars the author asks that this choir be "saved from the mire of Orcus" (line 11 of Figure 3.17). "Orcus" in this context is equivalent to "Hell" and is not the only classical word substituted for more conventional Christian equivalents. Anthony, the Egyptian hermit who is considered the founder of ascetic monasticism, is asked to protect the singers from the "fires of Pluto" rather than the devil. In addition, the very use of the words "noys" and "moys" imply an arcane vocabulary and reliance on Greek and Coptic.[224]

In the unique source (BrusBR 5557) the letters from the initial and final phrases of the text stand out from the rest of the motet in red ink, spelling the composer's name — "ANTHONI US" at the beginning and "BUS NOYS" at the end.[225] Since BrusBR 5557 was compiled and in use during the tenure of Busnoys at Charles's court, Busnoys probably at least sang from this copy of the motet or perhaps he himself copied it into the space available between two sections.[226] Busnoys is clearly drawing attention to himself and his learnedness through the text and orthography of the motet, but like Du Fay and Compere, Busnoys makes provisions for the welfare of his own soul. Through the acrostic he places himself within the context of the musical community he calls upon in the text. Busnoys evokes the power of knowledge ("providentia," line 4) and understanding ("noys," line 16) as divine gifts and tools for salvation. Thus through a Classical heritage expressed within fifteenth-century Christian practices, Busnoys asks his name saint, St. Anthony, to "bring your aid...that understanding

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[224] For a discussion of "moys" and its association with music see Swerdlow, "*Musica dicitur a moys*," (1967).
[225] Wegman, "For Whom the Bell Tolls" (1998); Wegman, "*Anthoni usque limina* and the Order of Saint-Anthoine-en-Barbefosse" (1988).
[226] It is especially compelling to think of Busnoys as the compiler and copyist because his pieces often bridge the gap between older fascicles and are in a different script. Wegman, Intro. to the facsimile edition of *Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Ms. 5557* (1989).

may come to all" (line 14-16 of Figure 3.17) on behalf of those "who have come together sweetly to sing your praises" (line 7-8).

One of the main activities of guilds and confraternities was to retain the names of deceased members in their records and include them in regularly recurring memorial services, sometimes weekly or monthly activities.[227] It is not surprising then that Reinhard Strohm found Busnoys's name on just such a register for a *confraternitas chori* at the church of St-Sauveur in Bruges from *ca.* 1510, fifteen to twenty years after his death.[228] Giovanni Zanovello has discovered documents revealing that at the time of his death, Isaac made a large donation to the Confraternity of Santa Barbara in Florence, which was to be used to buy something in his memory.[229] By banding together as a group, confraternities, and often guilds too, communally provided continual prayer for the souls of deceased members who were believed to be in purgatory, awaiting judgment. Privileges such as these were otherwise reserved for those wealthy enough to fund individual endowments.[230] Although few musicians accumulated the kind of wealth that is recorded in the wills of Binchois and Du Fay, both musicians who funded their own memorials, it seems clear that death and the welfare of one's soul was a common concern for rich and poor alike, musicians included.[231]

Although the reference to a *confraternitas chori* in Bruges is the only reference to such a group specifically for singers, it makes sense that ecclesiastical musicians in the fifteenth century, like other professionals, were influenced by these kinds of organizations.[232] Professional and spiritual concerns were often combined in these groups since there was often significant overlap between guilds and confraternities, expressed by the label *confraternitas chori*. In Rogier van der Weyden's painting of St. Luke, by assuming the prayer stance and

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[227] Banker, *Death in the Community* (1988).

[228] Cited in Higgins, "*In hydraulis* Revisited" (1986), ft. 74, 53; and also in her entry on Busnoys in *Grove*.

[229] In the end they decided to use it to buy a funeral pall to cover the coffins of members and was hence central to perhaps their main ritual. Zanovello used the records of this confraternity to establish Isaac's presence in Florence during the early sixteenth century. "Isaac in Florence, 1502-17" (2008), 288-93.

[230] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (1984).

[231] For a transcription of Du Fay's will see Houdoy, *Histoire Artistique* (1880), 409-14. The testament of Binchois is preserved in the Archives de l'Etat, Mons, *Chapitre Soignes*, 42.

[232] Singers usually had an itinerant lifestyle and often their main professional affiliations were to a secular court or ecclesiastical institution, two traits that probably made it difficult to form lasting associations with guilds or confraternities, organizations that tended to be locally focused. Interestingly, the confraternity that Isaac was associated with was composed of foreign people residing in Florence, primarily German, but obviously also Flemish, from a variety of professions. See Zanovello, "Isaac in Florence, 1502-17" (2008), 289.

guise of St. Luke, Rogier places himself in a position of perpetual adoration, a state that will be witnessed in perpetuity by his fellows. Du Fay endowed services and composed personal works, both creating jobs for musicians and ensuring that he would be remembered after his death through his musical works. Both Compere and Busnoys show a similar concern with linking their own names with their professional identity in a way that will ensure that in their compositions both their names and authorship will be remembered. While Compere emphasizes the importance of individual musical creations and corporate bonding, and Busnoys foregrounds continuity with classical traditions, both are concerned with the promotion of their profession. With these notated compositions listing the names of musicians and combining a personal prayer request within a broader appeal for musicians, composers ensured that through their musical works, written into manuscripts for continued performance, the souls of the authors would have to spend less time in purgation because they were being remembered by the living musical community.[233]

Nuts and Bolts: Musical Identity Through Professional Concerns

Names are not necessary to identify a piece as a prayer for musicians. Looking primarily at the texts from a number of motets that describe musical activities, I will show how references to some of the nuts and bolts of music making are significant for an understanding of musical community c. 1500.

Table 3.3: Pieces Presenting Professional Concerns in their Texts

Du Fay	Fulgens iubar / Puerpera, pura parens / Virgo post partum quem genuit adoravit	-"Candles" -"concord" or "harmony"
Anon.	Decantemus in hac die	-"let us sing lauds and praises" -"at the altar" -"only hope of musicians, thy devout people" -"be kind and gracious to singers"
Compere	Sile fragor	-"hoarse" and "solid voices" -"sweetness of our song" -"equal measures" -"enjoy liberal streams"
Josquin	*Ce povre mendiant*/ Pauper sum ego	-"benefices nor office" -"clothes" -"fortune" -"labour"

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[233] For a previous discussion of this idea see Blackburn, "For Whom do the Singers Sing?" (1997).

Identified in the third column of Table 3.3, professional concerns range from prayer requests for singers as a category of laborers (especially when specifying their throats/voices) to descriptions of aspects of their professional activities and gatherings, including communal meals. In addition to the three motets and the motet-chanson that will be discussed in this chapter, there is another famous piece that highlights professional concerns, Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*. Since this motet bring together multiple strands of the discussion, including those to be presented in Chapters 5-7, it will be held in reserve as the subject of the conclusion of the dissertation.

Singing by Candlelight in Du Fay's Motet for the Feast of Mary's Purification at Cambrai

Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar / Puerpera, pura parens / Virgo post partum quem genuit adoravit* describes the rituals surrounding the feast of Mary's purification. As was discussed in Chapter 2, the motetus of Du Fay's musicians' motet displays an acrostic for the master of the choirboys, and the triplum makes an "implicit" reference to music making through solmization puns. What has not already been observed is that it also foregrounds the musical activities of the musical community and the written, musical medium of the prayer motets by describing the act of singing by candlelight (excerpt of the text shown in Figure 3.18).

Figure 3.18: From the triplum of *Fulgens iubar*, second half of stanza 3

20	Luce enim qua fulget candela,	For by the light which the candle shines
	Persplendorem vite in Maria	We all signify in harmony
	Concorditer omnes ostendimus,	The complete splendour of life in Mary,
	Ut per sue tandem precamina	That at length, by her prayers, we
25	Sublimemur sanctorum sedibus.	May be raised aloft in the dwellings of the saints.[234]

The symbol of candles is certainly pertinent to the purification liturgy since a central action of this feast, also known as Candlemas, was the blessing of candles. The purification or the ritual churching of women after childbirth was a central moment in the lives of many fifteenth-century women, celebrating their successful journey through the treacherous weeks surrounding childbirth, and was closely associated with the archetypal story of Mary's purification.[235] Thus depictions of Mary's purification from the fifteenth century often feature aspects of contemporary churching practices, and candles are central features of this rich visual

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[234] Transcription and translation based on Holford-Strevens, "Du Fay the Poet?" (1997), 145.
[235] Rieder, *On the Purification of Women* (2006).

legacy.[236] At the same time the inclusion of candles in this poem, written specifically as the text

for a musical composition, also situates it within ecclesiastical space and shows that the

medium of this prayer is notated music. Line 20-21 of Figure 3.18 shows that the singers are

relying on the candle in order to make "harmony" or polyphonic music, whether written or

improvised. Candles served both a ritual and a practical function, heightening the experience of

viewing images and icons by reflecting off their often golden and jewel-encrusted surfaces,

while also allowing the clerics to perform their ritual activities from written texts.[237]

Entries for endowed services regularly provide instructions for the amount of money to

be spent on candles and also for their specific placement, honoring saints pertinent to the

occasion and setting the scene, so to speak.[238] But the structure of endowments also makes it

clear that they provided light for reading prayers and music from manuscripts, since the

specific chants to be sung are regularly listed directly after the instructions for the candles. For

example the entry for the augmentation of the Feasts of St. Simon and St. Jude provides for

four candles. One of these candles is specifically intended to illuminate a manuscript

containing a hymn and motet: "two candles before the crucifix and one [candle] before the

image of Blessed Mary on the door of the choir, and one [candle] for the hymn and motet

performed at Vespers."[239] Since Vespers was an evening service, it is logical that a candle would

be a necessary aid for performance of a notated hymn and motet. Although often the liturgical

chants listed were extremely common and may have been memorized, but since many of the

foundations were for new feasts, some of which had newly composed chants (by Du Fay

among others), it is likely that these new liturgical items might not have been well known to

most of the clerical singers, increasing their reliance on reading from manuscripts even for

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[236] The most well known example of this tradition is the illustration of the purification from the *Les très riches heures du Duc de Berry*, Musée Condé.

[237] One source on the material aspects of devotional painting is Baxandall, *Painting and Experience* (1988). Blessed candles also extended the sacred space of the church into secular spaces, being present during childbirth itself. See Musacchio, *Art and Ritual of Childbirth* (1999).

[238] Appendix C of Nosow, *Ritual Meanings* (2012), 244-50.

[239] For transcriptions of this and other examples from the obit books for Cambrai (Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, fonds ancien B 39 and Lille, Archive départementales du Nord, 4G 2009) see Appendix C of Nosow, *Ritual Meanings* (2012), 244-50.

chant.[240] The light of the candles, generally understood in the Purification service to represent the light of Christ born of Mary, also illuminated the church to allow performance of "harmony" or notated polyphony like Du Fay's motet. [241]

An Anonymous Musicians' Motet on the International Market

One motet, uniquely preserved in Petrucci's *Motetti libro quarto* (Venice, 1505), provides a prime example of music for musicians, and yet, unlike the motets by Du Fay, Compere, and Busnoys, it is entirely devoid of names, even lacking a composer attribution, and hence leaving it disconnected from any specific associations.[242] The text is a prayer to the Virgin and describes ritual actions with a consistent use of the first person plural. Although most of the text is a fairly standard Marian prayer, the final phrase of the secunda pars (shown at the bottom of Figure 3.19) affirms the focus of the piece as a prayer for "singers." [243] The author identifies Mary as the patron saint of musicians by calling her the "only hope of musicians" and requesting that she "be kind and gracious to singers" in particular. In the first phrase of the motet the author uses the first person plural of the verb "decantare," thus defining the subject of the entire motet as performing specifically musical praise of the Virgin.

Figure 3.19: Text for the anonymous motet *Decantemus in hac die*

PRIMA PARS

	Decantemus in hac die	On this day, let us sing
	semper virgini Marie	lauds and praises
	laudes et preconia.	to Mary, the eternal Virgin!
	Salvatoris mater pia	Loving mother of the
5	mundi huius spes Maria:	Savior and hope of the world,
	Ave, plena gratia.	"Ave, full of grace."
	Letare virgo nobilis	Be glad noble virgin,
	Die mater amabilis	made a fruitful mother
	fecundata mirifice.	through the miracle of God.
10	Per cunctis venerabilis	Although venerated by all,

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[240] Haggh, " Evolution of the Liturgy at Cambrai Cathedral" (1992) and "The *Officium* of the *Recollectio festorum beata Marie virginis* by Gilles Carlier and Guillaume Du Fay" (2008).

[241] In ceremonies for the ritual purification of women or churching after childbirth the candle was similarly used to represent the new life of the child who had been born. In some cases women who experienced stillbirths or whose baby had died would carry an unlit candle to their churching. Rieder, *On the Purification of Women* (2006). 29. For more on music and churching see my forthcoming article in *Performing Conversions: Urbanism, Theatre, and the Transformation of the Early Modern World*, ed. by José Jouve-Martín and Stephen Wittek.

[242] For a transcription of this piece see Sherr, "*Motetti libro quarto*" (*Venice, 1505*) (1991).

[243] Interestingly the phrase, "spes unica musicorum" is a point of imitation, setting a motto describing the ascending soft hexachord in all four voices.

	concepisti ut humilis	you conceived as a humble maiden
	ancilla Christo iudice.	as Christ so judged.
15	Inter spinas flos fuisti	You were the lily among thorns
	sic flos flori patuisti	such that you bloomed as a flower of flowers,
	compassionis gratia.	graciously bestowing compassion.
	tibi cordis in altari	To thee should we offer
	decet laudes immolari	praises from our hearts at the altar,
	o virgo sacratissima.	O most holy virgin.

SECUNDA PARS

Salve sancta Christi parens, virgo labe carens.	Hail holy Mother of Christ, virgin without blemish.
Salve decus virginum, per te iustis gratia datur et letitia.	Hail glory of virgins, through you the righteous find grace and rejoicing.
Tu nostrum refugium: da reis remedium procul pele vitia, mater pura.	You are our refuge: give us a remedy for our sins, cast far away our moral infirmities, o pure mother.
Peccatorum advocata, o Maria, candens flos lilii reduc nos ad pii dexteram filii.	Advocate of sinners, O Mary, shining bloom of the lily, bring us back to the right hand of the dutiful son.
O regina virgo, dei throno digna, spes unica musicorum devote plebi cantorum esto clemens et benigna.	O virgin Queen, worthy of the throne of God, only hope of musicians, thy devout people, be kind and gracious to singers.

Trans. by Jane Hatter and Lars Lih

Like Compere, the author reiterates the angelic greeting, or "Ave" at the end of the first stanza (see line 6 of Figure 3.19). The last line of the prima pars also situates this piece within the sacred space of a church, like the triplum of Du Fay's *Fulgen iubar*, perhaps at a special Marian altar (line 17).[244]

Petrucci's inclusion of this motet in the fourth book of his series of motet anthologies, indicates both that he perceived an international market for musical prayers for musicians and also that, regardless of its origins, after 1505 this generic, anonymous motet for musicians was available in print to a broad swath of musically literate consumers. The lack of an ascription to a famous composer shows that it was the subject and musical content that were attractive enough to garner a place in Petrucci's large collection of motets, music intended to be consumed by a general market across Europe. This market certainly included professional musicians looking for repertoire appropriate for the institutions they served, but also for their

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[244] This text is also used in a bicinia of Antoine Barbe preserved in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica MS 260. Although bits of the text occur in various other texts, the connection with Barbe's bicinia is the most significant. Another importance quote is the "Salve sancta Christi parens" and "Decantemus in hac die" which are both borrowed from a Marian sequences.

own musical, professional, and spiritual gatherings. It is probably not a coincidence that the phrase, "spes unica musicorum" is set to a motto defining the ascending soft hexachord, a highly charge symbol of fifteenth-century music theory and the musical profession.[245]

Liberal Streams, Rough Throats and Singers' Anxiety in Compere's *Sile fragor*

For a professional singer, professional concerns are often intimately connected with performance anxiety and care of the physical, vocal apparatus.[246] This anxiety is mentioned in the text of two other musician's motets, Compere's *Sile fragor* and Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*, both of which petition the Virgin Mary for aid in offering musical prayers. As a somewhat mysterious, hidden instrument, arising from within the body of a person, the music of the human voice enjoyed a special, elevated status in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, whether it was used for performance of sacred plainchant or Ficino's neo-platonic singing of Greek hymns.[247]

Figure 3.20: Text for Compere, *Sile fragor*

	Sile fragor ac rerum tumultus:	Be still, noise and tumult of the world;
	fuge pavor qui pectore raucus anelas.	flee, anxiety which gasps hoarse in the chest.
	Psallere nos sine et nostros equare modos.	Allow us to sing in the ritual and to make our measures equal.
	Urget amore Muse, opprimens jurgia ire,	Love of the Muse calls, subduing the quarrels of wrath,
5	cum ecclesia resonant dulcore carminis nostri	when the church reverberates with the sweetness of our song
	et voces solide audiencium aures demulcent.	and solid voices charm the ears of the listeners.

SECUNDA PARS

	Suscipe deitatis mater vocum precordia nostra,	Accept, mother of the deity, the heart of our voices,
	et nato refunde vota que psallimus omnes:	and pour back to your son the vows that we all sing in the ritual:
	"Nunc fontem adire decet quo Bachus insedet ipse:	"Now it is fitting to approach the fountain where Bacchus himself is seated;
10	et discedat Limpha liberos dum carpimus rivos."	and let water depart, while we enjoy liberal streams."
	Amen.	Amen

Alternate text for line 9-10 from Motetti A:

	"Tu sacrum templum, tu fons uberrimus ille es	"You [are] the holy temple, you are the most plentiful fountain
10	cuius inexhaustam detrahit unda sitim."	whose water takes away the unquenched thirst."

Tran. by Jeffery Dean

The text of *Sile fragor* refers to singing (*psallere*) in line 3 of Figure 3.20, and places this singing squarely in ecclesiastical space in line 5, "when the church reverberates with the

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[245] The hexachord will be the subject of Chapter 7.

[246] In my experience singers are often notable for the size of their water bottles and elaborate use of scarves.

[247] Ficino argued for the magical power of music and in particular of song when performed under the right circumstances. See Voss, "Musical Magic of Marsilio Ficino" (2001), 240.

sweetness of our song," but like *Decantamus in had die*, lacks reference to any individual.[248] In the first two line of his motet, shown in Figure 3.20, the author, possibly Compere, calls for silence and asks anxiety (*pavor*) to flee. Anxiety is described as something that gasps, "hoarse in the chest," an impediment to successful performance. In line 6, the author affirms the importance of good vocal production in musical prayer by describing an ideal performance as one using "solid voices" (*voces solide*). Musical prayer itself, as the "heart of our voices" (*vocum precordia nostra*), is offered directly to the Virgin in line 7 where she is asked to pour it, like a liquid, back to her son.

Liquid is a central feature in this text, both as the form of potent musical prayers, which eventually flow as wine in the fountain of Bacchus, but also in the simple waters of Lympha, which are instructed to depart.[249] This seems to be a classical recasting of the story of the wedding at Cana, where Christ turns water into wine, allowing all the guests to enjoy "liberal streams."[250] In Compere's motet the sacred wine of Christ replaces the simple water of antiquity. If this piece is understood as music appropriate for a gathering of musicians, like a confraternity or guild, the metaphorical "liberal streams" of Christ's sacrifice, could easily have led to the liberal distribution of wine at a communal meal. Some of Rob Wegman's prime pieces of evidence for gatherings of musicians in guild-like settings come from records for the distribution of wine intended for these gatherings.[251] It seems that the more famous the guest, the higher the quality of the wine, thus earning notation in a register of expenses.

Compere's *Sile fragor* brings concerns about optimizing the human voice for prayer together with the appropriation of classical themes for a Christian ceremony. Like Busnoys, Compere is clearly concerned with using aspects of Greek culture and Classical learning to justify music in a Christian context, including multiple classical references. In line 4, "love of

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[248] The text for this motet, with its alternate final couplets, was the topic of a paper given by Jeffery Dean at the RSA in San Diego in 2013. The handout that he provided is the source for the transcription and translation. Also see Blackburn, "Petrucci's Venetian Editor" (1995), 35-6; and Houghton, "Compere's Motet *Sile fragor*" (2001).

[249] Lympha is a Latin term for a water nymph. Morwood, *Pocket Oxford Latin Dictionary* (2012). Perhaps unrelatedly, there is also a reference to "lymphae" in a hymn for second Vespers of the Apparition Of The BVM Immaculate or Our Lady of Lourdes, celebrated on February 11. See the *Antiphonale Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae pro Diurnis Horis* (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1912), 543-4.

[250] The story of the wedding at Cana is from John 2:1-12.

[251] For more on this see Wegman, "Ockeghem, Josquin and Brumel" (2008) and "From Maker to Composer" (1996). On connections between wine and music making more generally see Coeurdevey, "La célébration du vin dans la chanson polyphonique" (1998).

the Muse" (*urget amor muse*), must stand for music, which calls together individuals, calming quarrels and enticing them to work together as an ensemble in order to "charm the ears of the listeners" (*audiencium aures demulcent*). In this case the audience is clearly heavenly, primarily Mary who passes the musicians' prayer on to Bacchus/Christ.[252] The idea of Bacchus as Christ was not new in the late-fifteenth century, but was clearly controversial enough for the editor of Petrucci's *Motetti A*, to provide an alternate version, expunging Bacchus and Lympha, and reaffirming the sacred nature of the performance space. As I will discuss in chapters 6 and 7, this Christian appropriation of Greek and Latin culture was also an important trend in music theory treatises during the decades around 1500.[253]

Money Matters in Josquin's *Ce povre mendiant / Pauper sum ego*

Money and financial stability are the central concerns of Josquin's three-voice *Ce povre mendiant / Pauper sum ego*. This short, unique composition is preserved in three different sources from roughly the same area—the Basevi Codex (FlorC 2439), copied in Brussels or Mechelen, and a mixed songbook that belonged to Jérôme Lauweryn, a court official in the Netherlands (LonBL 35087), copied in Bruges, both of which were compiled c. 1505-10; and the slightly later chansonnier of Margerite of Austria (BrusBR 228) from c. 1516-23.[254] Each of these seemingly closely related sources, all coming from the Hapsburg orbit of influence in the first decades of the sixteenth century, presents a different combination of texts and text fragments, each of which is displayed in Figure 3.21. All three sources share some version of the Latin text "Pauper sum ego" or "I am a pauper," but only the Basevi Codex expands this quote to confirm its reliance on a biblical source. This short phrase maps nicely unto the six-note, repeating motto in the bassus, which is based on the cadence formula for Psalms in the

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[252] H. David Brumble lists the *Ovidius Moralizatus* and Phillipe de Vitry's *Ovide Moralisé* as a late Medieval sources for the idea of Bacchus as Christ. *Classical Myths and Legends in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (1998), 49. Philippe Morel was also kind enough to respond to my questions via email regarding his forthcoming study on the connection between Bacchus and Christ in Renaissance culture. His book is schedule to come out this fall, *Renaissance dionysiaque: Inspiration bachique, imaginaire du vin et de la vigne dans l'art européen (1430-1630)* (Paris: Éditions du Félin, in press for 2014).

[253] It may therefore be no accident that "fuge pavor" (line 2 of Figure 3.20) is set to a pair of complementary tetrachords in the superius and tenor voices, which fill out the entire soft hexachord. See Stefano Mengozzi's discussion of the term "hexachord" as a Christianization of the Greek tetrachord in *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (2010).

[254] Information on these sources is from the *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550* (1979-88), made available on DIAMM, http://www.diamm.ac.uk.

eighth mode.[255] In contrast to the Latin in the Bassus, the Basevi Codex has a fragment of French text in the top two lines, and the same voices in the chansonnier of Margarite of Austria (BrusBR 228) are given a longer but entirely different French text. This combination of languages has earned this piece the generic label motet-chanson.

Figure 3.21: Texts from all sources for Josquin, *Ce povre mendiant / Pauper sum ego*

Basevi Codex: FlorC 2439 (Brussels or Mechelen, c. 1505-10)
Superius and Tenor:[256]
Fortune d'estrange plummaige.   Fortune with strange plumage.

Bassus:
Pauper sum ego, et in laboribus a   I am a pauper, and in labours from my
    juventute mea; exaltatus autem,   youth: and being exalted, have been
    humiliatus sum et conturbatus.   humbled and troubled.
            from *Latin Vulgate*   From *Douay-Rheims*
            Psalm 87:16

LonBL 35087 (Bruges, c. 1505-10)
Incipit in all voices:
Pauper sum ego.   I am a pauper.

Chansonnier of Margerite of Austria: BrusBR 228 (Mechelen, c. 1516-23)
Superius and Tenor:
Ce povre mendiant pour Dieu   This poor beggar of God
n'a benefice ni office,   has neither benefice nor office
qui ne luy vault ou soit propice   which is worth anything or is favorable
autant que porte sur le lieu.   to him except for the clothes he is
                                                      wearing.
Bassus:
Pauper sum ego.   I am a pauper.

The implications of combining this constructed cantus firmus with the different fragments of text in the various sources for this motet-chanson results in an understanding of this pieces as a commentary on the vulnerable status of professional musicians. The Bassus motto, stated six times, begins on "la" of the natural hexachord, and each statement is separated by two measures of rest. The simple melody (shown in Figure 3.22) is diatonically transposed to begin on each note of the natural hexachord from "la" down to "re" before jumping up a fifth to return to "la" for the final statement. The third statement of the motto can begin on "mi" but the singer must mutate to the hard hexachord in order to sing the final b natural, resulting in

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[255] van Benthem and Brown, Commentary to Vol. 27, *New Josquin Edition* (1991), 33.
[256] There is no voice designation in the top voice but the lower two are specified as shown here.

the same solmization syllables as the initial statement. Thus, the solmization syllables are the same on the first, fourth and final statements of the motto, initiating a circular pattern, perhaps evocative of Fortune's wheel. The Latin phrase, "Pauper sum ego," is in the first-person singular and the extension of this text in the Basevi Codex makes it clear that it was understood, at least by one of the scribes at the Hapsburg court, as a reference to Psalm 87:16 (see text in Figure 3.21 and facsimile in Figure 3.22).[257]

Figure 3.22: Bassus from Basevi Codex, fol. 89v

la la sol la fa mi   /   sol sol fa sol mi re   /   fa fa mi fa re ut /

mi=la la sol la fa mi   /   sol sol fa sol mi re   /   la la sol la fa mi /re

This extended biblical quotation does not fit the short repeated motto used in the bassus voice, but instead seems included to enhance a reader/performer's understanding of the symbolic meaning of the cantus firmus motto, which travels from high to low and back up using the natural and hard hexachords.[258]

The ideas of movement from high to low in the constructed tenor and in the biblical text have implications for the life of a professional musician, which began in youth when, as a little boy, he was accepted into a choir school or *maitrîse*. Recent research on such institutions has shown that these children did indeed labour heavily, shouldering the brunt of the daily performance of the office, as well as many additional services, in return for room and board as

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[257] Since all of these sources come from the circles of the Hapsburg court and seem closely related, perhaps even copied from the same exemplar, it is likely that this was a commonly held understanding of this quotation, although it is a phrase used elsewhere in the bible and also in seemingly musically unrelated liturgical chants.
[258] I recently read that before going on to perform, Leonard Cohen usually gathers his ensemble together to sing a round sharing the first line of this text. Article published on independent.co.uk [accessed 24 June 2014].

well as education in music and Latin grammar among other subjects and skills.[259] Because of the centrality of musical performance to the cycles of the church and the status of the institution, these children were often chosen on the basis of musical ability, independent of social class or financial means.[260] Hence the next line, "and being exalted, have been humbled and troubled," could be seen to refer to the accidents of fate or the wheel of fortune that raised a child from a poor family to more sumptuous circumstance. For example, think of the children from Cambrai who accompanied Nicolas Grenon to Rome to sing in the papal chapel for two years, in 1425-7, and the instability of these childrens' fate after their voices broke when they were forced to either seek the coveted positions ecclesiastical institutions or courts.[261]

Although they do not explicitly mention music or musicians, the situations described in the two French texts can be interpreted as being self-reflexive because of their placement in the mouths of musicians capable of singing or playing this piece and the association of these upper lines with the constructed cantus firmus.[262] The poem from BrusBR 228 (shown at the bottom of Figure 3.21) contains a reference to the financial structures of ecclesiastical institutions where the author laments that he "has neither benefice nor office." If they could get them, and hold onto them, benefices provided ecclesiastical musicians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with financial stability into their old age, as well as a secure place to retire.[263] Considering that the Latin phrase in the bassus is in the first person singular and

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[259] There are many excellent articles in the volume edited by Susan Boynton and Eric Rice, in particular the introduction, *Young Choristers: 650-1700* (2008). Also see Boynton and Cochelin, "The Sociomusical Role of Child Oblates," and Borgerding, "Imagining the Sacred Body," in the *Musical Childhoods & the Cultures of Youth*, ed. by Boynton and Kok, (2006).

[260] The requirements for choirboys differed by region and era. See Boynton and Rice, "Performance and Premodern Childhood" (2008), 9; Dumont, "Choirboys and *Vicaires* in the Maîtrise of Cambrai" (2008), 155.

[261] On Grenon's the trip to Rome accompanied by choirboys from Cambrai, see Fallows, *Dufay* (1981), 31. It seems likely that since a choirboy was active in this capacity for a period of roughly ten years, and an adult ecclesiastical singer could be active for from 20-40 years, depending on how long he lived and how healthy he remained, simple math shows that choir schools were probably producing a larger number of musically trained young men than could possibly find employment in the musical institutions of the church. It seems likely that this could lead to a fair amount of competition on the job market and instability in the lives of the former choirboys.

[262] Although these lines might also have been performed by amateur musicians, like Margerite herself and the other noble owners of these sources, it seems likely that these wealthy amateurs were in sympathy the musical professionals in their employ and who also functioned in the role of musical instructors.

[263] For northern musician's working in Italy, benefices were often sought closer to family and personal connections, often indicating place of origin or education. Pamela Starr has shown different musicians shaped their own career paths, with excellent case studies demonstrating that individuals could make choices on how they

there is no other name presented in the text, the "poor beggar" seeking financial security is likely to be understood as representing the poet, the composer, or the singer. Or perhaps it even represents all three in one, the complete musician, reflected in the idealized figure of Josquin.

By referring to himself as a "mendiant pour Dieu" the author, perhaps Josquin, alludes to the itinerant status of many singers, travelling and looking for work, but also their spiritual affinity with the orders of mendicant friars, who chose a wandering life and financial instability in order to preach the word of God. Interestingly, the itinerant, hand-to-mouth, dependent lifestyle of a singer, basically as a servant of either the church or a court, is documented in payment records which show that one of the main expenditures in both courtly and ecclesiastical documents for musicians was for their clothing.[264] Although they were often relatively poor, if they were associated with an institution they were expected to dress appropriately, and often extremely well, so clothes or livery would be provided, especially for special occasions.[265] This livery indicated a musician's identity and status in a sumptuous environment, and was often of a quality beyond his normal means. This may be what is referred to in the final lines of the French text, "autant que porte sur le lieu," translated by Fallows as "except only for the clothes he is wearing." This seems appropriate since the clothes of a courtly singer or ecclesiastical musician might be his most precious possessions.

In the commentary to the *New Josquin Edition*, Jaap van Benthem and Howard Mayer Brown wonder about how the text fragment "Fortune d'estrange plummaige" could comment on or expand the meaning of the text "Pauper sum ego," "unless the transposed formula in the

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developed their professional profile. See Starr, "Rome as the Centre of the Universe" (1992) and "Musical Entrepreneurship" (2004).

[264] For a few examples, see many of the documents appended to Higgins, "*In hydraulis* Revisited" (1986), 84-. In her discussion of documents 7 and 8 she shows that, although Busnoys was often not officially on the payment registers for the ducal chapel, these expenditures for clothing prove that he was outfitted for performance with this ensemble. Discussed on page 44. She also argues, perhaps a little too strongly, that the differences between the robes provided for Busnoys (a long robe "of fine violet cloth... lined with the fur of 101 black lambs") and Hayne von Ghizeghem ("long black woolen robes with black statin *pourpoints*, or short tunics") clarified "the formal distinctions in their respective functions," 45.

[265] For an account of the kind of expenditures made for clothing servants and vassals for special occasions see the treasurer's account for clothing from Charles the Bold's meeting with the Emperor outside Trier, transcribed in Vaughan, *Charles the Bold* (2002), 140-44, particularly the trumpeters and minstrels on p. 143, and the provost of St. Donatian on p. 142.

B [bassus] was intended to represent the gradual descent of the wheel of fortune."[266] Viewing this composition in the light of the concerns and professional anxieties of musicians, the transposition of the motto down a step each time can easily be understood to represent the turning of Fortuna's wheel. In her article on the intersection of renown, memory and writing in the late Middle Ages, Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet points out that in the Middle Ages Fame or *Fama* was represented as a monstrous "bird with plumage covered with eyes, ears, and mouths, and that flew quickly throughout the world."[267] The phrase from the Basevi Codex seems to be conflating the ideas of the bird of *Fama* with the enigmatic figure of *Fortuna* and her wheel. The curious plumage suddenly makes more sense as a reference evoking the forces of renown and celebrity that could propel a professional musician to success in the international scene, the center of which was Rome and the Papal curia, and their inevitable, eventual fall into the clutches of death and purgatory. Whether or not this mysterious French phrase from the Basevi Codex represents an alternate text that has been lost except for the incipit, or was simply included as a commentary on the professional concerns expressed by this idiosyncratic composition, this interpretation of it adds conviction to the theory that this piece expresses the anxiety of the author about fame/fortune and money matters.[268]

Conclusion

These musicians' motets emphasize the role of humans as creators of powerful musical objects that will endure to celebrate their creator, even after death. Du Fay, in is *Ave regina celorum III*, memorialized himself in his motet while also invoking protection for the broader musical community, placing his name in the mouths and throats of his fellows. Similarly all the pieces discussed in this chapter indicate the efficacious nature of sung musical prayers for musicians as a group, bringing their common concerns together and establishing connections and continuity across time. In his motet *Omnium bonorum plena* Compere builds a musical geneology through the names of thirteen students or musical children of Du Fay. Compere's other motet, *Sile fragor*, the anonymous *Decantemus in hac die*, and Josquin's motet-chanson

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[266] Commentary to Vol. 27, *New Josquin Edition* (1991), 34.

[267] "L'allégorie personelle représente Fama comme un monstre, un oiseau aux plumes couvertes d'yeux et de bouches et qui vole, rapide, â travers le monde." Cerquiglini-Toulet, "*Fama* et les Preux" (1993), 41.

[268] Starr, "Rome as the Centre of the Universe" (1992). One might even wonder if the plumage is another reference to the sumptuous livery worn by musicians, well beyond a poor choirboy's initial station.

present the professional concerns of musicians through references to the physical actions of polyphonic singing, group meals, or the lifestyle of musicians. These three works appeal to experiences particular to those in the musical profession, building the musical community but making this information public to both heavenly and earthly patrons. In a similar vein, some musicians constructed musical laments for other musicians. These works, the subject of the next chapter, are similarly concerned with the establishment of a geneology of musical patrilineage and they also strengthened the continuity of the musical community while also drawing attention to the act of musical creation.

Chapter 4: *Plorer, gemir, crier*: Musical Mourning and the Composer

Death was an important impetus for the composition of polyphonic music in the late medieval and early modern periods. As we saw in the discussion of the composition and performance of Du Fay's personal prayer, *Ave regina celorum III*, at Cambrai (see Chapter 2) and the analysis of the textual content of Compere's *Omnium bonorum plena* (see Chapter 3), musicians were central to this process, both as performers and founders of muscial prayers. Manuscripts owned by churches with large musical ensembles, like Cambrai, included simple settings of generic prayers and votive liturgical items, like the *Salve regina* and other Marian antiphons, to fulfill the requirements of endowed services listed in obit books.[269] At the same time complex polyphonic compositions were composed for the intricate obsequies of important rulers, setting grand, occasional texts, such as the anonymous lament for Maximilian, *Proch dolor*, or Moulu's motet-chanson, *Fiere atropos / Anxiatus est in me*, on the death of Anne of Brittany.[270] Among the many solemn compositions from the decades c. 1500 there is a group of polyphonic laments for musicians which musicologists often call *déplorations*. These pieces commemorate connections between musicians of different generations, often invoking student-teacher relationships like those discussed in Compere's *Omnium bonorum plena* or Busnoys' *In hydraulis*. Musicians' laments feature a variety of musical and textual combinations, including superimposing different languages or highlighting the inclusion of pre-existent music, and thus foreground the role of the composer. In combining a lament text with unusual musical features that often mix generic conventions, musicians' laments reinforce the continuity of the musical community with the past, establishing the living composer within a venerable tradition.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, Machaut, the first composer to supervise the creation of manuscript collections of his own complete poetic and musical works and the author of multiple self-referential compositions, was also the first composer to be honored with a

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[269] Haggh, "Foundations or Institutions?" (1996), Curtis, "Simon Mellet, scribe of Cambrai" (1999), and Nosow, *Ritual Meanings* (2012); for generic prayer settings, see Brown, "The Mirror of Man's Salvation" (1990).
[270] For musical obsequies for rulers see many of the articles in *Tod in Musik*, eds. Gasch and Lodes (2007).

polyphonic musical lament, *Armes amours / O flour des flours* by composer Franciscus Andrieu and poet Eustache Deschamps. As mentioned in Chapter 3, this lament is contained in the Chantilly codex, where it functions within a complex of works from the next generation that refer to music and music making. In her article on Machaut's lament and constructions of renown in the Chantilly Codex, Elizabeth Eva Leach shows how various aspects of this source demonstrate that Machaut's self-presentation in his works was accepted by composers of the following generation.[271] She argues that his concern with his own posterity is evident not only in his activities in overseeing and organizing the copying of his works, but also in four additional areas that are relevant to this discussion of self-referential works and memorials:

1) the dual depiction and description of Machaut in the *Prologue* to his manuscripts, which she claims is "designed to exploit the 'audio-visual poetics' of memory";

2) the creation of genealogies of musicians in both the *Voir dit* and the *Dit le la Harpe*;

3) Machaut's explanation of the chanson *Plourez, dames* as a musical "testament," inspired by a period of grave illness, which can be linked to contemporary depictions of "weepers" on tombs; and

4) the actual provisions that Machaut made for this own musical commemoration after his death, perhaps even including the creation, and provisions for the performance, of a polyphonic Mass.[272]

These ideas resonate on multiple levels with the concepts of musical community and commemoration considered in the previous chapters, in particular the ideas of musical genealogies, the importance of being remembered by the community through prayer, and the emphasis on the potentially enduring quality of the written musical object to keep the memory of the author alive.

There are, however, two major differences. Despite the highly self-referential nature of the Chantilly codex, demonstrated in large part by the inclusion of music about music and by the concern with attributions and naming musicians, Leach convincingly argues for the

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[271] "As a whole, the *Ch* songs attest to Machaut's success in claiming a lasting place in a genealogy of inventors of music—his own self-presentation has become the perception of his younger contemporaries." Leach, "Dead Famous" (2009), 86.

[272] Leach, "Dead Famous" (2009), 64-65; for the arguments tying this Mass to Reims see Robertson, "The Mass of Guillaume de Machaut" (1992).

centrality of a patron/composer relationship to these features of this manuscript and the works that it contains. In contrast, the musical laments of the later fifteenth century, like the musicians' motets considered in Chapter 3, show no evidence of direct patronage. It is also important to consider the significant reshaping of the European musical community during the large gap, spanning at least sixty years, between the lament for Machaut (from the 1390s) and the next verifiable polyphonic lament for another musician, Ockeghem's motet-chanson for Binchois (d. 1460), *Mort tu as navré / Miserere*. During this time there was a significant increase in the number of foundations for sacred polyphony and choir schools across Europe, which fostered an international interchange of musical techniques, practitioners, and repertoire.[273] The advent of music printing accentuated this movement, making music by individuals accessible to an even broader market. Hence, while laments for musicians from the fifteenth century add depth to documented relationships between musical professionals, later pieces from the sixteenth century show that printing had transformed the genre into a forum for monumental, but at times impersonal, homage to artists and their enduring works rather than mortal men.

Laments for musicians are musically difficult to classify because they combine elements of different musical genres and set texts in several languages and language combinations. Organized chronologically by the death date of the composer commemorated, Table 4.1 covers pieces from 1450 to 1570 that use Latin or French.[274] Table 4.1 graphically illustrates the variety of language configurations through the use of contrasting fonts.[275] The main time period discussed in this dissertation is enclosed within a box of double lines. The final column provides the best information available on the dating of the earliest source for the given piece.[276]

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[273] Strohm, *Rise of European Music* (1993); and Haagh, "The Meeting of Sacred Ritual and Secular Piety" (1992) and "Foundations or Institutions?" (1996).

[274] I have included the lament for Machaut, since, despite the significant gap between its composition and the other laments, it remains relevant to the discussion.

[275] There are also a number of related laments in Italian or dialects that I have chosen not to include in this chapter. These include four laments for Willaert—Lorenzo Benvenutis, *Giunto Adrian / Di qual i grandi del mondo*; Battista Confortis, *S'hoggi son senz' honor / S'hoggi s'acheta*; Andrea Gabrieli, *Sassi, Palae, Sabbion, del Adrian lio*; Alvise Willaert, *Pianza'l Grego Pueta / Fra tandi*.

[276] Dates come primarily from the *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550* (1979-88), as it is made available on DIAMM, with some amendments recommended by DIAMM.

Table 4.1: Polyphonic Laments for Musicians in French and Latin from 1450-1570

The language of the text is indicated by these fonts: *French*, Latin

COMPOSER	TITLE	VV	SUBJECT[277]	DIED	FIRST SOURCE
Andrieu	*Armes amours* / O flour des flours[278]	4	Machaut	1377	Chantilly 564, c. 1400
Dufay	*En triumphant de Cruel Dueil*	3	Binchois[279]	1460	Oporto 714, 1460
Ockeghem	*Mort tu as navré* / Miserere	4	Binchois	1460	DijonBM 517, c. 1465-9
Obrecht	Mille quingentis / Requiem	4	W. Obrecht	1488	SegC s.s., c. 1502
Josquin	*Nymphes des bois*[280] / Requiem	5	Ockeghem	1497	Motetti 5
Anon.[281]	Ergone conticuit[282]	4	Ockeghem	1497	RISM 1547/5
la Rue, Pierre de	*Plorer, gemir, crier* / Requiem	4	*Ockeghem*[283]	1497	FlorC 2439, c. 1508
Mouton, Jean	*Qui ne regrettoit le gentil Fevin?*		A. Fevin	1511-12	RISM 1520/3
Verdelot	Recordare domine / Parce domine	5	*Obrecht*[284]	1505	RISM 1534/5
Josquin[285]	Absolve, quaesumus, Domine / Requiem	6	*Obrecht*[286] *Josquin*[287]	1505 1521	ToleBC 21, 1549
Anon.	Musica, quid defles?	4	Agricola	1506	RISM 1538/8
Anon.[288]	Absolve, quaesumus, Domine / Requiem	7 (4)	Josquin	1521	PiacFM s.s, 1530s
Appenzeller, Benedictus	Musae Jovis[289]	4	Josquin	1521	Cambrai 124, 1542
Gombert	Musae Jovis / Circumdederunt	6	Josquin	1521	RISM 1545/15
Vinders	O mors inevitabilis / Requiem	7	Josquin	1521	RISM 1545/15
Josquin[290]	Fletus date et lamentamini / Requiem	—	Josquin	1521	LeuvHC C1, c. 1550

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[277] Entries in *italics* indicate that the text does not contain the subject's name. For each of these I have provided a footnote containing the justification from a secondary source which suggests the identity of the subject for the lament.

[278] Text by Eustache Deschamps.

[279] Fallows, "Two More Dufay Songs," *Early Music* 3 (1975).

[280] Text by Molinet.

[281] Attributed to "Jo. Lupi" in RISM 1547-5.

[282] Text by Erasmus.

[283] Meconi, "Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson" (1997).

[284] Uses the bassus of Obrecht's *Parce domine* in the superius against the Introit from the *Missa pro vitanda mortalitatem* or Matins Responsory for the *De Regum* feast. See Böker-Heil, *Die Mottetten von Philippe Verdelot* (Köln-Sülz: Bothmann, 1967).

[285] Authenticity of this attribution has been questioned.

[286] Elders, "A Tribute to Obrecht?"(1987).

[287] Noble, "Josquin Desprez," in *New Grove Dictionary* vol. 9 (1980).

[288] Picker suggests either Willaert or Verdelot as composers. See "Josquiniana," in *Josquin des Prez* (London, 1976), 247-60.

[289] Text by Gerard Avidius.

Anon.	Eheu dolor / Requiem	6	Jo. Lupi	1539	lost
Othmayr	Non secus atque olim[291]	4	Breitengraser	1542	RISM 1546/8
Vaet, Jacobus	Continuo lachrimas / Requiem	6	Clemens non Papa	1555-6	RISM 1558/4
de Rore, Cipriano	Concordes adhibete / Vive Adriane	5	Willaert	1562	RISM 1566/17
Certon, Pierre	*Musiciens, chantre melodieux* / Requiem	6 (5)	Sermisy	1562	Du Chemin 1570/C1718

For most Renaissance music the language and poetic genre of the text are the most important indicators of musical genre and often also dictate the musical form through repetition. Normally motets are in Latin and chansons are in French, although there is often stylistic overlap and a few outright exceptions. Just a glance at Table 4.1 shows that Latin-texted compositions far outnumber those setting French texts. Thus the term *déploration*, since it implicitly sidelines the Latin-texted polyphonic laments for musicians, seems inadequate to an understanding of this complex group of compositions.

The most famous exemplars of the musician's lament, Ockeghem's *Mort tu a navré / Miserere* and Josquin's *Nymphes des bois / Requiem*, are what have been termed motet-chansons—pieces with a French text in most of the voices but utilizing a pre-existent Latin text and at least fragments of a melody in another voice, usually the tenor. To her article on the origins of the motet-chanson Honey Meconi attaches two appendices, first a list of motet-chansons, and second an extensive list of laments for musicians. She concludes by stating that with his lament for Binchois, Ockeghem "set the tone for more than two dozen succeeding works in a very special medium," meaning the motet-chansons, and yet only seven of the motet-chansons that she identifies as being composed after Binchois's death are laments.[292] The poignant motet-chansons of Ockeghem and Josquin have dominated musicological discourse. However, when I tabulated the language combinations of the extant polyphonic laments for musicians I found that by far the most common genre was the traditional cantus firmus motet, with a Latin text set over a pre-existent piece of Latin-texted chant, followed by

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[290] This is a contrafactum of Nymphes de bois / Requiem in a set of partbooks from the 16th century. See Vanhulst, "Le Manuscrit C1" (1997).

[291] Text by Thomas Venatorius.

[292] Meconi, "Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson" (1997), 392. About half of the pieces are love songs.

compositions with a single Latin text (see Table 4.2). The total number of laments incorporating French text was less than a third of the works, with only four motet-chansons.

Table 4.2: Languages and language combination laments for musicians from Table 4.1
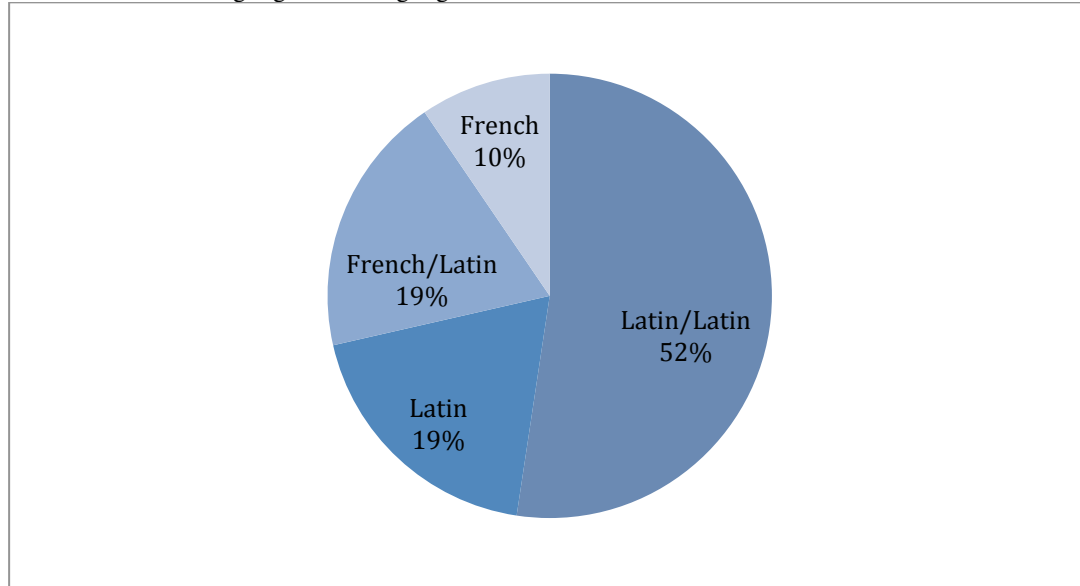
The latest motet-chanson, Certon's lament for Sermisy, *Musiciens, chantre melodieux / Requiem*, was printed over sixty years after the first source for Josquin's *Nymphes des bois*.[293] Thus, although the early motet-chansons were certainly influential, they did not by themselves create a set of generic conventions for lamenting a musician that was followed by later generations of composers.

Julie Cumming and Thomas Brothers have both discussed the importance of genres and subgenres as markers of meaning in fifteenth century music.[294] Although generic terminology is often applied from a twentieth- or twenty-first-century point of view, the goal of such work for musicologists is usually to isolate trends and normative characteristics in order to understand function and meaning in individual works or the works of a particular composer. In *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay* Cumming uses subgenres as a way of organizing and categorizing the wide variety of Latin-texted compositions that were labeled "motet" in the

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[293] Certon's motet-chanson lamenting a musician is not included in Meconi's list, perhaps because it is so much later. The other possible motet-chanson is Pierre de la Rue's *Plorer, gemir, crier / Requiem*, which, although it has all of the markers of a musical lament, has an incomplete text leaving the subject of the lament unclear. I think Meconi's argument for Ockeghem is convincing. See Meconi, *Pierre de La Rue and Musical Life* (2003), 180-82.
[294] Cumming, *Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (1999), 26; Brothers, "Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition" (1991).

fifteenth century.[295] This allows her to trace changes in function and the connections between different national traditions. Brothers applies the idea of specific musical features, including esoteric mensuration and compositional techniques, as markers of generic influence and identifies a growing historic sense in a number of late-fifteenth-century cantus firmus motets and Masses.[296] The laments for musicians do not fit comfortably into any single genre or subgenre, since they exhibit a wide variety of languages and generic markers.[297] Instead these pieces are unified by purpose, to honor a deceased colleague, and by explicit mixing of generic conventions, thereby foregrounding the compositional process. Although they draw from multiple generic traditions, I argue that looking at these pieces as a group shows us another way in which composers built a sense of community and advertised their profession to a knowledgeable audience.

Personal Grief in a Trio of Early Laments by Du Fay, Obrecht, and Ockeghem

The focus on the motet-chansons by Ockeghem and Josquin has obscured the important contributions of Du Fay and Obrecht.[298] The laments by Du Fay (a chanson), Ockeghem (a motet-chanson), and Obrecht (a cantus firmus motet), all composed in the second half of the fifteenth century, constitute a generically diverse trio sufficient for understanding musicians' laments as a whole. In his highly affective, if old-fashioned, chanson-lament for Binchois, *En triumphant*, Du Fay celebrated the individual musical creations of his esteemed colleague.[299] With his lament for his father, who was also a musician, *Mille quingentis*, Obrecht brought the tradition of prestigious epitaphs, created to memorialize great

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[295] See Chapter 3 for an excellent summary and discussion the variety of uses for the term "motet" in the fifteenth century. *Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (1999), 41-62.

[296] Brothers, "Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition" (1991).

[297] Previous authors who have discussed these works as a group include Meconi, as well as Rubin's PhD dissertation, "*Car Atropos*: A Study of the Renaissance Deploration" (1978); and Geary's MA thesis, "Renaissance Déploration" (1980).

[298] It is impossible to know if the collaborative lament for Machaut by Andrieu and Deschamps was known to Ockeghem or any of his contemporaries in the mid-fifteenth century.

[299] I accept Fallows proposal that this lament was intended for Binchois, although I am currently reviewing additional information regarding the dates of the Porto MS and an alternate view in an article by Sean Gallagher. This information was kindly brought to my attention at the AMS meeting in Milwaukee on Nov. 8th, 2014. For Fallows view see "Two More Dufay Songs" (1975) and "Robertus de Anglia" (1982); for the alternate interpretations of this song see Gallagher, "Du Fay's *En triumphant de Cruel Dueil*" (2013); and Gossen, *Musik in Texten* (2006).

men, into the realm of professional musicians.[300] Although these pieces have a similar memorial function, they draw on generic markers of different compositional traditions and cultural contexts, attracting attention to the act of musical creation and the composer himself.

Du Fay's *En triumphant de cruel dueil*

As David Fallows points out, Du Fay's *En triumphant* is an understated chanson-lament for his friend, Binchois. The friendship between Du Fay and Binchois, which was beautifully memorialized by Martin le Franc in his *Le champion des dames*, is also confirmed by courtly and ecclesiastical documents.[301] Although the text is corrupt in the unique musical source, Oporto 714, Fallows has identified a more comprehensible version of the text in the Rohan manuscript, an important source for fifteenth-century French poetry, compiled in Paris in the 1470s.[302]

Figure 4.1: Text of Du Fay's Lament for Binchois

A	En triumphant de cruel dueil	When I overcome cruel mourning,
	Dueil angoisseux es mon accueil	**Fearful Mourning** receives me
	et tout mon bien n'est que martire,	and all my good is only martyrdom;
B	et ne saroie mon mal descripre	and I do not know how to describe my ills
	ne dire ce dont je me dueil.	nor to explain why I mourn.
a	**Triste plaisir**, mon seul recueil,	**Sad Pleasure,** my only help,
	me compaignera a son vueil	will accompany me according to his whim
	et me fera plorer pour rire.	and will make me weep rather than laugh.
A	*En triumphant de cruel dueil*	*When I overcome cruel mourning,*
	Dueil angoisseux es mon accueil	*Fearful Mourning receives me*
	et tout mon bien n'est que martire,	*and all my good is only martyrdom;*
a	La mort sera mon seul escueil,	Death will be my one way out,
	maiz que je soie en ung sercueil	so long as I am firmly placed
	prestement bouté, sans plus dire;	in a coffin, without more ado;
b	n'autre ne quiers je avoir pour mire,	and I do not wish for any other healer
	pour m'avancer ce que plus vueil.	to help me to that which I prefer.
AB	*En triumphant de cruel dueil*	*When I overcome cruel mourning,*
	Dueil angoisseux es mon accueil...	*Fearful Mourning receives me...*

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[300] Gallagher, "*Pater optime*" (2001), 417.
[301] Fallows surmises that they met in 1434 at the wedding of Louis and Anne of Savoy and in 1449 at Sainte-Waudru, Mons. See "Two More Dufay Songs" (1975), 358.
[302] Fallows, "Two More Dufay Songs" (1975), 358.

Unlike many other laments, the text does not include the name of the subject.[303] Instead the poet incorporates the titles of well-known chansons by Binchois (shown in bold in Figure 4.1), allowing the reader or listener to recognize the piece as a lament for a specific person, a professional musician identified by his musical works.[304] The ambiguous double meaning of the reference to "Sad pleasure," "accompanying" the author as either a companion or as a musical support, seems to situate these referential titles in the world of their musical settings. Musical and textual references to other compositions and poems were common in the courtly world of the chanson, an appropriate medium for honoring Binchois who had strong ties to the Burgundian court.[305]

Death and mourning are the subjects of the two chansons referred to by the inclusion of their titles in *En triumphant— Dueil angoisseux* and *Triste plaisir*. The second line of the first stanza quotes the first words of Binchois's famous setting of Christine de Pisan's lament on the death of her husband, *Dueil angoisseux*. The next section, the aA, begins with a reference to *Triste plaisir*, a rondeau by Alain Chartier, famous French poet and cleric of Charles VII, which was used by Jean Régnier in his account of his time of captivity as a prisoner of war.[306] Régnier was the bailiff of Auxerre, but also a poet and close friend of the duke of Burgundy, who was captured in 1432 by French soldiers and held captive for eighteen months.[307] His text elaborates on Chartier's poem and also includes references to *Dueil angoisseux*.[308] The poem set by Du Fay extends the juxtaposition of weeping and laughing in the lines following the reference to Chartier's text, reworking an image central to the original chanson.

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[303] Perhaps Du Fay considered overt naming to be too crude a device for the elite cultural context intended for this chanson. For a discussion of some of the issues surrounding hidden names see de Looze, "A New Look at the Anagrams of Guillaume de Machaut" (1988).

[304] For some of the discussion on musical intertextuality in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries see Plumley, "Playing the Citation Game" (2003) and "Intertextuality in Fourteenth-Century Chanson" (2003); Stone, "A Singer at the Fountain" (2001); Brown, "Emulation, Competition, and Homage" (1982); Reynolds, "Counterpoint of Allusion" (1992).

[305] See *Binchois Studies*, ed. by Kirkman and Slavin (2000).

[306] *Les Fortunes et Adversitez de Jean Régnier*, ed. by Droz (1923), 152-57.

[307] Boussuat, "Les Prisonnier de Beauvais" (1951), 26. For more information on how Régnier fits into the practice of taking prisoners of war and ransom culture in the early fifteenth century see Ambühl, *Ransom Culture in the Late Middle Ages* (2013).

[308] For the reference to *Dueil angoisseux* see line 4421 in *Les Fortunes et Adversitez de Jean Régnier*, ed. by Droz (1923), 152-57. Régnier explains that Chartier's text expresses the sorrow of isolation that he experienced during his long period of imprisonment and the bittersweet comfort that memories of friends can bring in times of solitude.

In Du Fay's rondeau text, the musical works of Binchois act as a source of comfort for the mourning poet/composer but he does not directly quote the music. David Fallows argues that following the example of the text, which may have been written by the composer, Du Fay relies on a subtle alteration of his own musical language to alert his knowledgeable, courtly audience to his personal expression of grief. "Traces of the Binchois style may be seen after the midpoint cadence at bar 15. First there is a sudden slowing of the harmonic rhythm here, reminiscent of what Binchois did in the second half of his *Dueil Angoisseux* and in *Adieu jusques je vous revoye*. Second the trochaic metre that dominates these pars is similar to that which permeates so many Binchois songs and is extremely rare in those of Dufay. Third, the nature of the line and the spacing of the texture at this point suggests that it may be a direct quote from Binchois."[309] The second ab, the only section without a reference to a specific musical work by Binchois, includes the first overt reference to death. The poet says that he will remain sorrowful until reunited with the deceased in death, the ultimate escape from pain and grief. Although Binchois himself is no longer available for conversation or music making, his musical works remain. His friends, including Du Fay, can evoke his musical voice from beyond the grave by continuing to perform his compositions and recalling their titles, sounds, and textures in their own musical creations.

Ockeghem's *Mort tu as navré / Miserere*

Ockeghem's famous motet-chanson combines a ballade text and repetition scheme with sacred Latin words and elements of cantus firmus composition in the lower voices. The chanson text is a personal epitaph for Binchois in the form of a ballade, a text form that was becoming archaic by the 1460s. Although Binchois and Ockeghem were each famous for their connections to different courts, Burgundy and France, their strongest connection was a common origin in the area of Mons. Binchois held a prebend there at St. Waudru and visited at least once in 1449, while Ockeghem founded an obit in Mons and identified himself as a "natif."[310] This motet-chanson is the only surviving setting of a text in ballade form by Ockeghem, indicating that the form itself is a reference to the tastes of a previous musical era,

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[309] "Two More Dufay Songs" (1975), 359. Gallagher proposes that this is actually a self-quotation, "Du Fay's *En triumphant de Cruel Dueil*" (2013).
[310] Kirkman, "Binchois the Borrower" (2000); and van Overstraeten, "Le lieu de naissance de Jean Ockeghem" (1992), 30.

perhaps even to *Dueil angoisseux* itself, as distinguished from Ockeghem's own cultural context and poetic preferences.[311] In both sources the superius is given the first stanza of the French text (shown in Figure 4.2), while Latin text fragments are placed beneath the tenor and contratenors; there is also a chant quotation in the secunda pars.

Because of their placement in the manuscript there is some question about the order of the stanzas of the French text and it is clear that some of the lines and syllables are missing. Despite these problems the three stanzas of the poem are neatly organized into three sections, each of which is concerned with Binchois's professional connections and identity.[312] The first stanza, written under the top voice, is a general call to mourning where Binchois is called the "father of joyousness," implying both his role as a secular musician and as the progenitor of musical children.

Figure 4.2: Text for Ockeghem's Lament for Binchois

1	a	Mort tu as navré de ton dart	Death, you have wounded with your dart
		Le père de joieuseté	The father of joyousness,
	a	En desployant ton estandart	In spreading your banner
		Sur Binchois, patron de bonté	Over Binchois, model of goodness,
	b	Son corps est plaint et lamenté	Who, his corpse mourned and lamented,
		Qui gist soubs lame.	lies beneath a tombstone.
		Helas! plaise vous en pitié	Alas, may you for pity's sake
		Prier pour l'ame!	*Pray for his soul.*
2	a	Retoricque, se Dieu me gard,	Rhetoric, as God preserves me,
		son serviteur a regretée	Has grieved for her servant;
	a	Musicque par piteux regard,	Music, with piteous gaze,
		Fait deul et noir [elle] a portée	Has mourned and dressed in black.
	b	Pleurez hommes de feaulté;	Weep, O men of fealty,
		... [line missing]	....
		Veuillez hommes université	Ask that your community
		Prier pour l'ame!	*Pray for his soul*
3	a	En sa jonesse fut soudart	In his youth he was a soldier
		De honnerable mondanité	Of honorable worldliness
	a	Puis a esleu la milleur part	Then he made the better choice,
		Servant Dieu en humilité	Serving God in humility,
	b	Tant luy soit en crestienté	So much so that in Christendom
		Son nom est fame	His name is famed
		Qui detient de grant voulenté	Whoever pauses here with good will
		Priez pour l'ame!	*Pray for his soul!*

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[311] Meconi, "Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson" (1997), 385.

[312] The second two stanzas are present only in Dijon BM 517, with the one beginning "Retoricque" on fol. 166v and "En sa jonesse" on 168r. For an interesting discussion of the source situation see Fitch, "Restoring Ockeghem's *Mort tu as navré*" (2001).

a	Miserere, miserere pie ...	Have mercy, have mercy gracious...
b	Quem in cruce redemisti precioso sanguine	Whom though didst ransom in the cross with they precious blood.
	Pie Jhesu domine dona ei requiem.	Gracious Jesus, Lord, give him repose.

Trans. adapted from Wexler,
"Ockeghem and Politics" (1997), 6.

The other two stanzas refer to his dual professional affiliations with secular and sacred music making. The one on the first opening of the Dijon source is a learned appeal to Rhetoric and Music as well as a call for the prayers of the community of similar poet-musicians (the French word used is "*université*"), while the other makes reference to his two career paths, first as a soldier or courtier and then later as a priest. The final line of this stanza, just before the refrain, also situates these verses within a sacred space by asking that "Whoever pauses here with good will, pray for his soul!" This suggests that these verses might actually have been inscribed on his tombstone or on some sort of memorial in Soignes, as was implied by the wording of the b-section of the first stanza ("Son corps est plaint et lamenté qui gist soubs lame"). If not actually present in the church, the text at least evokes the contemplation of Binchois's final resting place within the church, giving this piece unequivocal prayer function wherever it might be performed, similar to Du Fay's personal prayer motet, *Ave regina celorum* III or Josquins *Pater noster / Ave Maria* setting.[314] The presence of professional concerns and the musical community, which are present throughout the text, reinforce the continuity of compositional skill between the different generations of Ockeghem and Binchois.

The Latin text is extremely fragmented, but in both sources, two of the three lower voices have solemn phrases of Latin, without a single, clear liturgical source. Since these three lower voices seem to function as a unit, beginning both sections and cadencing before the entrance of the discantus, modern vocal editions and performances usually extend the Latin text to all three. The first section starts with a supplication in the lower voices, "Miserere, miserere pie...," and the second section opens with the phrase "Quem in cruce redemisti precioso sanguine" in the tenor in Dijon and fragments of this are in the contratenor bassus in

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[313] The Latin text fragments might have been intended for the contratenor voices as well as the tenor, since fragments show up in both of them in MonteA 871.

[314] Discussed previously in Chapter 2. Interestingly we have wills for both Du Fay and Binchois. On Josquin's endowment see Fallows, *Josquin* (2009), 382; and Kellman, "Josquin and the Courts" (1976), 208.

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the MonteA 871 (see the bottom of Figure 4.3). Because of their trochaic metre and proximity to the quotation of the text and music of the *Dies irae* at the end of the second section, Richard Wexler concludes that the earlier text fragments indicate a trope on the final segment of the *Dies irae* sequence.[315] There is also a partial concordance with a supplementary responsory verse from the office of the dead in a 14th-century manuscript from Arras.[316] I argue that the text at the beginning is general enough that it could simply be meant to evoke restrained funereal music, much of which seems to have been improvised at this time and regularly included parts of liturgical music from the Mass and Office of the Dead.[317]

Figure 4.3: Three-voice Texture in Opening Sections of Ockeghem, *Mort tu a navré*[318]

A Section

B Section

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[315] Commentary to *Ockeghem: Collected Works* (1959), vol. 3, lxxxvi.

[316] Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, 893 (olim 465), 246r. Accessed on Cantus Database: http://cantusdatabase.org/node/113968. I have not yet been able to consult a copy of this responsory to see if there is a musical relationship between Ockeghem's setting and the chant melody.

[317] For some examples and discussion of simple settings that seem to be written out improvisations see the appendix of Gioia Filocamo's article "Democratizing the Requiem" (2009), and her edition of Florence, Panciatichi 27. Improvisation and the Requiem are also discussed in Wexler, "Missing Movements of Ockeghem's Requiem" (2001).

[318] Examples are from Wexler and Plamenac, eds., *Ockeghem: Collected Works*, vol. 3 (1959) 77-8.

In this case it might evoke the actual sound of a funeral procession or other memorial service, with a low three-voiced texture, appropriate for male confraternity members.[319] Like the references to the ecclesiastical location of his memorial in the first and final stanzas of the biographical poem, the text and music of the lower two voices were also intended to evoke the final resting place of Binchois.

Like the sections for the three lower voices at the beginning of the a and b sections (shown in Figure 4.3), the refrain line of the French text, "Pray for his soul" or "Priez pour l'ame," is introduced by a section of reduced texture (shown in Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4: 3-voice, stacked canon for quotation of *Dies irae* in Ockeghem's Lament for Binchois

Similar to the supplicatory refrains in the texts for the two upper voices of Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar*, an isorhythmic musician's motet discussed in Chapter 2, this is also a request for

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continued prayers for a musician's soul. During this section of reduced texture the "Pie Jhesu" motive from the *Dies irae* chant is presented in a three-voice, stacked canon by the lower voices while the top voice rests.[320] This textural reduction draws the listener's attention to the relationship between the Latin and French texts, both of which are pleading for aid. As is shown in Figure 4.4, the tenor acts at this point as a cantus firmus, singing the entire phrase in semibreves and breves until the end of the section. The contratenor altus begins the point of imitation a breve before the tenor, but with a slightly different rhythm, and abandons the chant phrase quickly. The contratenor bassus imitates the tenor perfectly after a breve, at the fifth below, for the entire chant phrase "Pie Jesu Domine." The Latin "Pie" rhymes with the first word of the ballade refrain, "Priez," both of which would have been heard on each repetition, reinforcing the central concern of the piece, the welfare of Binchois soul through the continued prayers of his community. Through a reduction in texture, imitation, assonance, and the presentation of a funereal chant tune in unvaried semibreves in the three lowest voices, Ockeghem emphasizes the prayer function of this setting of an archaic secular musico-poetic form, just as the ballade text illuminates the sacred and secular professional connections of Binchois as a professional musician.

Obrecht's *Mille quingentis*

In contrast to the generic mixing in Ockeghem's motet-chanson, Obrecht's lament for his father conforms to the genre of the cantus firmus motet. It draws attention to music as a worthy profession through the learned content of the text and original treatment of a cantus firmus derived from the Requiem Mass.[321] The text of the non-cantus firmus voices is an original epitaph, commemorating the passing of the composer's father, Willem Obrecht, who was a professional trumpet player in Ghent.[322] The text may have been written or commissioned by Jacob, but the motet was certainly created by him to commemorate his father's passing.[323]

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[320] Gosman, "Stacked Canon" (1997).

[321] For a transcription see the *New Obrecht Edition*, ed. by Chris Maas, vol. 16 (1996), 55-68.

[322] For the most thorough discussion of the documents regarding Willem, Jacob, and his mother, Lysbette Gheeraerts, in Ghent see Wegman, *Born for the Muses* (1994), 21-44.

[323] Gallagher, "*Pater optime*" (2001), 406-57.

Figure 4.5: Text for Obrecht's Lament for his Father

1 Mille quingentis verum bis sex minus annis
Virgine progeniti lapsis ab origine Christi,
Sicilides flerunt Muse, dum fata tulerunt
Hobrecht Guillermum, magna probitate decorum,
5 Cecilie ad festum, qui Ceciliam peragravit
Oram; idem **Orpheicum Musis Jacobum** generavit,
Ergo **dulce melos succentorum chorus** alme
Concine ut ad celos sit vecta anima et data palme.

After fifteen hundred less twice six years had lapsed since the birth of Christ, Son of the Virgin, the Sicilian Muses wept as the Fates took away, on the feast of St. Cecilia, Guillermus Hobrecht, adorned with great probity, who travelled through the Sicilian shore; it is he, also, who begot the **Orphic Jacob for the Muses**: therefore **sweetly sing this song, gentle choir of succentors**, so that his soul may be carried to Heaven and be given the palm.

Trans. by Leofranc Holford-Strevens
from Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, 368-70.

Interestingly, although this piece is evidence of a real father-son relationship, the text is the most formal and least emotive of the three pieces considered in this section, perhaps a result of its association with the cantus-firmus motet genre and pseudo-classical epitaph tradition.[324] Like many of the pieces discussed in Chapter 3, there is an autobiographical reference to Obrecht, with evocation of the Muses (shown in bold in line 6 of Figure 4.5). Obrecht also includes a reference to the actual singing of the piece (see line 7-8), going so far as to request that the "choir of succentors" sing "sweetly," implying that a higher quality performance will be more the effective a prayer for his father's soul.

Sean Gallagher has provided an excellent reading of the classical allusions in the text, situating it in the context of late-fifteenth century memorial culture. He shows how the text mixes biographical details with classical figures and stories, particularly the father/son relationship between Anchises and Aeneas, evoked through the multiple references to Sicily, the place of Anchises death in lines 3 and 5 of Figure 4.5.[325] Gallagher and Reinhard Strohm have identified a number of similar epitaphs with classical allusions written for aspiring middle-class people and artists from the late fifteenth century, including works by writers as famous as Erasmus.[326] Both Strohm and Gallagher emphasis that biographical details couched in classical images were well within the contemporary trend of commemorations for the rising middle class. Gallagher argues that the inclusion of Jacob's name may indicate his own

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[324] It could also be evidence of a different approach to public and private expressions of grief and mourning in the late-fifteenth century.
[325] Gallagher, "*Pater optime*" (2001), 430-34.
[326] Gallagher, "*Pater optime*" (2001), 417; Strohm, "*Hic miros cecinit cantus*" (1998), 155-61.

authorship of the text, but it also emphasizes and elevates the musical profession by comparing these two fifteenth-century musicians to no less than the founder of Rome and Orpheus himself.

The growing popularity of polyphonic settings of music for funeral services in the years around 1500 has been noted by multiple authors, demonstrating a range of possibilities from simple, quasi-improvised sequence settings, to elaborate, multi-movement Mass cycles.[327] The cantus firmus of Obrecht's lament is drawn from the Introit for the Requiem Mass. Of the multiple motets using the Requiem Introit as a cantus firmus c. 1500, this is perhaps the earliest, since the subject, Obrecht's father, died in 1488 and it was included in the Segovia manuscript, probably copied in 1502 (see the proposed dates for the sources in the last column of Table 4.3).[328] The manuscript in Segovia is the only source for the epitaphic text.

Table 4.3: Sources for Obrecht's *Mille quingentis*

SegC s.s.	Segovia Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. s. s.	Spain, 1502
RISM 1504/1	*Motetti C* (Petrucci)	Venice, 1504
FlorC 2439	Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, Ms. Basevi 2439	Brussels/Mechlin, c. 1508

In her discussion of the inclusion of the Requiem Introit as a cantus firmus in musical laments Meconi cites Josquin as the source of this practice, relegating Obrecht's lament to a footnote, although *Nymphes des bois*, like Obrecht's motet, is extant in only three sources.[329] All of the sources for Obrecht's lament identify the source of the cantus firmus, even when they lack the primary text, clearly identifying it as a memorial composition.

In addition to the classical references in the text, Obrecht evokes classical theory through an affective use of mode, perhaps the first use of the E mode as an emblem of

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[327] David Rothenberg presented a paper on this topic on his current research into this topic at the Renaissance Society of America meeting in San Diego in April 2013. Other articles include Filocamo, "Democratizing the Requiem" (2009); Wegman, "Testament of Jean de Saint Gille" (2009); Wexler, "Missing Movements of Ockeghem's Requiem" (2001); Russell, "An Early Spanish Polyphonic Requiem Mass" (1979); Elders, "Music for the Dead" (1994) and "Death and Immortality" (1986). There are also two PhD dissertations on the subject, Wagstaff, "Music for the Dead" PhD diss. (1995); and McDowell, "Death in the Renaissance," PhD diss. (1991).
[328] Josquin's *Nymphes des bois / Requiem* commemorates Ockeghem, who died almost ten years after Obrecht's father, and was printed in 1508. Other later pieces that use the Requiem Introit include la Rue's *Plorer, gemir, crier / Requiem*, Josquin's *Absolve, quaesumus, Domine / Requiem*, an anonymous composition of the same name, Vinders's *O mors inevitabilis / Requiem*, Vaet's *Continuo lachrimas / Requiem*, Certon's *Musiciens, chantre melodieux / Requiem*, and Regnart's *Defunctorum charitates / Requiem*.
[329] *Pierre de La Rue and Musical Life* (2003). David Rothenberg pointed this out in the paper he presented at the RSA in San Diego.

mourning.[330] As Figure 4.6 shows, Obrecht simply shifted the F-centered, mode 6 or Lydian melody diatonically down a letter name, using the same set of pitches, including a b^b, but now evoking the E-centered mode 3 or Phrygian, with a semitone above the final. As Julie Cumming points out in her discussion of pieces that present the *Fortuna desperata* tune "in mi," "changing the mode of a cantus prius factus… is very rare."[331] The new version retains the exact same system of notes but in a different configuration, drastically changing the quality of the melody.[332]

Figure 4.6: Introit of the Requiem Mass from *Liber Usualis* compared to Obrecht's cantus firmus
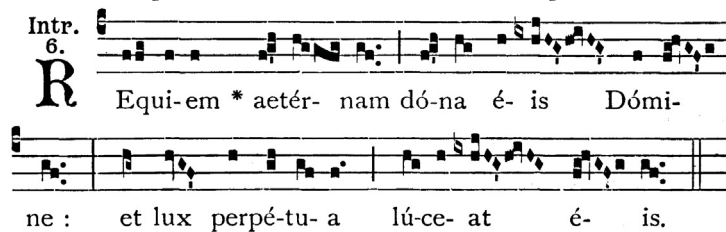
Mode 6 or Lydian with B fa from *Liber Usualis* (1961), 1807.
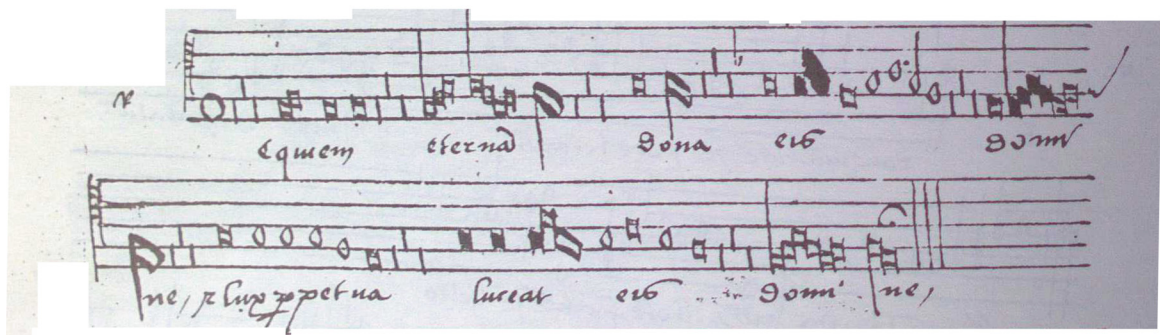
Mode 4 or Phrygian with B fa from SegC s.s. fol. 81v.

Josquin's *Nymphes des bois* also evokes the transposed deuterus or Phrygian mode by diatonically transposing the Requiem Introit (shown from the Medici Codex in Figure 4.7 where it is also clefless).[333]

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[330] I am grateful to Jeffery Dean for pointing this out to me after my presentation at the annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America in San Diego on April 6, 2013.

[331] Cumming, "Goddess Fortuna Revisited" (1980), 10.

[332] As Cumming points out, this diatonic transposition of a melody is used in five cantus-firmus settings of the *Fortuna desperata* tune and also in settings of the *L'homme armé*. "Goddess Fortuna Revisited" (1980), ft. 30, 19.

[333] Coeurdevey, "*Nymphes des bois*" (2000); Elders, "Music for the Dead" (1994) and "Death and Immortality" (1986); Lowinsky, "Commentary" *Medici Codex of 1518*, vol. 3 (1986).

Figure 4.7: Tenor of Josquin, *Nymphes de bois* from Medici Codex

In the Medici Codex the voices of Josquin's lament are presented in clefless notation and the tenor is also shown with blackened notes. Using the "fa" sign and a verbal canon ("prenes ung demy ton plus bas" or "take a semitone lower") this tenor is musically realized as another transposition of the Introit to a Phrygian or deuterus mode but this time it is realized on A with B^b. The ubiquitous use of the Phrygian as a symbol for lamentation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seems to have had its beginnings in these two musical laments for musicians.[334] Together Obrecht and Josquin helped to establish both the use of the Requiem Introit and the Phrygian mode as emblems of mourning.[335]

The use of the deuterus or Phrygian mode as a symbol of mourning is so engrained in our minds by the compositional conventions of later centuries that it is difficult to question what it meant to Obrecht and his contemporaries. Tinctoris had recently written on mode, dedicating his work to the two most famous composers of the previous generation, Ockeghem and Busnoys. Although Tinctoris is careful to distinguish between the affective discussion of the Greek or Aristotelian melodies and the modes or tones used to classify plainchant, he does

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[334] Examples of the Phrygian as a symbol of lament are extremely numerous, including a tradition of compositions for a female singer over an ostinato "lament bass" or descending Phrygian tetrachord like Monteverdi's *Lamento della Ninfa* and Dido's Lament from Purcell's opera, *Dido and Aeneas*. See Rosand, "An Emblem of Lament" (1979). In his lament for Josquin, Gombert pays homage to his subject both by choosing another melody favored as a cantus firmus by Josquin, the *Circumdederunt me* from the Office of Matins for the Dead used in Josquin's extremely famous *Nimphes nappés* and two motets, and by diatonically transposing this chant diatonically to four different finals, including two "Phrygian" versions, one beginning on e and the second on b. The *Nimphes nappés* was also widely distributed as a motet on a text by Conrad Rupsch entitled *Haec dicit Dominus*. On these pieces see Macey, "Josquin's *Nimphes, nappés*" (2000); and Milsom, "*Circumdederunt*" (1982).

[335] Glareanus is often evoked in discussions of the use of phyrgian mode in *Nymphes des bois*, but he was writing about a generation after Obrecht and Josquin.

provide confirmation of the classification of E-mode as "stern" in the excerpt provided in Figure 4.8.

Figure 4.8: From Chapter I of Tinctoris, *De natura et proprietate tonorum* (1476)

Aristotelem suis in Politicis de quatuor melodiis, hoc est Mixolydia, Lydia, Phrygia et Doria copiose et eleganter disseruisse.

Aristotle has spoken extensively and elegantly in his Politics of four melodies [melodiis], that is Mixolydian, Lydian, Phrygian, and Dorian.

Quasquidem melodias non ex speciebus diapason sed ex propriis qualitatibus distinxit.

He distinguishes these melodies, not from the types of diapason, but from their individual qualities.

Namque Mixolydiam planctivam,
Lydiam remissam,
Phrygiam rigidam
Et Doriam mediam affirmat.

For he calls the mixolydian plaintive,
the Lydian cheerful,
the Phrygian stern
and the Dorian neutral.

Quae licet melodiae pari ratione tonorum Boethianorum nuncupari possint a vocabulis gentium eis gaudentium.

The melodies of the Boethian tones understandably can be named with equal reason by words of the races delighting in them.

Istae tamen illis plurimum sunt dissimiles, enimvero quom secundum species diapason ipsi toni distinguantur si una species non potest esse plures, impossible est unam et eandem speciem diapason plures recipere tonos.

These former [Aristotelian melodies] are completely different from the latter [Boethian modes] since these later tones are distinguished according to their types of diapason, and since one type cannot be many, it is impossible for one and the same type of diapason to include many tones.

In qua tamen una et eadem specie diapason quaelibet melodiarum Aristotelicarum constitui potest.

In any one and the same type of diapason any of the Aristotelian melodies can be constructed.

Trans. based on Seay edition (1976), 4.

Tinctoris affirms the difference between the qualities of the Aristotelian melodies, which each had a particular affect, and the distinct pitch sets of the tones, which did not. He goes on to discuss the importance of melodic style, performance techniques and instrument choices for creating different affects, regardless of the pitch structure used.

Ironically Tinctoris's argument against assigning modal affect to classifications of plainchant confirms the contemporary trend to conflate the affective Greek modes with the church modes for organizing chant. Thus the "stern" and mourning quality of the E-modes found their first decisive expression not in music theory, but in Obrecht's lament for his father.

Obrecht's self-conscious presentation of himself as an author and authority on the ancient Greek modes is especially striking with regards to the reception of his work and its influence of other composers, including Josquin. This affective interpretation of Obrecht's diatonically transposed cantus firmus was confirmed and amplified through the broader spectrum of emblems of mourning present in Josquin's lament for Ockeghem, a composer who was himself noted as an early experimenter with mode in polyphony and one of the two dedicatees of Tinctoris's treatise on mode.[336]

Monumental Homage: Lamenting Josquin in the Age of Print

Of the fourteen laments on my list in Table 4.1 composed for musicians who died between the advent of music printing in 1501 (beginning with Mouton's lament for Fevin) and 1570, a total of six of them, almost half, were composed for Josquin. The strangeness of this situation increases when we consider that most of the sources for these pieces can be dated to at least ten years after Josquin's death, while most of the other laments are in sources that can be dated within five to ten years after the death of the composer. The seven sources for laments for Josquin include manuscripts and printed volumes from between the 1530s until 1583. Table 4.4 shows the information on all of these sources and is organized by the date of source followed by information on the source's origin and the piece itself. As Table 4.4 shows, the 1540s was the most prolific decade for laments for musicians, bolstered by a trio of laments for Josquin appended to the end of Susato's *Septiesme livre des chansons*.[337] Another interesting feature revealed by this table is the steady increase in the number of voices. For instance, the partbooks from Piacenza (PiacFM s.s which preserve only a few of the voices for this anonymous lament) show that in the final measures of the anonymous *Absolve, quaesumus, Domine / Requiem* the number of voices expanded well beyond the initial seven.[338]

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[336] For example see the *Missa Cuiuvis toni*, *Missa Mi-mi*, among others. Houle, ed., *Ockeghem's Missa Cuiusvis Toni* (1992). See articles by Burstyn, Strohm, Perkins, Dean, and van Benthem in *Modality in the Music of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Günther, Finscher, and Dean (1996).

[337] This title page of this source is shown in Figure 4.11 and will be discussed shortly.

[338] Since this piece is based on a motet attributed to Josquin but of questionable authorship, this seems to complement the practice of adding new voices to pieces composed by Josquin. For an edition of some of thses by Josquin and others see Schlagel, *Si placet Parts for Motets* (2006).

Table 4.4: Sources for Musical Laments for Josquin (died in 1521)

Date	Origin	MS sigla / Printer	Composer	Title	vv
1530s	Italy	PiacFM s.s	Anon.	*Absolve, quaesumus, Domine / Requiem*	7 (4)
1542	Bruges	Cambrai 124	Appenzeller, Benedictus	*Musae Jovis*	4
1545	Antwerp	Susato	Appenzeller, Benedictus	*Musae Jovis*	4
1545	Antwerp	Susato	Gombert	*Musae Jovis / Circumdederunt*	6
1545	Antwerp	Susato	Vinders	*O mors inevitabilis / Requiem*	7
1549	Spain	ToleBC 21	*Josquin*[339]	*Absolve, quaesumus, Domine / Requiem*	6
1550	Antwerp	LeuvHC C1	Josquin	*Fletus date et lamentamini / Requiem*	5
1564	Nurnberg	Montanus and Neuber	Vinders	*O mors inevitabilis / Requiem*	7
1583	Bavaria	MunSB 1536	Vinders	*O mors inevitabilis / Requiem*	7

This anonymous seven-voice motet is modeled closely on a six-voice motet setting the same text and canonic cantus firmus in a manuscript from Toledo, where it bears an attribution to Josquin.[340] David Fallows points out that this motet is itself modeled closely on Josquin's own lament without a subject, *Nimphes, nappés / Circumdederunt*, which is also based on a canonic cantus firmus.[341] Whether or not Josquin was the author of the six-voice *Absolve, quaesumus* setting or he was the simply the subject of both motets, the confusion surrounding this complex of intertextuality demonstrates how the following generations interacted with the musical content of his works as commemorations and as representative of Josquin the composer.

When Josquin died in Condé sur Escault in 1521, he had made provisions for his commemoration after death, including an endowment for the performance of a *Salve* and his *Pater noster / Ave Maria* at a statue of the Virgin Mary installed on a wall near his home.[342] Multiple studies have explored the impact of music printing on Josquin's reputation.[343] In the introduction to her book *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print*, Kate van Orden suggests that there was a significant difference between Josquin the person and Josquin

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[339] There are questions about authenticity of this attribution and Nobel has suggested that it might actually have been a lament for Josquin. *New Grove Dictionary* vol. 9 (1980).

[340] "Josquin Desprez," in *New Grove Dictionary* vol. 9 (1980). Elders, "A Tribute to Obrecht?"(1987).

[341] *Josquin* (2009), 296.

[342] In Fallows, *Josquin* (2009), 382; and Kellman, "Josquin and the Courts" (1976), 208.

[343] To name a few Schlagel, "A Credible (Mis)Attribution to Josquin" (2006) as well as her dissertation "Josquin des Prez and His Motets" (1996); Owens, "How Josquin Became Josquin" (1997); Wegman, "Who was Josquin?" (2000); Higgins, "The Apotheosis of Josquin" (2005); and van Orden, "Josquin des Prez" (2011).

the author, proposing that "whereas Josquin clearly did write music, we need to understand his authorship as having been fabricated by others, beginning with those who printed his music."[344] This idea is reinforced by the proliferation of laments for Josquin by composers significantly removed from his personal circle and the continued transmission of these works in the later sixteenth century. These musical laments are indicative of a change in the understanding of a composer and a new approach to memorializing the works, not the man.

Vinders's *O mors inevitabilis / Requiem* for Josquin

Where the previous laments considered in this chapter seem to evoke the private world of intimate musical gatherings, both in their personal texts and refined musical textures, Vinders's lament can be described by a single word—monumental. The massiveness of the sound of the full seven voices is emphasized by the Introit for the Requiem Mass, presented as a long-note cantus firmus in the tenor primus (shown at the bottom of Figure 4.9), and also by a second sustained voice in the partbook for the fifth and sixth voices (shown at the top of Figure 4.9). The sexta part, shown at the top of Figure 4.9, is the cantus firmus bearing voice, presenting the chant for the Requiem Introit in long values separated by rests. The "tenor primus," shown at the bottom, is provided with even longer note values than the Requiem melody in the sexta partbook, but is not musically related to the chant tune. It is notated in ¢ rather than ¢2 to accommodate the extremely long note values. Although it is provided with the Requiem text, it only participates in a quasi-imitation of the chant only at the very end. This can be seen by comparing the melody over the syllable "propterea" in the sexta with the melody over the syllable "ei" in the tenor primus in Figure 4.9. The triadic opening and elongated note values might suggest instrumental performance, perhaps on a trombone. Together these two voices present the sanctifying text of the Requiem Introit in sustained note values and provide the harmonic scaffolding over which the other voices present a laudatory prayer for a great composer.

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[344] *Music, Authorship, and the Book* (2014), 3.

The dramatic Latin text refers to Josquin, not as a man, but primarily as a producer of ecclesiastical harmony, slain by inevitable death, and thus silencing his creative voice. The opening exclamation and imagery (see lines 1-3 of Figure 4.10) seem more indebted to the world of the madrigal than to that of the cantus firmus motet.

Figure 4.10: Text for Vinders, *O mors inevitabilis / Requiem*

PRIMARY TEXT

1	O mors inevitabilis	O inevitable death,
	mors amara, mors crudelis,	bitter death, cruel death,
	Josquin des Pres dum necasti,	since you have slain Josquin des Pres,
	illum nobis abstulisti,	you have taken him from us,
5	qui suam per harmoniam	who through his harmony
	illustravit ecclesiam.	illuminated the church.
	Propterea tu musice dic:	Therefore, O musician, say:
	"requiescat in pace." Amen.	"May he rest in peace." Amen

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1   Requiem aeternam dona ei Domine,   Grant him eternal rest, Lord,
et lux perpetua luceat ei.   and may eternal light shine upon him.
Propterea tu musice [dic]:   Therefore, O musician [say]:
"requiescat in pace." Amen.   "May he rest in peace." Amen

TENOR PRIMUS

1   Requiem aeternam dona ei Domine,   Grant him eternal rest, Lord,
et lux perpetua luceat ei.   and may eternal light shine upon him.

Like Josquin's *Nymphes des bois* and *Absolve quaesumus*, the text provided for all the voices except the non-cantus firmus bearing tenor primus finishes with the chant versicle, "Requiescant in pace," associated with burial.[345] In Vinders's motet the versicle is cleverly incorporated into the text as an incitement to musical lamentation, following the imperative "dic" or "say" (see line 7 of the Primary Text in Figure 4.10). The text of this motet is cited by an early seventeenth-century chronicler and amateur musician as an epitaph that was on display in the church of St. Goedele in Brussels near a portrait of Josquin.[346] Unfortunately both were destroyed in the late sixteenth century and we are left to wonder which came first, the monument or the monumental musical lament? Were Vinders and the other composers of laments for Josquin responding to the epitaph's request for musical prayers or was the epitaph a physical demonstration of the activities of the musical community?

Although very little is known about Jheronimus Vinders, the composer of *O mors inevitabilis*, we do know that he was active in Ghent in the years 1525-6, indicating that he probably did not have a direct connection to Josquin.[347] His compositions quote the works of Josquin and Benedictus Appenzeller, one of the other composers with a lament for Josquin printed in the *Septiesme livre*, perhaps indicating a connection to Josquin through Appenzeller, as Appenzeller's lament is the only that can be proven to have existed before Susato published his print, and the closest to Josquin' actual death date.[348] It is also possible that, like most sixteenth-century musicians and Susato himself, they were both interacting with Josquin

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[345] For a facsimile of source for this chant see the *Cantus Database,* chant ID 800378, D-Mbs Clm 4304 (1519). The abbreviation for this text, RIP, is often found on tombs.

[346] Haggh, "Josquin's Portrait," in *From Ciconia to Sweelinck* (Amsterdam, 1994), 91-110.

[347] Jas, "Conflicting Attribution" (1992).

[348] These laments may have been commissioned or at least collected by the Susato to fill up the final gathering of the partbooks. Kate van Orden, personal communication at the RSA in San Diego, 6 April 2013.

entirely through his musical productions, honoring the great man through works of monumental homage.

The first source for this lament is Susato's *Septiesme livre des chansons* of 1545. This print, issued 24 years after the death of the subject, contains 24 chansons, including Josquin's *Nymphes des bois* and *Nymphes nappées*, a lament without a specific subject. The title page, shown in Figure 4.11, advertises the inclusion of three "Epitaphs" for Josquin by diverse authors.[349]

Figure 4.11: Title Page of Commemorative Chanson Anthology[350]
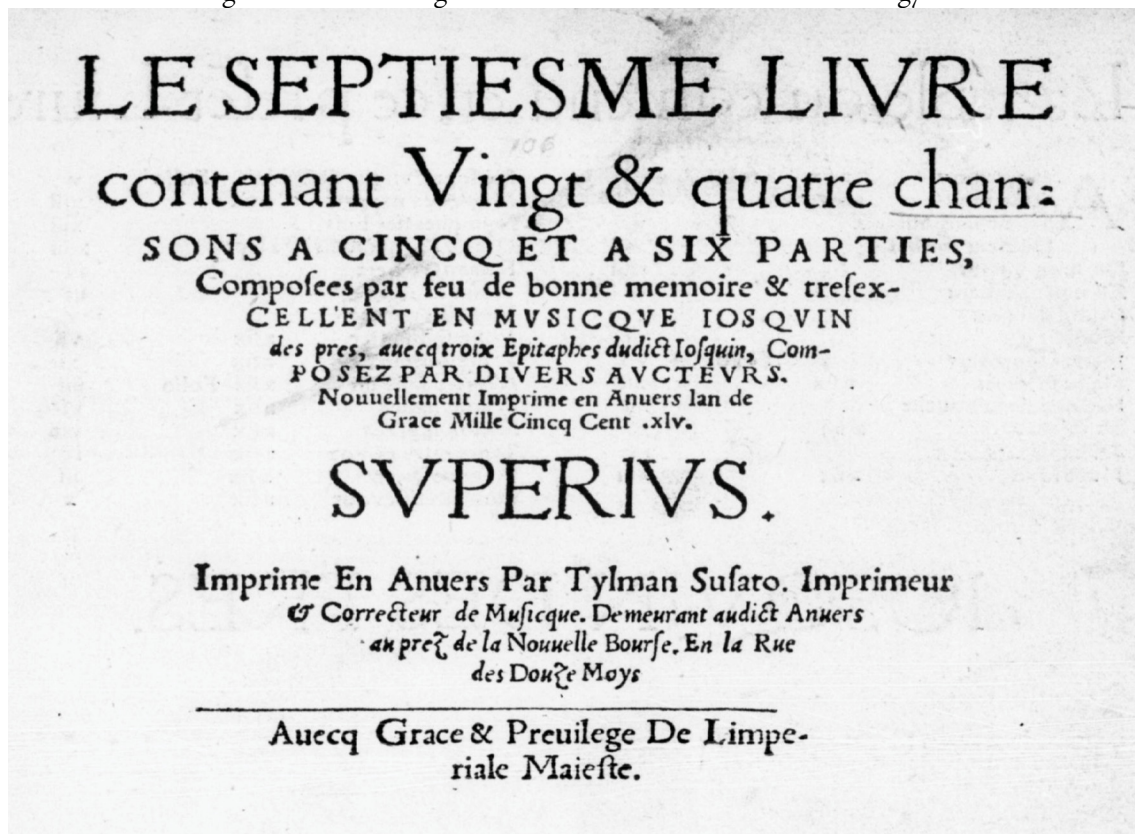
Susato commemorates Josquin the composer both by reissuing his works, but also by disseminating musical prayers for him. Within the body of the print these compositions are labeled differently in different partbooks: *monodia* (8), *deploration* (5), *naenia* (3), *epitaphium* (2), and *lamentatio* (2) (tabulated in Table 4.5).

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[349] This print includes five different labels for laments for composers: monodia, epitaphium, deploration, naenia, and lamentatio.
[350] Accessed March 8, 2013 http://purl.org/rism/BI/1545/15.

Table 4.5: Labels for Laments in Susato's *Septiesme livre des chansons* (Antwerp, 1545)

		PARTBOOK TITLES				
COMPOSER	TITLE	SUPERIUS	CONTRA	TENOR	BASSUS	QUINTA & SEXTA VOX
Appenzeller, Benedictus	*Musae Jovis*	monodia	monodia	monodia	monodia	epitaphium monodia
Gombert	*Musae Jovis / Circumdederunt*	monodia	naenia	naenia	monodia	deploration [CF voice]
Vinders	*O mors inevitabilis / Requiem*	monodia	lamentatio	[none]	lamentatio	[none]
Josquin	*Nymphes des bois*	deploration	deploration	deploration	deploration	epitaphium
—	*Musae Jovis*	The text is printed on separate folio at the end of Tenor partbook: naenia				

This plethora of names confirms the difficulty of naming laments of musicians, since they cross multiple genres and also the desire to unify them as a category of composition, even in the sixteenth century. Even in Josquin's motet-chanson, *Nymphes des bois*, where we might hope to have a guide, four of the voices, including the Latin texted tenor, are labeled "deploration," while the fifth voice, bearing the French text, is labeled "epitaphium." It is almost as though Susato wanted to include many different labels, primarily Latin ones, for these memorial pieces in order to bolster the renown of the chansons in the volume through the solemn, learned associations of commemorative practices and the evocation of a venerable tradition within the musical community. Through this act the publisher reinforces the changing understanding of the composer as defined through his works.

Conclusion

Like the musicians' motets discussed in Chapter 2 and 3, laments for musicians demonsrate musical connections between different generations of composers and are evidence of a growing sense of history and professional community among musicians. Often the wills of composers, including Du Fay, Josquin and the lesser-known Jean de Saint Gille, leave instructions and income to ensure the musical rememberance of their souls through the performance of polyphonic compositions of their own fashioning.[351] In his recent article on epigrams on portraits of humanists in the early sixteenth century, Harry Vredeveld discusses the centrality of "voice" as a representative of the ideas and mind of an individual—an evocation of the absense of voice in the laudatory portraits, that instead will instead live on in

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[351] For Du Fay see Houdoy, *Histoire Artistique* (1880), 409-14; for Josquin see Kellman, "Josquin and the Courts" (1976), 26-8; and for Jean de Saint Gille see Wegman, "Testament of Jean de Saint Gille" (2009), 26-9.

the humanists' written works.[352] In contrast, the individual musical voice of the deceased musicians could be evoked through their compositions, making them powerful memorial tools. The creation of musicians' motets and laments are self-conscious reflections of the late-Medieval preoccupation with remembering and being remembered.

The laments of Du Fay and Ockeghem for Binchois, and of Obrecht for his father are all highly personalized and defined by intertextuality and generic diversity. These musical features draw attention to the connection between subject and composer and set the stage for the more emotive works of the next generation, including Josquin's *Nymphes de bois / Requiem* and La Rue's *Plorer, gemir, crier / Requiem*. In mixing languages and musical traits of different genres these laments mirror the developing valuation and recognition of individual compositional style. Although most of the laments in the following generations conformed to the cantus firmus motet genre and the conventions of memorial music for obit services, these earlier pieces established musical markers of mourning that were exploited by later generations, like the Phrygian mode and use of the Requiem Introit. At the same time the developement of polyphonic music printing allowed the musical works of individuals to remain current for many years beyond the life of the individual, through broader distribution and reprinting. Thus affective features of Obrecht and Josquin's laments were codified through print, and the musical "voice" of Josquin was remembered far beyond the death of the man.[353] The multiple musical laments for Josquin that entered circulation many years after his actual death in 1521 represent the reception and honoring of his works, gestures of homage rather than expressions of personal connections.

Classical theory and references in these motets and laments parallel developements in music theory, to be discussed in Chapter 6 and 7. These composers were reinforcing the idea of a continuous musical tradition stretching back to the Greeks through explicit use of affect through mode (Obrecht and Josquin), and Classical imagery in the texts (Compere and Busnoys). Like Rogier van der Weyden's overt references to van Eyck's portrait of Chancellor Rolin, and also van der Weyden's depiction of a historic moment in the painterly profession,

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[352] "Humanist Portrait Epigraph" (2013), 520.
[353] Including Josquin and Obrecht's motets, there are at least ten different motets that use the Requiem Introit as a cantus firmus.

these composers drew their community together through the evocation of a venerable musical tradition and the articulated the collective desire to be remembered.

Part II: Music about Music

Chapter 5:   Introduction to Music about Music

Closely related to the musicians' motets and laments discussed in Part I is a group of pieces that display aspects of abstract music theory in their compositional framework: music about music. These are some of the most fascinating and well-known compositions from the late-fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. They cover a range of genres and embody a variety of theoretical principles, including lengthy cantus firmus Masses or motets composed over an abstract musical device like the hexachord, as in Josquin's *Ut Phebi radiis* (see Chapter 7: or a motto made of solmization syllables, as in Josquin's *Missa La sol fa re mi*. Others make reference to fundamental aspects of Greek music theory, such as Busnoys' *Anthoni usque limina*, while still others, like Ockeghem's *Missa Prolationum*, are obvious demonstrations of complicated or comprehensive mensural or proportional structures (Chapter 6:). While many famous examples, such as Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*, also set self-referential texts and were discussed in Part I of the dissertation, others are general prayer texts or Mass settings composed around abstract musical ideas or devices. In some cases these pieces are clearly dependent on idiosyncratic treatises: Obrecht's *Regina celi*, for example, demonstrates the cumulative proportions in Tinctoris's *Proportionale musices*.[354] Despite the variety of genres and styles, these works are unified by overt references to the structures and concepts fundamental to the liberal discipline of *Musica*. While many of these pieces are individually famous, they have not been considered as a group as expressions of professional identity or as representatives of the concept of self-referentiality in music.

Previous scholars have labeled these works "didactic" or "pedagogical" because they incorporate elements included in music theory texts, both pedagogical textbooks and more academic treatises, into their compositional structures.[355] These words, "didactic" and

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[354] Hewitt, "A Study in Proportions" (1957); and Wegman, "Obrecht and Erasmus" (2011).

[355] Perkins, "Ockeghem's *Prenez sur moi*" (1990); George Houle in the editorial introduction to his edition, *Ockeghem's Missa Cuiusvis Toni* (1992); Gallagher, "Petrucci's *Motetti a cinque* and the Five-Voice Motet circa 1500," paper given at the conference *The Motet around 1500* organized by Thomas Schmidt-Beste, but not included in the proceedings volume. More recently Jesse Rodin has called Ockeghem's *Missa Prolationum* and

"pedagogical," carry associations of either simplified music, easy for the amateur to digest while gaining technical facility, or complex exercises for building technique, often at the expense of musical form and continuity. Yet these works do not to fit those categories. In these pieces the influence of music theory is generally displayed on the structural level, not as an exercise for beginners. For example, the cantus firmus of Isaac's motet *O decus ecclesiae* is a simple exposition of the hexachord in long note values (see Figure 5.1). Visually it is almost identical to examples of the hexachord or the interval of the sixth from the introductory section of any number of music theory treatises or displayed on the palm of innumerable Guidonian hands, and is therefore easily recognizable to the amateur or student.[356]

Figure 5.1: Isaac's *cantus firmus* compared to an example from Gaffurius, *Practica musice*
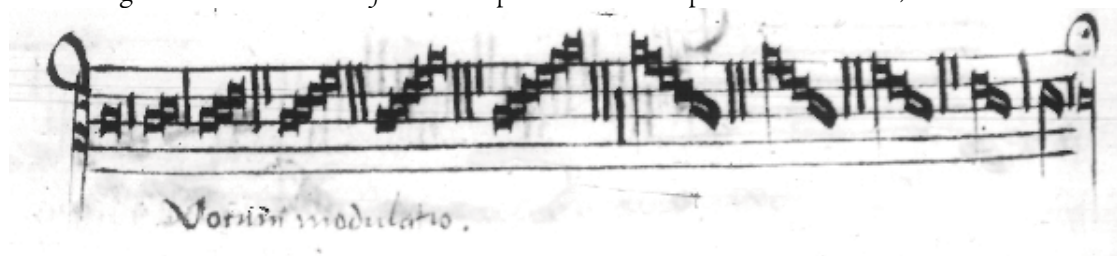
Tenor from Isaac, "O decus ecclesiae," MS Berlin 40021, fol. 180.
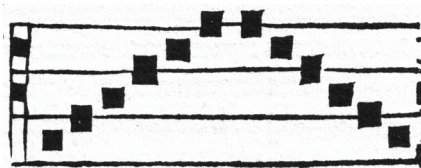
Example from Gaffurius, *Practica musice* (Milan, 1496), fol. a v.

The other four voices, however, are far too complicated to be interpreted or performed by a beginner. The first staff of music for the *bassus*, shown in Figure 5.2, contains complicated ligatures including wide leaps before moving into passages of much more rapid note values and also incorporates accidentals and long periods of rest.

Cuiusvis toni, "his speculative masses," pointing out their connection to speculative music theoretical discourse. See *Josquin's Rome* (2012), 235.
[356] For an example of a hand with a hexachord inscribed on it see the example from Vitruvius, Figure 7.3, discussed in Chapter 7.

Figure 5.2: *Bassus* from Berlin 40021, fol. 181
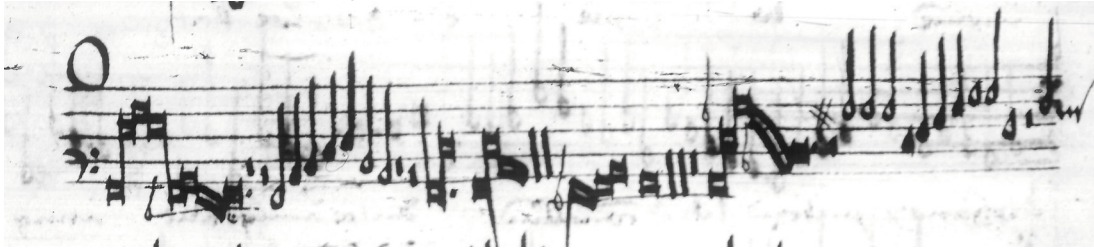
The discrepancy between the level of difficulty in the tenor and bassus clearly indicates that this piece could not be performed solely by actual students or amateurs. It is conceivable that a student might be able to sing the hexachordal tenor, especially with help from a professional, but it is still unclear how this exercise would teach anything valuable about the hexachord itself. Although there is clearly a connection between this kind of work and contemporaneous discourse about music theory, the terms "didactic" and "pedagogical" are misleading because they imply an educational function—these pieces are far too complicated for performance by any student still mastering the basic musical lessons that they display.

A better way to understand the self-reflexive musical features of these compositions are as emblems of the science of music, drawing attention to the composer as the creator of the work in question through his mastery of the tools of his trade.

Table 5.1: Parallel features of *St. Luke* paintings and self-referential music

	Patron Saint	Self-reference	Affiliation	Artistic Identity
Guild Paintings	-St. Luke as artist	1) self-portrait of the artist as St. Luke 2) depiction of the act of drawing or painting	1) visual references to famous works 2) acts of homage to artists of the previous generation	1) depictions of the artist's studio 2) specific tools of the trade or techniques
Music about Music and Musicians	-Mary	1) composer named in the text 2) textual references to other musicians or professional concerns	1) musical references to famous works 2) laments for musicians of the previous generation	1) presentation of specific tools of the trade -Comprehensive structures -Hexachords -Solmization mottos
	All Chapters	**Chapter 2 - 3**	**Chapter 4**	**Chapters 5-7**

In Chapter 1 I argued that self-referential features in motets for musicians and musicians' laments were the musical equivalents of self-referential features in paintings of St. Luke in the

act of drawing or painting the Virgin. Such works featured self-portraits that were intended for display on the side altars of painters' guilds, and understood to be the articulation of the continuity of a venerable artistic tradition, reaching back to St. Luke himself. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century artists also expressed professional identity in their St. Luke paintings by depicting contemporary practices and specific tools and techniques of the craft of painting (see the final column of Table 5.1). In the following chapters I will show how compositions foregrounding specific, basic aspects of music making, such as comprehensive mensural or modal structures and hexachord themes, are actually presenting the musical "tools of the trade," and promoting the act of composition as a profession to a broad audience of fellow professionals and also to powerful patrons and humanists.

As noted in Chapter 1, Rogier van der Weyden's famous and influential painting of St. Luke in the act of drawing the Virgin (reproduced as Figure 1.1), presented the professional concerns of the painters' guild and community by incorporating a number of self-referential features, including a self-portrait, an homage to a famous painter of the previous generation, and the actual tools and techniques of fifteenth-century portraiture.[357] This painting and the many related paintings of St. Luke for other painters' guilds are similar to many fifteenth-century musicians' motets and laments like the pieces discussed in Chapters 2, 3, and 4. Just as Dufay included personal tropes in a standard Marian prayer, van der Weyden grafted his own face onto the figure of St. Luke, incorporating his personal concerns into a pre-existent saint's story.

Van der Weyden represented St. Luke in the act of drawing rather than painting, showing how elite artists actually worked on a painted portrait and depicting the specialized tools and techniques of the painterly profession within the guise of an historical subject. Van der Weyden brought the image of St. Luke into his own time by showing the saint in the act of making a quick silverpoint sketch, a fairly innovative technique, which he could then take back to his studio in order to complete the arduous process of making an oil painting without taking up too much of his elite sitter's time (see detail from van der Weyden's painting on the left side of Figure 5.3).

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[357] Marrow, "Artistic Identity in Early Netherlandish Painting" (1997). For a fuller discussion of his arguments in relation to self-referential texts see Chapter 1.

Figure 5.3: Details of artistic tools depicted in paintings of *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin*

Weyden, c. 1425-30 (Munich, Alte Pinakothek)[358]   Studio of Dieric Bouts, c. 1440-75
(Penrhyn Castle, Bangor, North Wales)[359]

This draws the viewer's attention to the artists' skill not only in its use of a specific technique, where the carefully sketched features of Mary's face emerge from the ephemeral, thin white page, but also in depicting this action as a *mise-en-abyme*, both a drawing in a painting and a painting about painting. I argue that this is similar to techniques like mensural or modal transformation utilized by Ockeghem, Petrus Domarto, and others. These compositional techniques, based on multiple sounding realizations of a single written line of music, draw the viewer's attention to the skill of the composer through the materiality of notated music and the multiple levels of interpretation necessary for creating a compositional object.[360]

Van der Weyden stands at the head of a tradition of paintings depicting St. Luke as a contemporary painter. Later artists painting this same scene for other painters' guilds in different locations were clearly influenced by van der Weyden's work and embellished the

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[358] Accessed on *ARTStor*, web, 25 July 2014, http://library.artstor.org.

[359] Accessed on *Wikimedia Commons*, web, 23 July 2014, http://commons.wikimedia.org.

[360] These compositions will be discussed in Chapter 6. Examples include Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus*, d'Amerval's *Missa Dixerunt discipuli*, the Credo of Brumel's *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*, and of course Ockeghem's *Missa cuiusvis toni*.

theme of the tools of the trade by representing the painterly actions of St. Luke in their own way. A similar painting associated with the studio of Dirk Bouts, shown juxtaposed to van der Weyden's work in Figure 5.3, also depicts St. Luke in the act of drawing.[361] Bouts provides a glimpse through a doorway into a small chamber, ostensibly representing the artist's studio, where a painting in progress is visible on an easel with a stool next to the far right edge of the panel.[362] At least sixty years later Colijn de Coter (shown in Figure 5.4) included more varied paraphernalia of the painter's profession and moves the action away from a courtly location and fully into the artist's studio.[363]

Figure 5.4: Detail from Colijn de Coter, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, c. 1500.
Oil on canvas, 135 x 108 cm, Church of St. Louis, Vieure, France.[364]

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[361] In this case the intended message about the painterly process is almost overemphasized, causing the painter to skew the angle of the St. Luke's sketch towards the viewer, and forcing St. Luke into an extremely awkward and unlikely position.

[362] In van der Weyden's painting, as in more traditional representations of this scene, the side chamber is filled with books and paper, representative of St. Luke's role as a scholar and author of a gospel text.

[363] Till H. Borchert argues that this painting is a copy of a work by Robert Campin that might precede Rogier van der Weyden's painting. He discusses an interesting triptych by Derick Bagaert that is closely related to Coter's image and incorporates the two primary phases of the painter's craft, woodworking and drawing, on the two wings. The figures in the wings are clearly included to show the different stages of an artist's development, first as a young boy working in the studio and then as an apprentice, drawing but not in the outfit of a fully accredited practitioner or master. "The Case for Corporate Identification" (1997), 69-74.

[364] Accessed on *ARTStor*, web, 25 July 2014, http://library.artstor.org.

The detail shown in Figure 5.4 depicts a man in the background preparing the wood for the panel and frame, pigments and brushed of various sizes prepared for cleaning on a table behind St. Luke, and the saint himself as a self-portrait in the act of painting, steadying the right hand holding the brush against a dowel held in the left and stabilized against the frame.[365]

In place of the brushes, easels, and pigments depicted in scenes of St. Luke, composers of the late fifteenth century used abstract concepts of music theory, like hexachords, tetrachords, and Pythagorean intervals, to represent the specific tools used by professional musicians to craft their polyphonic Masses or motets. These emblems of music making emphasize the materiality of a musical composition by representing an aspect of basic musical instruction on the page of a real composition, and, in some cases, by making it audible in performance. Whether or not a patron was skilled enough to perform Isaac's *O decus ecclesiae*, he or she could certainly recognize and appreciate the simplicity and symmetry of the hexachordal tenor as presented in manuscript and print sources.[366]

Recent scholarship into the history of reading has revealed that early modern readers interacted with texts in a very active way.[367] Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton argue that reading texts in the Renaissance was "conducted under conditions of strenuous attentiveness; it employed job-related equipment (both machinery and technique) designed for efficient absorption and processing of the matter read; it was normally carried out in the company of a colleague or student; and was a public performance, rather than a private meditation, in its aims and character."[368] They discuss how a nobleman or prince would employ a reader to

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[365] Borchert points out that he woodworker may represent St. Joseph, who was also a carpenter, but this does not negate an the clear implications of wood working for the profession of panel painting. "The Case for Corporate Identification" (1997), 71. For a discussion of the general steps in preparing a panel painting see Harbison, *The Mirror of the Artist* (1995), 70-75. Another guild of St. Luke painting by Jan de Beer includes an even more detailed depiction of the artist's studio and home. Although it has been badly damaged it is clear to see that the artist emphasized the difference in status between the self-referential figure of St. Luke and an apprentice with bare legs through their dress and placement, similar to the example by Bagaert, discussed in footnote 363.

[366] Possibly a patron of dubious musical skills might be brought into the performance by singing along with a professional on the tenor. Jardine and Grafton have argued for courtly reading as a semi-public act, so perhaps music reading could also be understood in these parameters.

[367] Grafton, "Humanist as Reader" (1999); Jardine and Grafton, "How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy" (1990); Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities* (1986). For an excellent introduction to literature on the history of reading see the articles found in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. by Cavallo and Chartier (1999).

[368] "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy," 30-1.

interpret and mediate the texts that they possessed. Some libraries even had special revolving book holders that allowed quick cross-referencing in multiple large tomes.[369]

I argue that we should understand compositions incorporating comprehensive or emblematic aspects of music theory within the semi-public reading practices of courtly, humanistic scholars. Since many extant manuscripts of compositions and theoretical texts were clearly intended for courtly patrons, not necessarily proficient performers, it seems appropriate to assume that they would have been read or viewed with the help of a professional reader of music, a scholar-performer.[370] This reader or readers, we must assume, fell within a spectrum of musical and literary skill, including proficient musical performance and probably also erudition in liberal disciplines including *Musica*. In this environment emblems or "tools" of the musical trade provided points of contact between generally accessible knowledge about the music as a liberal discipline and actual musical compositions. For example, the complex proportions demonstrated by Obrecht in his *Regina celi* are represented in the manuscript both with numbers and with Latin text. Any literate person, regardless of musical skill, could read and contemplate Obrecht's mathematical gymnastics and the way they reflect the ideas presented in the related treatise by Tinctoris, *Proportionale musices*.

In contrast to van der Weyden's emphasis on good draftsmanship and the respectful artist/patron dynamic, de Coter emphasizes the importance of good workmanship at all of the different stages of a painting, from preparation of the panel and paints, to the very act of applying paint to the wood, creating a durable, quality product. While de Coter's emphasis on good craftsmanship can be interpreted as professional pride among artists, it also makes a clear statement to potential buyers and elite patrons who could view a guild painting on display on a side altar in a large, public church. Obrecht's reliance on Tinctoris might be intended to assure potential patrons, knowledgeable about this treatise, of the quality of his own craftsmanship. Ockeghem's presentation of mensuration canons at progressive pitch intervals in his *Missa*

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[369] The most famous example is the book wheel of Agostino Ramelli, which was itself a display of mathematical prowess. See discussion in Grafton, "Humanist as Reader" (1999), 209; and Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, 22-23.

[370] Examples of this kind range from the elaborately prepared *Medici Codex*, a gift from Pope Leo to his nephew, to the compilations of the theoretical works of Tinctoris, copied at the Neapolitan court. The sources of Tinctoris's theoretical writings are discussed in Woodley, "Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS II 4147" (2007), also available online: http://www.stoa.org/tinctoris/tinctoris.html.

Prolationum, covering both pitch and rhythm as compositional parameters, made a more universally recognizable statement about his command of the entirety of musical practice.

A St. Luke scene for the painter's guild at Malines, painted by Jan Gossaert c. 1513-15, alludes van der Weyden's composition of the theme, but contemporizes it by surrounding St. Luke with classicizing references to the art and architecture of antiquity (see Figure 5.5). The saintly artist, identified as a self-portrait of Gossaert, makes his drawing from within a pseudo-Roman space, surrounded by classical statuary.

Figure 5.5: Jan Gossaert, *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin*, c. 1513-15.
Oil on panel, 230 x 205 cm, Prague, Národni Galerie.[371]

Thus we can see artists actively aligning themselves with the venerable tradition of painting through inter-textual references, but also through explicit connections to the artistic creations of antiquity. Similarly music theorists cited the authority of antique authors in the margins of their treatises (see references to Pope Gregory, Virgil and Guido in Figure 5.6), and Busnoys evoked Pythagorean ratios in a motet praising Ockeghem (see Chapters 3 and 6), while

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[371] Accessed on *Web Gallery of Art*, web, 25 July 2014, http://www.wga.hu.

composers such as Brumel and Ghiselin presented the hexachord as a Christian improvement on the Classical tetrachord (Chapter 7).

Figure 5.6: Marginal references in Gaffurius, *Practica musice* (Milan, 1496), fol. a iii
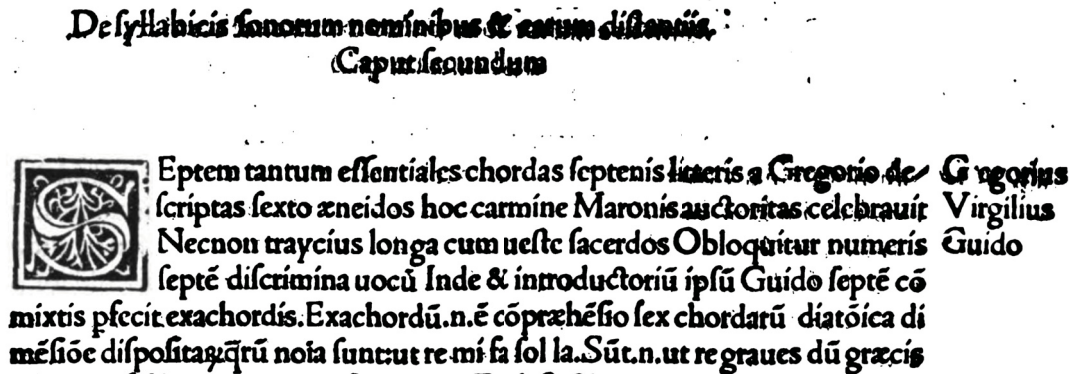
Like the self-reflexive paintings of St. Luke that were publically displayed on the side altars of painters' guilds, music about music communicates directly with both the community of artists and with non-professional patrons about the profession of music. St. Luke paintings were the symbolic center and public site of the ceremonies of the corporate body of painters, viewable by the larger community of the city as well as by visitors from abroad. While self-reflexive compositions were more private, traveling in fascicles and preserved in large manuscripts and prints, they similarly acted to make any viewer aware that the composition was the physical representation of a musical object, created by the work and mind of an accomplished individual. Viewed within a broader tradition of music making that included extensive puzzle canons, complex manipulations of popular tunes, and ambiguous notations, these pieces emerge not as tools for teaching music, but for highlighting the role of the composer for patrons who were interested in music, but possibly not very skilled.[372]

Considered as a group and a part of the cultural move towards an early-modern concept of the individual artist, pieces of music about music can give us a glimpse into how musicians used music theory to validate and elevate the status of composed music in literate, humanistic circles, through reference to the quadrivial discipline of *Musica*. The following section examines how different musical representations of music—comprehensive structures

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[372] On puzzle canon and the culture of obscurity see Schiltz, "Visual Pictorialism" (2012) and her forthcoming book.

from contemporary music theory and Greek terminology (Chapter 6), and various approaches to solmization syllables through hexachords (Chapter 7)—can help us to understand musicians' own agency in the process of professionalization and the establishment of the early modern concept of the composer.

Chapter 6:   Simple Lessons? Music Theory as Emblem of Composition

Musica Compositions 1460 to 1490s

Twelve interrelated works composed during an approximately 30-year period from 1460 to the 1490s use aspects of music theory in their compositional framework (see Table 6.1). Within this group there are two kinds of compositions, those that display a comprehensive approach to an abstract musical idea, like modality or mensuration, and those that demonstrate or hinge on key terms from Greek music theory, often in canonic instructions.

Table 6.1: Pieces with comprehensive compositional structures
or based on terms from Greek theory, 1460 to 1490s

Author	Title	Time	Genres	Terms	Structural
Domarto, Petrus	*Missa Spiritus almus*	1462	Cantus firmus Mass		Mensural transformation
Busnoys	*Anthoni usque limina*	1465-80	motet with constructed tenor	Greek note names	
Busnoys	*In hydraulis*	1467	motet with constructed tenor	Pythagorean Intervals	
d'Amerval, Eloy	*Missa Dixerunt discipuli*	1470	cantus firmus Mass		Mensural transformation
Roelkin	*De tous biens playne*	1470s?	2-v song setting		Utilizes the entire gamut
Tinctoris	*Difficiles alios delectat pangere cantus*	1470s	3-v motet in a treatise	Aristotle and Cicero	
Ockeghem	*Missa cuiusvis toni*	1476-77	cyclic Mass		Modal transformation
Obrecht	*Inter preclarissimas virtutes / Estote fortes in bello*	1480s?	4-v motet with cantus firmus		Mensural transformation
Obrecht	*Regina celi*	1480s	2-v motet with cantus firmus		Comprehensive proportions
Ockeghem	*Missa prolationum*	1480s	cyclic Mass		Mensuration canons, intervals
Brumel	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	1493	cantus firmus Mass		Mensural transformation
Josquin	*Vive le roy*	1503	4-v song with cantus firmus	"tetrachord"	

Although self-reflexive musical features were not new in the mid-fifteenth century, being present in much of the fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century *ars subtilior* repertoire, in the

decades after 1460 many pieces with self-referential musical features were composed, alongside the compositions described in chapters 2, 3, and 4.[373]

Self-referential features were applied differently according to generic norms, but they always highlight the composition as a made object. These works range from large-scale cyclic Masses, like Ockeghem's *Missa Prolationum*, to short settings of phrases of plainchant, like Obrecht's two-voice *Regina celi* from the unnumbered Segovia manuscript (SegC s.s.). These compositions are contemporary with the theoretical works of Tinctoris and reflect an awareness or interest in issues addressed by music theorists. Many of the composers, and sometimes these very works, are mentioned in Tinctoris's treatises, reinforcing the impression of a dialogic relationship between theory and practice, a point to be discussed in more detail below. For the most part these pieces do not make direct reference to solmization syllables, the exceptions being Brumel's hexachord Mass and the rubrics for Josquin's *Vive le roy*. By foregrounding the scientific aspects of the act of composition and contemporaneous music's links with Greek music theory, these pieces proclaim composition as a liberal art, worthy of consideration in humanistic circles.

The works based on comprehensive structures include some of the most famous pieces from the late fifteenth century, particularly Ockeghem's two Masses from the Chigi Codex (*Prolationum* and *Cuiusvis toni*). In these two Masses Ockeghem covers a lot of theoretical ground: 4 from 2 mensuration canons, including the four most common mensuration signs, that systematically explore all the possible intervals from the unison to the octave, and the realization of four-voice polyphonic structures in multiple modal orientations. These works are so well known for their rigorous approaches to complex compositional structures, both temporal and harmonic, that they have bought Ockeghem the reputation for being more of a mathematician than an artist.[374] The wealth of literature on these two pieces covers multiple

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[373] For more information on musicians' motets and the Chantilly codex see Chapter 3. For more information on musicians' motets in the fourteenth century see Hirshberg, "Criticism of Music and Music as Criticism" (2009); Stone, "Self-Reflexive Songs" (2003); Cumming, "Music for the Doge" (1992); Bent, *Two 14th-Century Motets in Praise of Music* (1977); and the commentary and edition by Harrison of these kinds of works, *Musicorum Collegio* (1986).

[374] Starting in the sixteenth century when Coclico lists Ockeghem amongst the *mathematici*. In revisionist articles musicologists have sought to save Ockeghem's reputation, and argue for the artistic merit of his works. See Eckert, "Canon and Variation" (1998); L. Bernstein, "Ockeghem the Mystic" (1998) and also "*Singende Seele* or *unsingbar?*" (2006).

centuries, from the sixteenth-century treatises of Glarean and Zarlino to Burney's classic text, and finally to the multiple articles and editions published in the last twenty years transcribing these works in various modal and temporal adaptations.[375]

In his article on Ockeghem's puzzle canon, *Prenez sur moi*, Leeman Perkins proposed that it, as well as his Masses *Cuiusvis toni* and *Prolationum*, "should be studied… as pedagogical exemplifications, respectively, of solmization, modal representation, and mensural practice in polyphonic composition."[376] He argued that they are the "practical, musical equivalent of the theoretical treatises penned by his contemporaries," including Tinctoris.[377] Perkins based his argument for the didactic function of *Prenez sur moi* and the two Masses on the inclusion of *Prenez sur moi* in a number of sixteenth-century German pedagogical treatises, citing the "longevity" of this tradition. At the same time he recognizes that there is a significant temporal and geographical distance between the original, courtly sources for the chanson and the music theory texts.[378] The authors of these treatises were compiling musical examples from older repertoire, often fifty to over one hundred years removed from the original cultural mileu. They regularly reinterpreted musical works from previous generations to accommodate their own pedagogical and ideological needs.[379]

A variety of pieces or segments of pieces from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were used as musical examples in treatises from the mid-sixteenth century, including over thirty references to pieces included on my list of music about music.[380] In fact, it seems likely that although it was fairly widely known in the sixteenth century Ockeghem's *Missa Prolationum* was primarily studied from the segments preserved as examples in German music

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[375] For a select bibliography of writings on these pieces, see the commentary to the editions by Jaap van Benthem, *Masses and Mass Sections* (1994), vol III. Modern editions include Plamenac, ed., *Ockeghem: Collected Works* (1959); Houle, ed., *Ockeghem's Missa Cuiusvis Toni* (1992); Condon, ed., *Ockeghem: Missa Prolacionum* (1992); and van Benthem, ed., *Ockeghem: Masses and Mass Sections* (1994).

[376] Perkins, "Ockeghem's *Prenez sur moi*" (1990), 155-6.

[377] Perkins, "Ockeghem's *Prenez sur moi*" (1990), 156.

[378] Perkins, "Ockeghem's *Prenez sur moi*" (1990), 123. He also points out that in some cases the theorists interpretations of the canon are based on a "fundamental misunderstanding of the composer's intentions," 126.

[379] Ruth DeFord has shown that it is very likely that Sebald Heyden created the complex proportional signs in Isaac's *Choralis constantinus* as examples for his treatise and that they do not reflect the intentions of the composer. "Who Devised the Proportional Notation in Isaac's *Choralis Constantinus*?" (2011).

[380] For more information on examples in theory treatises see Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory* (2000).

theory treatises, which is not surprising since it was not included in any printed sources.[381] It is surprising, however, that pieces of music based on abstract ideas of music theory were not usually used to elucidate the principles that they seem to demonstrate, if we are to understand them as pedagogical. For example, Sebald Heyden mentions Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* five times, but not one of those is a reference to solmization syllables. Instead it is primarily used as an example of mensural structures.[382] Similarly, a section from Brumel's hexachord Mass, a cyclic Mass using the entire progression of hexachords in the Guidonian gamut as a *cantus firmus*, is never included as a demonstration of the hexachord.

Figure 6.1: Brumel, Agnus dei I (from *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*), from
Heyden, *De arte canendi* (Nürnberg, 1540), 82-83

Although this particular section, the Agnus dei I, includes an exposition of the hexachord in two voices (the cantus-firmus-bearing superius as well as the tenor, both indicated with arrows

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[381] It is preserved in the Chigi codex and WienNB 11883. Zarlino mentions it but clearly does not know the whole piece. In 1504 it seems that it was difficult to get a copy, as it is one of a number of items requested by Sebastian Virdung when his royal student was traveling in France. Wallner, "Sebastian Virdung" (1911).

[382] Heyden, *De arte canendi* (1540), trans. by C. Miller, the Benedictus as an example of diminution using a reverse semicircle, 93; Agnus dei *II* as example of Heyden's tactus theory, 98; Kyrie *I* and Christe eleison as examples of augmentation, 106; and the Osanna as an example of the seventh tone, 129.

in Figure 6.1), Heyden used the excerpt to demonstrate his own idiosyncratic theory of tactus and even altered the mensural signs in these voices to prove his point.[383]

Sebald Heyden's *De arte canendi*, the first treatise to include Ockeghem's *Prenez sur moi*, was published at least fifty years after Ockeghem composed his clefless chanson. Heyden was publishing for a market of literate musical amateurs, quite different from Ockeghem's original small audience of courtly singers and listeners. The "clefless" canon is the final example of twelve short pieces grouped together to provide the reader with solmization practice. To strengthen the association of Ockeghem's canon with solmization, Perkins points out that Heyden provided solmization syllables on the staff before the beginning of the piece, shown in two groups just after the mensuration sign in Figure 6.2.[384]

Figure 6.2: Ockeghem, *Prenez sur moi* in Heyden, *De arte canendi* (1540), 39
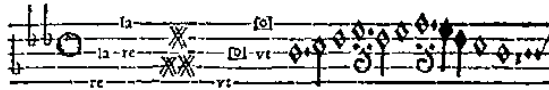
What Perkins fails to acknowledge is that every piece in this section is provided with solmization syllables at the beginning of the staff, for an example see the canonic excerpt from the Credo of Obrecht's *Missa Salve diva parens*, shown in Figure 6.3.

Figure 6.3: Obrecht, *Qui cum patre* from the Credo of *Missa Salve diva parens*, in Heyden, *De arte canendi* (1540), 39
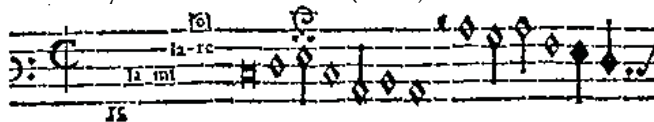
Solmization syllables were included by Heyden to aid the amateur in remembering where to mutate in each example, as part of his own pedagogical program, not Ockeghem's.[385] These diverse pieces, some of them segments of cyclic Masses by Josquin, de Orto and Obrecht, are adapted to the didactic function of this segment of the treatise. Although the Mass sections were originally intended for performance by professional musicians during the celebration of Mass, because they are canonic or fugal, they are easily incorporated and reinterpreted to serve

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[383] Heyden's *tactus* theory and its reception are discussed by Ruth DeFord, who also lists the pieces where he has altered the notation in footnote 47 of her article "Sebald Heyden (1499-1561): The First Historical Musicologist?" (2009), 11.

[384] "Ockeghem's *Prenez sur moi*" (1990), 134-5.

[385] For an explanation and discussion of mutation see Chapter 7.

the pedagogical needs of Heyden's consumers and musical amateurs. Although solmization syllables are certainly helpful tools in resolving the puzzle posed by Ockeghem in *Prenez sur moi*, there are other options and the syllables are not completely necessary for understanding or performing this piece.[386] The inclusion of Ockeghem's canon in this section on solmization does not indicate the composer's didactic intention, but simply that Heyden recognized that it, like the other pieces, could be used as an interesting and challenging lesson in the application of solmization.[387]

While I disagree with Perkins' use of the terms "pedagogical" to describe these works, the idea that they are the "practical, musical equivalent of the theoretical treatises penned by his contemporaries," is intriguing, especially if we consider that music theoretical works influenced by the humanistic tradition, especially those of Tinctoris, were doing important cultural work beyond teaching music.[388] The first mention of both of Ockeghem's theoretically based Masses, *Missa Prolationum* and *Missa Cuiuvis toni*, is in a letter from Sebastian Virdung to his noble patron.[389] In his letters Virdung asks his patron/student for a number of theory treatises and pieces of music that exhibit impressive compositional prowess, like fugues or the mensural and modal complexities of Ockethem's masses.[390] This shows how, by 1504 at least, Ockeghem's Masses were already valued for their association with music theory and acted as a worthy point of discussion between a professional musician and his noble student/patron.

Pieces with Comprehensive Compositional Structures

In order to fully appreciate Ockeghem's Masses and their cultural significance we must recognize that they are part of a larger group of compositions based on comprehensive expositions of theoretical structures, shown in Table 6.2. Not surprisingly, this corpus is primarily made up of cyclic Masses with a few notable cantus firmus motets. In performance

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[386] Stefano Mengozzi has recently argued against associating "clefless" compositions and those using fa-clef with solmization entirely. "'Clefless' Notation" (2008).

[387] It is particularly challenging because a correct performance requires that each singer place the semitones in different places, so each singer must use a different sequence of syllables, hence its placement at the end of the section.

[388] Perkins, "Ockeghem's *Prenez sur moi*" (1990), 156.

[389] Wallner, "Sebastian Virdung" (1911), 97-8.

[390] He asks specifically for *Practica musice* by Gaffurius and for a manuscript treatis on prolation that is either by Tinctoris or Ockeghem. Wallner, "Sebastian Virdung" (1911), 91.

the Mass cycle was a single aspect of a ritual action, existing alongside plainchant, readings, prayers, and ceremonial movement. The length and generic expectation for cyclic unification of the five movements challenged composers of the mid-fifteenth century to develop a variety of techniques for establishing musical unity while maintaining variety and conforming to function. Though many cyclic Masses manipulate a sacred or secular cantus firmus to create variety between movements, in the pieces considered here, the compositional artifice becomes itself the primary unifying element of the Mass, thus foregrounding abstract elements of music theory. In order to limit the number of pieces, I have not included Masses that feature extremely complex manipulations of a famous tune, like *L'homme armé*, since this family of works constitutes its own, although certainly related, tradition.[391]

Table 6.2: Pieces based on comprehensive structures

Author	Title	Comments
Domarto, Petrus	*Missa Spiritus almus*	-mensural transformation of a cantus firmus, the 4 normal mensurations plus C3
d'Amerval, Eloy	*Missa Dixerunt discipuli*	-mensural transformation of a cantus firmus -includes all 16 mensurations discussed by Tinctoris
Brumel	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	-mensural transformation in the Credo -uses the gamut (all 7 hexachords) as a cantus firmus
Obrecht	*Inter preclarissimas virtutes / Estote fortes in bello*	-mensural transformation of cantus firmus, all 4 normally used mensuration signs, plus cut C
Ockeghem	*Missa Cuiusvis toni*	-single notation can be realized in multiple modes, modal transformation
Ockeghem	*Missa Prolationum*	-mensuration canons the four simple mensuration signs -canons at all of the intervals from the unison to the octave
Obrecht	*Regina celi*	-includes all the proportions as they are discussed in Tinctoris
Roelkin	*De tous biens playne*	-composed voice is presented on a *scala decemlinealis*

Like cyclic Masses, motets, with their historic relation to strict structural organization, or isorhythm, are also apt to contain complex mensural or proportional changes. Since, unlike Masses, motets often set original texts, the motets included on my list must either make

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[391] For instance Josquin's *L'homme armé sexti toni* exposes the hexachord in an internal duo section of the *Sanctus* and Jesse Rodin has recently pointed out that de Orto states the *L'homme armé* tune on every pitch of the hard hexachord. *Josquin's Rome* (2012), 223. For more information on the *L'homme armé* tradition also see Perkins, "The *L'homme armé* Masses" (1984); Prizer, "Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries" (1985); Haggh, "The Archives of the Order of the Golden Fleece" (1995); Haar, "Palestrina as Historicist" (1996); Warmington, "The Ceremony of the Armed Man" (1999); Burn, "Imitation, Competition and the *L'homme armé*" (2001).

reference to specific musicians or hinge upon terms or concepts from music theory in their rubrics.[392]

The multiple different editions and interpretations of Ockeghem's Masses, mentioned above, prove that notational ambiguity and virtuosity are central aspects of these works and the others listed on Table 6.2. The first four pieces (Domarto's, *Missa Spiritus almus*, d'Amerval's *Missa Dixerunt discipuli*, Brumel's *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*, and Obrecht's motet *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*) subject a single notated cantus firmus to multiple mensural configurations. This practice is called mensural transformation in modern discourse.[393]

The four remaining pieces demonstrate different but related procedures. Like the cantus firmus of a Mass or motet using mensural transformation, all the notated voices of Ockeghem's *Missa Cuiusvis toni* can be realized in multiple ways, but in this case the transformational aspect is pitch relationships rather than rhythmic relationships. Hence I have coined the term modal transformation to emphasize the similarity of Ockeghem's Mass to the previous pieces. The *Missa Prolationum* also derives multiple musical voices from a single notated voice, but this time via mensuration canons. Using two notated lines Ockeghem creates four-voice polyphony, indicating that each notated voice should be performed simultaneously according to two different mensuration signs. *Missa Prolationum* also demonstrates a comprehensive approach to pitch, by using an expanding series of melodic intervals of imitation for the canons in each different section of the Mass. It is therefore comprehensive with respect to the two basic parameters of musical notation — pitch and rhythm.

The final two pieces listed on Table 6.2 are significantly different from the others, since they are two-voice settings of an antiphon (Obrecht's *Regina celi*) and of a popular tune (Roelkin's *De tous biens playne*). As mentioned before, in his *Regina celi* setting Obrecht systematically explores the concept of cumulative proportions as they are discussed by Tinctoris in his *Proportionale musices*, using both the fractions and the Latin terminology

[392] For more information on this see Brothers, "Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition" (1991). Although Margaret Bent points out in her entry on "Isorhythm" in *Grove Music Online* that this term is anachronistic and has been overused, I have chosen to use is as a convenient way to identify a family of compositional devices for systematic manipulations of melodic and rhythmic elements.
[393] Wegman cites Reinhard Strohm as the source of the term "mensural transformation" in Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus*" (1991), 244. For another approach see Bent, "What is Isorhythm?" (2008), 122.

presented in the treatise.[394] The final work is a setting of *De tous biens playne* by Roelkin. The added voice of this short piece is remarkable because it comprehensively explores the musical space of the entire Guidonian gamut, presented on a ten-line staff from *gamma ut* to *ee la*.[395] In the following pages I will show how these overt references to music theory reveal an increasing awareness and presentation of compositions as independent objects and musical skill as a valuable aspect of the liberal disciplines.

Articulating Tradition through Mensural Transformation

Two *Musica* Masses: Domarto's *Spiritus almus* and d'Amerval's *Dixerunt discipuli*

Composed circa 1462, Petrus Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus* is a foundational piece in the tradition of music about music. It is both the earliest and most complex example in a cyclic Mass of mensural transformation of a single notated cantus firmus (a traditional feature of isorhythmic motets), and was widely circulated and commented on in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Although Domarto did not make it into Tinctoris's list of *primi compositores*, Wegman points out that Tinctoris paints Domarto as an erring but influential figure, often leading the composers of the next generation astray.[396] His Mass was both highly disseminated, having five concordances in sources copied between the 1460s and the 1490s in the Low Countries, Italy, and Hungary, and connected to other works through similar mensural usage, most significantly Eloy d'Amerval's *Missa Dixerunt discipuli* which is also preserved in VatS 14.[397] Much to the chagrin of Tinctoris, Domarto was a leader in mensural usage, and, I argue, also in the trend toward self-reflexive compositions.

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[394] For a comprehensive study and edition of the piece see Hewitt, "A Study in Proportions" (1957); also see Wegman, "Obrecht and Erasmus" (2011), 113-4.

[395] Jon Banks argues that this and other chanson setting with extreme ranges are evidence lute ensemble performance. He lists this as one of 8 pieces with ranges of two octaves or more, *Instrumental Consort Repertory* (2006), 18.

[396] Wegman points out the direction of influence implied by Tinctoris, stating that, "while Domarto had 'sinned intolerably' by using C-dot as a sign of augmentation, other composers – such as Ockeghem, Busnoys, Regis, Caron and Faugues – had merely 'imitated him in this error'." Wegman, "Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus*" (1991), 239.

[397] The sources for Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus* include: LucAS 238; TrentC 88; PozU 7022; VatS 14; ModE M.1.13. VatS 14 is the unique source for d'Amerval's Mass although it clearly had a broader circulation since it was cited in Tinctoris's *Proportionale musice*, Gaffurius's *Practica musice*, and a letter written by Giovanni da Legge.

Rob Wegman has provided an excellent and comprehensive discussion of Domarto's Mass and its influence and I will relate many of his findings in the interest of establishing the relevance of this piece to my narrative.[398] Wegman asserts that while there are Marian implications for Domarto's use of a melisma from the responsory *Stirps Jesse,* the central feature of the composition is the ingenious way in which Domarto applied a wide-ranging set of mensural values to his lengthy cantus firmus, thus meticulously making it musically viable in the five most common mensuration signs (shown in Figure 6.4).[399]

Figure 6.4: Cantus firmus from Agnus dei I from Domarto, *Missa Spiritus almus,* TrentC 88, 409[v] Accessed online http://www1.trentinocultura.net/(16 October 2013)

He points out the extreme difficulty of this task and draws the conclusion that "from the moment Domarto turned the 'spiritus almus' melody into the notational archetype of the Mass, he must have envisaged a cycle in which mensural transformation was to play a central role."[400] The emphasis on this technique connects this Mass with other works experimenting with the limits of the mensural system and musical notation in general.

Missa Spiritus almus is not alone in its presentation of mensural transformation of a single notated form of the cantus firmus. Wegman identifies two other pieces based primarily on mensural transformation — Eloy d'Amerval's *Missa Dixerunt discipuli* and the anonymous late fourteenth-century motet, *Inter densas / Imbribus / Admirabile* — and I have identified two additional pieces that rely on mensural transformation and include other related features — Brumel's *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la* and Obrecht's musical letter to a patron, *Inter*

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[398] Wegman, "Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus*" (1991).

[399] Wegman, "Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus*" (1991), 241.

[400] He points out Busnoys's use of the same responsory as a tenor in his motet *Anima mea liquefacta est.* "Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus*" (1991), 247.

preclarissimas virtutes / Estote. Both of the pieces described by Wegman go far beyond the five mensural species used by Domarto, exploring the esoteric realms of mensural transformation on the level of major and minor modus — *Inter densas* presents eight different species, or combinations of prolation, tempus, and modus, and d'Amerval utilizes all sixteen possible species discussed by Tinctoris.[401] Wegman argues that similarities between the tenors and rubrics show that d'Amerval was more directly influenced by the motet than by Domarto's Mass. Regardless of whether d'Amerval was influenced directly by Domarto, they are only separated by a single Mass setting in VatS 14, indicating that they circulated in the same circles and may have been connected by contemporaries.[402] Domarto and d'Amerval's similar comprehensive mensural structures seem to indicate cultural pressures to foreground abstract concepts of music theory in compositions.

Mensural transformation and Guido's gamut: Brumel, *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*

The Credo of Brumel's hexachord Mass, *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*, is another Mass that uses mensural transformation like that of Domarto and d'Amerval.[403] The hexachordal cantus firmus of this movement of Brumel's Mass is strikingly similar to the tenor of d'Amerval's Mass.

Figure 6.5: Comparison of d'Amerval cantus firmus and Brumel's hexachord
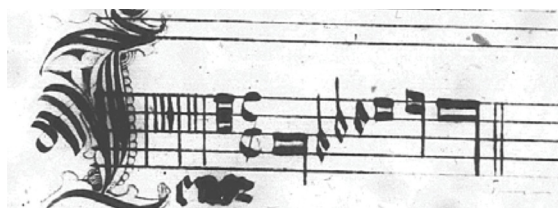
d'Amerval Agnus dei III of
Missa Dixerunt discipuli, VatS 14, 64ᵛ
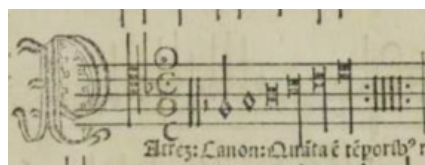
Brumel, Credo of *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*

The motto used by D'Amerval as a cantus firmus (shown in Figure 6.5) is clearly identified as the first seven notes of an antiphon for St. Martin of Tours but it also outlines a hexachord, the hard hexachord on G.[404] The similarity between Brumel's soft hexachord and d'Amerval's

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[401] Wegman, "Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus*" (1991), 251-2.

[402] The piece separating them is Vincenet's *Missa Eterne rex altissime*, which does not seem to be connected with the other two.

[403] For sources for Brumel's hexachordal Mass see Table 6.3.

[404] Confirmation that this short melody is connected to the antiphon is indicated with a textual incipit on the first opening of its unique source, VatS 14, 56v. There is significant bleed-through on this page of the manuscript so I

hard one is evident also in the ascending melodic outline, length, and the variety of note values. Although the hexachord is used in every movement of Brumel's Mass, the Credo is the only one with multiple mensuration signs applied to a single notated cantus firmus, resulting in different temporal values for each *cursus*. As shown in Figure 6.6, Brumel actually writes two different rhythmic realizations of the soft hexachord.

Figure 6.6: Credo from Brumel, *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*, tenor (Petrucci, 1503)[405]
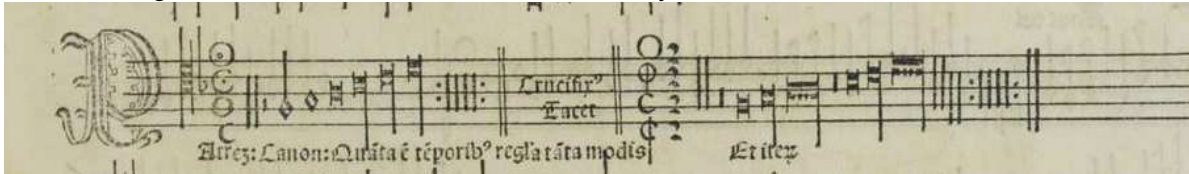
Between the two versions every mensural value from the minim to the maxima is used, also a key feature of the mensural transformation systems utilized by both d'Amerval and Domarto. Notably, this is the only moment in the Mass where the cantus firmus is given the minim note-value. In the rest of the Mass it generally behaves more like a traditional long-note cantus firmus, maintaining much longer note values than the other voices.

In Brumel's Credo, each notated version of the hexachord is subjected to four different combinations of mensuration signs resulting in different values with each reiteration. In this section the main interest comes from the application of the alteration of note values to complete perfect units to illustrate the variety of possible realizations of the same melody under different signs.[406] The cantus firmus for the "Patrem" section uses the four basic mensurations, varying the values on the level of tempus, prolation, and, with the help of a textual rubric, minor modus as well.[407] Brumel's careful arrangement of minims, semibreves,

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have reproduced a clearer page to show the tenor notes. A facsimile of folio 56v is available in the edition of the Mass prepared by Agostino Magro and Philippe Vendrix; see d'Amerval, *Missa Dixerunt discipuli*, (1997), xv.

[405] My thanks go to Wolfgang Fuhrmann for letting me use his copy of this image and for sharing with me the paper he gave at the Med-Ren Conference in Certaldo, Italy, in 2013; "A Humble Beginning: Brumel and the Ut-re-mi-fa-sol-la Tradition." The *Misse Brumel* is now available through the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, web, http://www.onb.ac.at.

[406] For an excellent diagram and detailed discussion of the temporal relationships of the various versions of the hexachordal cantus firmus in Brumel's Mass see Wolfgang Fuhrmann's forthcoming article based on his Med-Ren presentation: "A Humble Beginning: Brumel and the Ut-re-mi-fa-sol-la Tradition." *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*.

[407] For more information and a translation of the rubric see d'Amerval, *Missa Dixerunt discipuli,* ed. by Magro and Vendrix (1997), xiv-vi.

and breves are intended to demonstrate the complex of relationships among the four most common mensuration signs. The second version for the "Et iterum" uses O, cut O, C, and ¢ all with *modus cum tempore* signs, indicated by a 2 next to the sign. The number 2 indicates augmentation in relation to the other three voices and the slash simply halves the value of the cantus firmus notes in relation to the previous sign, hence doubling the speed of the *cursus*.[408] Although the notation looks complicated, the solution is fairly straightforward in practice and merely demonstrates the application of cut signs for diminution.

Rather than expressing complex proportional relationships, Brumel seems primarily concerned with being as comprehensive in his presentation of mensuration signs as he has been in his presentation of the hexachord, an aspect of this composition to be discussed in Chapter 7. Like Domarto and d'Amerval he constructed a series of rhythmic values that would be realized differently under each mensural figure, varying them on the level of minor modus, tempus, and prolation while using all the normal signs plus the more popular *modus cum tempore* signs. Wolfgang Fuhrmann proposes that Brumel's comprehensive temporal treatment of the hexachord is particularly significant in the context of the Creed. He wonders, a little tongue-in-cheek, if it should be understood as "a Musician's Credo of its own: 'I believe in the hexachord, the five note-values from the minim to the maxima, and in all the possible variants of modus, tempo and prolation'."[409] Joking aside, like Ockeghem in his *Missa Prolationum*, Brumel is displaying a variety of different possibilities for variation on the temporal and melodic axes and proclaiming himself as a master of them all.

Brumel's hexachord Mass, although it remains fairly obscure today, has three complete concordances in manuscript and print sources, partial concordances in seven different collections and treatises, and there are intabulations of three sections. Although the two complete manuscript sources are large collections associated with performing institutions, many of the sources containing sections of the Mass demonstrate that it enjoyed significant popularity and circulation in the secular realm, particularly in northern Italy.[410] These partial

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[408] Busse Berger, *Mensuration and Proportion* (1993).

[409] "A Humble Beginning: Brumel and the Ut-re-mi-fa-sol-la Tradition," paper read at the Med-Ren Conference in Certaldo, Italy, 2013.

[410] In fact the only two sources that do not have an Italian provenance are the Stuttgart manuscript and Heyden's pedagogical treatise, the source furthest removed.

sources show that the Mass existed at least ten years before Petrucci's publication of the *Misse Brumel* in 1503.[411] At least twenty-five years after the compilation of the first partial source, FlorBN 229, two movements were intabulated in the beautiful Capirola Lute Manuscript, including the Agnus.[412]

Table 6.3: Sources for Brumel, *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*

COMPLETE CONCORDANCES		
Misse Brumel (Venice: Petrucci, 1503)		1503
Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbilbiothek, Cod. Mus. I 47		1506
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Capella Sistina Ms. 45		1511-14
PARTIAL CONCORDANCES		
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Banco Rari 229	Qui tollis, Benedictus, Pleni	1492-3
Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, MS 1013	Credo: Tenor	1509
Sebald Heyden, *De arte canendi… libri duo* (Nuremberg: Petreius, 1540)	Agnus I	1540
Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, 757	Agnus III	c. 1500
Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli'Intronati, K. I. 2	Agnus III	c. 1500
Bologna, Civico Bibliografico Musicale Codex Q 18	Agnus III	early 16th c.
Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech v Hradci Králové, II A 7, "Speciálník Codex"	Agnus III	late 15th - early 16th c.
INTABULATIONS		
Spinacino, *Intabolatura di lauto, libro secondo* (Venice: Petrucci, 1507)	Agnus III	1507
Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MS minus VM 140, "Capirola MS"	Benedictus, Agnus	1517

The third Agnus is remarkable because, as the final movement in the Mass, the hexachordal cantus firmus has finally reached the top voice and is sung from g to ee, the highest hexachord in the Guidonian gamut. This movement was particularly popular, accounting for six of the partial concordances and intabulations. Perhaps the popularity of this movement is because of this exposed presentation of the hexachord. It is present on folio 85v of the Bentivoglio family's chansonnier, BolQ 18, a manuscript that also includes four other *musica* pieces, including a motet that Susan Weiss argues is based on the name of one of the family members through a

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[411] The earliest source seems to be Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Banco Rari 229 (FlorBN 229), compiled 1492-3.

[412] A facsimile of this beautiful manuscript is available through a collaboration between the Newberry Library and the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance at the University of Tours, France: http://www.newberry.org/capirola-lute-manuscript.

soggetto cavato.[413] The concordant sources for Brumel's Mass and the longevity of its transmission attest to the appeal that music based on theoretical principles could have in the secular realm.

The sources for individual sections of Brumel's hexachord Mass also include a few theoretical sources — Heyden's didactic treatise, *De arte canendi* (1540), and the manuscript Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, Ms. 1013 (PerBCA 1013), a compilation of treatises on music and calligraphy, with many musical examples. As was previously shown in Figure 6.1, Heyden altered the mensuration signs in two of the voices of Brumel's Agnus dei I to demonstrate his theory of uniform *tactus* in the version of the treatise published in 1540.[414] It was only with this version, as Ruth DeFord points out, that Heyden's extreme position on the uniform *tactus* was crystalized, possibly because it had come under attack by readers of the previous versions.[415] His choice of Brumel's Mass movement based on the Guidonian hexachord to bolster his argument reveals the implicit authority that these pieces wielded. The other theoretical concordant source for Brumel's Mass, PerBCA 1013, is the same source where Bonnie Blackburn rediscovered Tinctoris's notationally complex motet, *Difficiles alios*.[416]

Figure 6.7: Tenor of *Credo* from, Brumel's *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*, PerBCA 1013, 75v

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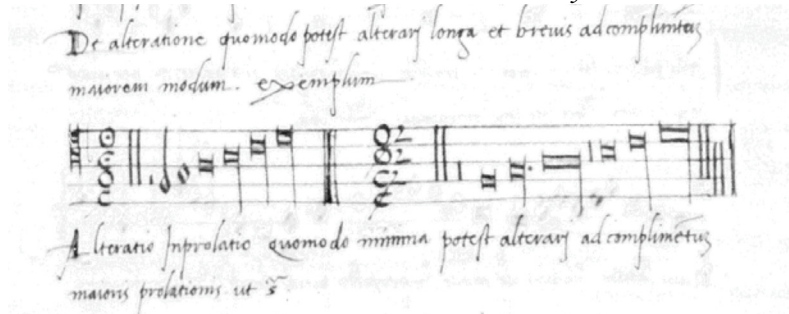
[413] The anonymous, *Spes mea* (41v), which is based on a soggetto cavato and the text is a motto motto associated with the family. Also Isaac's, *La mi la sol* (26v), and the other anonymous pieces, *Bonus et miserator* (54v), *Sol fa mi re* (45v), and *Deus fortitudo mea* (31v). For more information on this source see intro to facsimile edition, *Bologna Q 18*, intro. Susan Weiss (1998); as well as Weiss, "Bologna Q 18" (1988).

[414] Heyden, *De arte canendi* (1540), 82-83. The Brumel example is only included in the final version of the treatise, printed in 1540.

[415] DeFord, "Sebald Heyden (1499-1561): The First Historical Musicologist?" (2009), 6.

[416] Modern scholars were already aware of Tinctoris's motet because of references to it as an example of the complexities of mensural notation by Gaffurius in his *Practica musice* (1496) and in the correspondence of a circle of Italian musicians, amateurs, and theorists. See Gaffurius, *Practica musice (1496)* trans. Miller (1968), 86, and *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, ed. by Blackburn, Lowinsky, and Miller (1991) 494-512, 712--15, 771-8, 791-92, 828-57, 974-5. Also see Blackburn, "A Lost Guide" (1981), 29-30.

In this manuscript from Perugia the tenor of Brumel's Credo is incorporated into a treatise on figured music where it is used as an example of alteration at the level of the breve and long in major or perfect modus (see Figure 6.7).[417] It is not an ideal example because there is no alteration at the level of the long. Twice, however, there is alteration at the level of the breve. Either the amateur writer was working from the tenor in isolation, possibly from the tenor partbook of Petrucci's *Misse Brumel*, and had incorrectly interpreted the values or the perception of authority in using a piece based on the hexachord outweighed the lack of alteration at the level of the long. Clearly he was impressed by Brumel's pithy and comprehensive conception. From the transmission history of Brumel's hexachordal Mass it becomes obvious that basing a composition on concepts drawn from music theory gave it broad appeal and versatility.

Three pieces in the Segovia Manuscript (SegC s.s.)

The unnumbered manuscript from Segovia Cathedral (SegC s.s.) includes two pieces by Obrecht that demonstrate principles of music theory: *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*, which uses mensural transformation, and *Regina celi*, which demonstrates complex proportions.[418] Although the mensural transformation in *Inter preclarissimas virtutes* is significantly simpler than in the previous pieces discussed, since each *cursus* of the cantus firmus is only presented in two different note values, the presentation of the five most common mensuration signs in the prima pars shows a comprehensive approach similar to the other pieces by Brumel and d'Amerval. Statements of the cantus firmus (shown in Figure 6.8) are further varied by changing the level of the written notes from semibreves and minims in the prima pars, to breves and semibreves for the first four statements in the secunda pars.[419] There are four instances of alteration in the tenor, two of the minim in the prima pars and two of the semibreve in the secunda pars. In the initial *cursus* the note levels of the tenor are augmented in relation to those of the other voices, with a semibreve equal to a dotted long. The removal of signs for each of the partes changes the level of augmentation until finally, in the last section,

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[417] In the manuscript PerBCA 1013 the treatise is entitled *Regule figuratus cantus*, 71-78, on 75v.

[418] See folio 202v-203 for Roelkin, "De tous bien" and folio 204 for Tinctoris, "D'ung aultre amer" and another piece by Tinctoris without text. For more information on the concordances see Blackburn, "A Lost Guide" (1981), 36-40; and Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript" (1978), 89-92.

[419] The cantus firmus is not present in the tertia pars.

under cut C, the note values of all the voices are equivalent. The result is a steady diminution of the note values and rests for the cantus firmus during the course of each pars, a feature closely related to archaic isorhythmic techniques.[420]

Figure 6.8: Tenor from Obrecht, *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*, SegC s.s., 78v-80v[421]

Prima pars:

Secunda pars:

Secunda pars continued:

In contrast with this somewhat archaic reference to isorhythm, the musical texture sounds quite modern and beautifully displays the unique, self-referential text, possibly written by Obrecht himself. Based on the supplicatory content of the text, the motet has been described as a musical letter of application to a patron but the identity of the patron is never stated.[422] Although there has been some dissent regarding when it may have been written, all later authors accept Bain Murray's proposition that Ercole I d'Este was the recipient based on three criteria: Obrecht's appointment as the Ferrarese *maestro di cappella* in 1504, alliteration of the cantus firmus text, "Estote fortes in bello," with the family name of the Este, and the

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[420] For a detailed discussion of this technique see Brothers, "Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition" (1991).
[421] Examples of *Inter preclarissimas virtutes* are scaned from the facsimile of the *Cancionero de la Catedral de Segovia*, ed. by Perales (1977).
[422] Murray, "Jacob Obrecht's Connection" (1957), 129; Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette 1480-1555* (1970), 14-17; Wegman, "Guild of Our Lady in Bergen ob Zoom" (1990), 210.

text's affinity with Ercole I's extreme religiosity combined with military and musical interests.[423]

The occasional text of *Inter preclarissimas virtutes* is self-referential in multiple ways. It is organized into three sections corresponding to the three partes of the motet — a general praise of the virtues of the addressee ("you"), the introduction of the supplicant ("I"), and finally the specific identification of the speaker as Obrecht who hopefully awaits the command of his desired master. In addition to the direct presentation of "this present musical song" and Jacob Obrecht in the tertia pars, the text of the other partes also highlight the art of composition and the material nature of a written composition (shown in bold in Figure 6.9).

Figure 6.9: Text of Obrecht, *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*, from SegC s.s.

Prima Pars

1	Inter preclarissimas virtutes tuas ingeniesque animi dotes, pietas, iuxta apostolum ad omnia valens, magnopere illustrans.	Among your excellent virtues and immense gifts of the mind, is godliness - which according to the Apostle is 'profitable unto all things' - shining forth greatly.
2	Quo fit ut animum semper promptum benivolumque exibeas ad hoc ut, pluribus misteria cum peregrinos ac pauperes distincte, **tua musica manu sublevetur**.	Thus is it that you always show a ready and benevolent disposition to this end that, having adorned many services when [you appointed] strangers and poor people, **music may be supported by your hand**.
3	Laudat te enim cleri largitas, tua namque excellens magnificentia multo magis excellit iustos promovens.	For generosity the clergy gives you praise, for your outstanding magnanimity stands out even more in that it promotes those who deserve it.
4	Gloriosa apud Deum condicio tua.	Glorious is your state before God.
5	Pauperes nutris, virtuosos ditas, ecciesiam fabricas, humiles elevas, ex quibus odor bonus commendaris.	You nourish the poor, enrich the virtuous, build the Church, raise the humble - from all which things you are commended as the good savior.
	TENOR: Estote fortes in bello.	TENOR: Be ye strong in war.

Secunda Pars

6	Eya, propter tuam paternitatem talem ac tantam **in meis semper carminibus iubilans**, non quas debeo sed quales possum laudes resono,	Well then, because of your such considerable fatherliness, I sound forth, **jubilating always in my songs**, not the praises that I owe but such as I am capable of,
7	presensque *pagina* **rudi armonie stilo confecta**, ad Dei laudem tuamque consolationem, humiliter offero.	and I humbly offer [them], being present through this *page* which is **put together** in a **crude style of harmony**, for the praise of God and your comfort.

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[423] For more detail on the history of discussion of the piece, see the footnote on p. 129 of Murray, "Jacob Obrecht's Connection" (1957). Wolfgang Fuhrmann has suggested to me in personal communication that this was composed prior to Obrecht's first visit in 1487/8 based on information from the forthcoming volumee on the SegC s.s.

8	Nam quid aliud nunc pro servito impendere possum, nescio.	For what else can I do in service for you now, I do not know.
9	Pecuniis non indiges, sensu ac prudentia abundas, prosperitate et letitia consolaris, tranquillitate et pace letaris, inter dignitatum cultores laudaris.	You do not want for money, you are rich in understanding and wisdom, are encouraged by prosperity and joy, rejoice in tranquility and peace, and are praised among those who look up to men of rank.
	TENOR: Estote fortes in bello.	TENOR: Be ye strong in war.

Tertia Pars

10	Igitur hoc presens **carmen musicale** et me **Jacobum Hobrecht**, humillimum servorum tuorum, benignus accipe et pro tuo libito.	Therefore accept this present **musical song** and me, **Jacobus Hobrecht**, the humblest of your servants, benevolently and as you please.
11	Manda et rege feliciter et longevus.	Command and rule happily and long!

From Wegman, *Born for the Muses* (1994).

Music is highlighted in the prima pars as one of the many virtuous endeavors supported by the patron.[424] In the first sentence of the secunda pars there are two references to music and composition. The first is a general mention of "always jubilating in my songs" ("in meis semper carminibus iubilans," see Figure 6.9, at 6), the main activity of a professional musician participating in the cyclic performance of the Mass and Office at an ecclesiastical institution. The second refers directly to the "crude harmonies" ("pagina rudi armonie," see Figure 6.9, at 7) of this particular composition, written on the page, the best efforts of a mere mortal. These references acknowledge the materiality of a written composition using the word "pagina," thus equating the musical performance with the transferable musical object, this specific composition. Unlike the copy in the fairly spare Segovia manuscript, the original source was probably a more ornate presentation folio or small gathering, sent directly from the composer to the patron.[425] In this way the richly decorated notation on the page made the musical voice of Obrecht heard across time and space, preceding him into the musically learned presence of his future patron, Ercole I.

Contrary to self-deprecating promise of "rude harmonies," the smooth musical textures and sweet triads of Obrecht's composition present the text clearly and effectively. The

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[424] It is possible that in the presence of this self-reflexive composition, the wording, "tua musica manu sublevetur" ("music may be supported by your hand," see Figure 6.9, at 2), may be intended as an allusion to another famous musican's hand, the Guidonian hand.

[425] On presentation copies of occasional works see Nosow's citation of an ornate single parchment roll created to celebrate the birth of a daughter to Charles the bold, *Ritual Meanings* (2012), 228. Also see D'Accone, *The Civic Muse* (1997), 243-6; and Cumming, "Music for the Doge" (1992), 360.

primarily homorhythmic texture and declamation give way to short duos and imitative sections.[426] The changes in texture bring out significant points of the text, for example there is a reduction to two voices before the words "magnificentia multo magis excellit iustos promovens" (your "magnanimity stands out even more in that it promotes those who deserve it," see Figure 6.9, at 3).

Figure 6.10: Obrecht, *Inter preclarissimas*, mm. 69-80[427]

The return to four voices also coincides with the second entrance of the cantus firmus (shown in Figure 6.10). Fermatas are frequent in the manuscript, particularly at the beginnings and ends of sections (see Figure 6.11 for the beginning of the tertia pars).

Figure 6.11: Obrecht's use of fermatas for phrasing, SegC s.s. fol. 81

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[426] To hear this there is an excellent recording of this piece by the Clerk's Group, directed by Edward Wickam. "Barbireau: Missa Virgo parens" (1999).
[427] *New Obrecht Edition*, ed. by Chris Maas, vol. 15 (1995).

These add clarity to group performance of this supplicatory text, much of which is in the first person singular, by creating homophonic moments where the all the singers are freed from the normal tactus and forced to communicate directly with each other about durations, for instance at the beginning of the secunda pars. Fermatas also visually highlight words of particular emphasis, like the imperative "manda" on the second system (Figure 6.12), a word evocative of Obrecht's desire to be employed by the recipient of the motet.[428]

Figure 6.12: Obrecht's use of fermatas for emphasis, SegC s.s. fol. 81
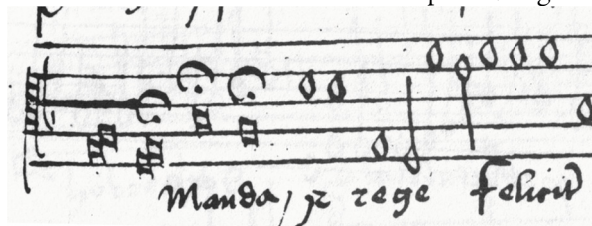
As Lewis Lockwood has pointed out Ercole I was particularly musically knowledgeable and was reported to read musical notation, at least at a basic level, in the presence of his professional singers.[429] If read "under conditions of strenuous attentiveness," as described by Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, the notation on the page becomes an integral part of the communication between Obrecht and his potential patron.[430] In the case of *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*, in a presentation folio sent directly to Ercole I these fermatas would draw Ercole's eyes to Obrecht's main request, cutting through the complex polyphony covering the rest of the page. Similarly, the laudatory text, comprehensive mensuration signs, and simplistic tune in the cantus firmus would also appeal to Ercole I, whether he was capable of singing the piece or just viewing the page as a material object and gift. The result is a finished and self-contained musical object, made to be representative of the skill and musical voice of its creator, Obrecht.

In its unique source, the unnumbered Segovia manuscript, *Inter preclarissimas virtutes* is followed directly by the only fully-texted version of Obrecht's musical memorial for his father, *Mille quingentis*, discussed in chapter 4, and his *Regina celi* setting comes significantly later in a different section. The scribe of the Segovia manuscript clearly conceived of and

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[428] Charles Warren has proposed that fermatas may have been linked to improvisatory practice, see "*Cantus coronatus* in the Music of Dufay" (1976). In the case of Obrecht's motet, this does not seem likely to me.
[429] *Music in Renaissance Ferrara* (2009), 150-1.
[430] "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy," 30-1.

copied this large and comprehensive fascicle manuscript in sections unified by genre, voicing, and possibly also by purpose.[431] Fascicles seem to have been copied separately, but with the intention of binding them together into a finished product. Fascicle XXVI, containing Obrecht's short duo on *Regina celi*, contains a number of significant concordances with the theoretical source for Brumel's hexachordal Credo, PerBCA 1013, shown in Table 6.4. This fascicle contained at least twelve duos, many based on popular songs.[432]

Table 6.4: Concordances for duos from SegC s.s. and PerBCA 1013

Composer	Title	SegC s.s.	PerBCA 1013	Other sources
Roelkin	*De tous biens playne*	202v	136v	WarBU 2016
Tinctoris	*D'ung aultre amer*	204	89v	BolBM A.71
Tinctoris	Textless [Titled *Alleluya*]	204	82v	BolBM A.71 [*Liber de arte contrapuncti*]

The Tinctoris pieces also have concordances in another manuscript collection of treatises compiled in Bologna *c.* 1500, BolBM A.71, and the textless duo is also presented as an example in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, where it bears the title "Alleluya."[433] The complex proportional relationships and extreme ranges of some of the pieces give the impression that these pieces were intended for instrumental performance and Norma Klein Baker has suggested that they may have come from an intermediary pedagogical source.[434] This nexus of interrelated sources for music and theory demonstrates the active circulation of compositions based on theoretical principals amongst musicians, theorists, and amateurs in the decades around 1500.

Obrecht's *Regina celi* is on folio 202v-203 of fascicle XXVI and is one of two pieces in SegC s.s. where the proportional figures are accompanied by their appropriate Latin labels.[435] Interestingly, the two pieces by Tinctoris listed on Table 6.4 are provided with similar Latin labels in PerBCA 1013 where they are examples in a treatise on proportions, strengthening the

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[431] Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript" (1978), 87-8.
[432] The outer sheet of paper, fols. 199 and 206, is missing, so the pieces on fols. 200 and 205v are incomplete.
[433] Rob Wegman has recently pointed out that this repertoire of duos could be perfectly suited to performance by the famous blind viol-playing brothers noted by Tinctoris, "Obrecht and Erasmus" (2011). Banks argues that these pieces would be ideal for performance on lute, citing similarities between the textures and the Spinacino duos as well as descriptions of performance by Pietrobono. See *Instrumental Consort Repertory* (2006), 26-36.
[434] Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript" (1978), 91.
[435] The other piece with Latin labels is a two-voice setting of half of the rondeau "De tous biens playne" by Adam on the same opening as Obrecht's duo, fol. 201.

connection between these pieces and didactic function.[436] The proportional relationships in Obrecht's piece can be linked specifically to the writings of Tinctoris for two reasons—they are cumulative, and they are indicated by three different numbers, instead of the more common two-number fractions or mensuration signs used to indicate proportions in earlier practice (see Figure 6.13).[437]

Figure 6.13: Fractions and proportional labels in Obrecht's *Regina celi*, SegC s.s. fol. 100v[438]

Anna Maria Busse Berger has pointed out that the cumulative interpretation of proportional relationship originated with Tinctoris, in an attempt to rationalize and systematize the use of proportions in contemporary composition. Calling them "theorist-reformers," Berger states that Tinctoris and Gaffurius "initiated this change and emancipated the fraction from the mensuration sign." In Obrecht's piece the lower two numbers indicate the proportional relationship, labeled in Latin below the proportion sign, while the larger upper number is the link to the *integer valor*.[439] As Rob Wegman points out, "it looks almost as if Obrecht had turned the *Proportionale musices* upside down, and decided to put together a composition from the unfeasibly complex proportions that came falling out. The result is a virtual companion piece to Tinctoris's treatise."[440] Although this is a unique piece, it clearly fits amongst this group of pieces comprehensively demonstrating aspects of abstract music theory.

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[436] I have not had a chance to look at Bol A.71 in person or facsimile to see how the proportions are indicated in this source but they do come together as examples after a segment on proportions.
[437] *Mensuration and Proportion* (1993), 185.
[438] Facsimile of the *Cancionero de la Catedral de Segovia*. ed. by Perales (1977).
[439] For a complete discussion and transcription of this piece see Hewitt, "A Study in Proportions" (1957).
[440] "Obrecht and Erasmus" (2011), 114.

Composition on the ten-line staff by Roelkin

A two-voice setting of *De tous biens playne*, the first piece listed in Table 6.4, lies across the central opening of fascicle XXVI. This piece has a partial concordance on the very last page of PerBCA 1013, as well as a concordance in a large miscellaneous manuscript now in Warsaw (WarBU 2016).

Figure 6.14: Roelkin, *De tous biens playne*, from SegC s.s, fol. 203[441]
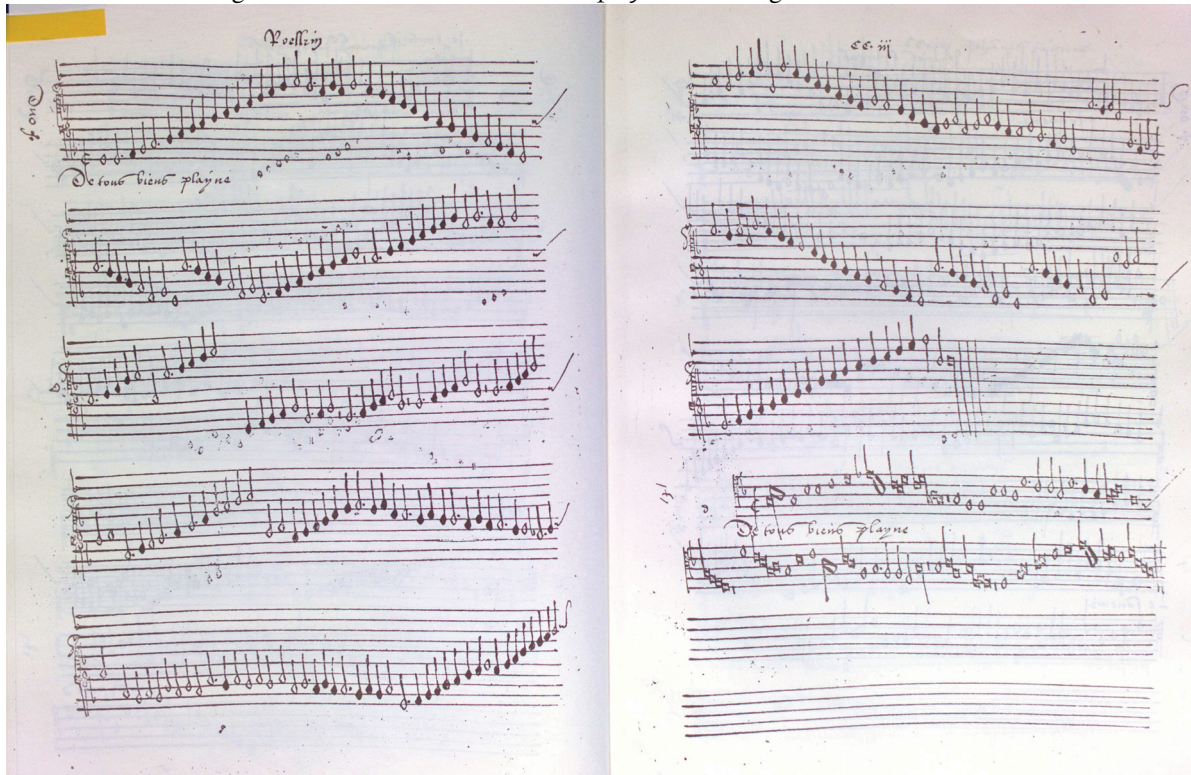
Rob Wegman suggests that the ascription, "Roelkin," is a diminutive title for the organist Roland Weerde, and using this among other things he ties the contents of this fascicle to the elite musical circles of Bruges in the 1480-90s.[442] Roelkin's setting does not use complex proportions or mensural transformation of the cantus firmus, but it still stands out as presenting a comprehensive aspect of music theory because of the extreme range encompassed by the added voice, from G-dd, and the presentation of this voice on a ten-line staff or *scala decemlinealis* in every source.[443] The entire openning from SegC s.s. is shown in Figure 6.14,

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[441] Scanned from facsimile of the *Cancionero de la Catedral de Segovia*, ed. by Perales (1977).

[442] "Obrecht and Erasmus" (2011), 114.

[443] I have not yet been able to consult a facsimile of the manuscript in Warsaw but Banks reports that it is on a ten-line staff, *Instrumental Consort Repertory* (2006), 22.

with the tenor in the lower right corner and the added voice filling the rest of the two pages. Although the extremely wide range and rapid ascents and descents of this composition may or may not require the extra range provided on this kind of staff, the orthography has prompted scholars to wonder if this is an organ piece or perhaps a piece for two viols or lutes.[444] However it was performed, the *scala decemlinealis* itself had theoretical implications in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries as a representation of the entire range of musical space, the Guidonian gamut.[445]

The *scala decemlinealis* was an essential element at the beginning of almost every didactic music theory treatise in the late fifteenth century and continued to be utilized throughout the sixteenth century. Variations on the basic structure of ten lines combined with an assortment of clefs or letter names were used to illustrate numerous aspects of music, most commonly the placement of all the note names and hexachords in relation to the different clefs. I have identified three types of diagrams that incorporate a ten-line staff to define simultaneous musical relationships: the *scala generalis*, used to demonstrate abstract musical concepts like the hexachord, the *scala decemlinealis*, used to demonstrate single or multiple musical lines, and consonance tables, used to graphically represent possible consonances above or below a given note. The examples provided in Figure 6.15 are taken from the first publication of Philomathes's didactic treatise, *Musicorum libri quatuor* (1512), reprinted multiple times by Georg Rhau as a textbook for Lutheran schools. The examples show three uses of a ten-line staff as a map of musical space — first for solmization, then to show the relationship between the clefs used for individual voices, and finally as a way to demonstrate the relationship between polyphonic voices approaching a cadence. Although there is little evidence that music was regularly composed on a *scala decemlinealis*, Ornithoparchus recommended that a ten-line staff could be used by beginners because it facilitates the combination of harmonic and temporal measurement.[446]

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[444] Banks, "Performing the Instrumental Music" (1999), 294 and also *Instrumental Consort Repertory* (2006); Wegman, "Obrecht and Erasmus" (2011), 117.

[445] Jessie Ann Owens discusses the pedagogical uses of the ten-line staff in the early sixteenth century in *Composers at Work*, 38.

[446] He states that "it is necessary for yong beginners to make a Scale of ten lines, then to distinguish it by bounds, so that they may write each time within each bound, by keyes [clefs] truly marked, least the confused mingling together of the Notes hinder them." Trans. from Dowland, *Andreas Ornithoparchus: his 'Micrologus'* (1609).

Figure 6.15: Ten-line staff examples from Philomathes, *Musicorum libri quatuor*
(Vienna: Singren, 1512)[447]
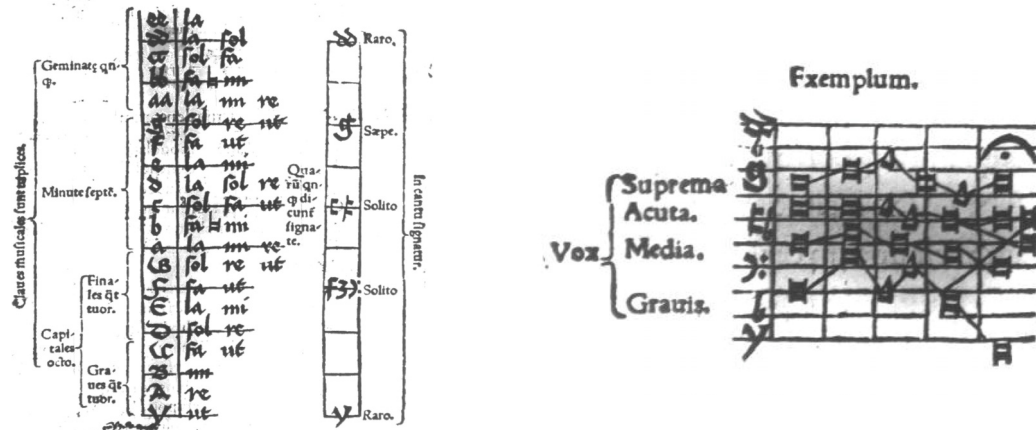
In Roelkin's setting as presented in SegC s.s, shown in Figure 6.14, the most commonly used clefs are reproduced on each new staff line of the composed voice, including the f-clef, c-clef, and g-clef as well as the b-fa in each octave. The Perugia source is a compliation of treatises on music and calligraphy, related by their common reliance on specialized scripts and symbols. It also includes a few representative pieces for two or three voices. The manuscript begins and ends with two examples of the *scala decemlinealis*: folio 1v includes a traditional ten-line staff, with clefs and solmization syllables (shown in Figure 6.16), and the first half of Roelkin's piece is written on the back of the very last folio. The combination of the notation and placement of Roelkin's setting is especially meaningful for this discussion, since this was a manuscript with clear didactic musical function and signs of use over time. This meticulous notation reemphasizes the comprehensive musical space exploited by this setting and links it to examples of the *scala decemlinealis* in pedagogical works and also to the *musica* pieces discussed previously in the chapter, particularly Brumel's *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*, which also makes use of the entire gamut in its hexachordal cantus firmus.[448]

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[447] Microfilm of copy in Sibley Music Library, Eastman School of Music.

[448] There is an actual pedagogical example that makes use of the entire gamut in Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* (1503), fol. 105v-106r, shown in Figure 7.20 which will be discussed later.

Pieces Based on Terms from Greek Theory

The remaining pieces to be discussed in this chapter are structured around concepts or terms drawn from Greek music theory. Unlike the pieces in the previous section, which are interacting with contemporary pedagogical sources and the "reformist" music theoretical works of Tinctoris and making these concepts visible on the musical page, the pieces in this section draw inspiration from the vocabulary and time honored traditions of Boethian music theory. I argue that they were also appeals to the humanistically educated amateur, but through a different lens, as musical realizations and adaptations of Greek vocabulary and notational complexities into modern musical practice. The two famous tenor motets by Busnoys rely on Greek note names and Pythagorean intervals for their structures and will be discussed in more detail below.

Table 6.5: Pieces based on terms from Greek theory

Author	Title	Time	Genres	Terms
Busnoys	Anthoni usque limina	1465-80	motet with constructed tenor	Greek note names
Busnoys	In hydraulis	1467	motet with constructed tenor	Pythagorean intervals
Tinctoris	Difficiles alios delectat pangere cantus	1470s	3-v motet in a treatise	Aristotle and Cicero
Josquin	Vive le roy	1470-1503	4-v song with cantus firmus	"tetrachord"

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[449] Scanned from microfilm.

The other two pieces listed in Table 6.5 also include Greek terms or names in their rubrics, but their connection to Greek theory is less comprehensive. Tinctoris's motet, *Difficiles alios*, is clearly connected with contemporary music theoretical discourse, but as in his treatises, Tinctoris, or his learned annotator, displays a reliance on Classical sources as markers of authority, shown through references to Aristotle and Cicero in the commentary. This motet circulated as an example of various notational and mensural complexities and it seems that it was generally expected, or perhaps necessary, for it to be accompanied by a detailed explanation and resolution, since both are requested by the organist Giovanni da Legge in his letter requesting a copy of the piece.[450] The textless Josquin piece is based on a short motto derived from the phrase "Vive le roy" through soggetto cavato, thus relating it to the contemporary pedagogical reliance on solmization syllables, but it also has a rubric (shown in Figure 6.17), which includes a reference to the "tetrachord" of Greek music theory.

Figure 6.17: Rubric from Josquin, *Vive le roy*, from Canti C (Venice: Petrucci, 1504)
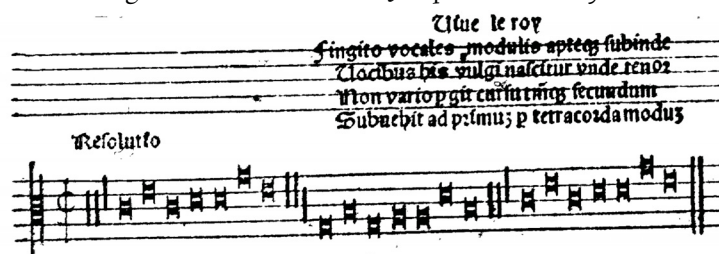
Vive le roy
Aptly mould the vowels to the melodies
  repeatedly (i.e. of the other voices) to
  those words of the common people,
  whence the tenor is born.
It continues on its unvaried course and only
  raises the second statement to the first
  through the tetrachords.
        Translation adapted from Leofranc
        Holford-Strevens from NJE 28

Holford-Strevens argues that this rubric only makes sense if the word "tetrachord" is interpreted as synonymous with the term "hexachord," but it could also simply refer to the interval of the fourth. In any case, the fourth was the distance between the natural and hard hexachords, referenced by the syllables noted in the first part, and the six solmization syllables were also presented in a number of fifteenth-century treatises as the modern expansion of the Greek tetrachord, blurring of the boundaries between ancient and modern musical theory and practice.[451]

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[450] Transcribed and translated in *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians,* ed. by Blackburn, Lowinsky, and Miller (1991) 771-2; and also discussed in Blackburn, "A Lost Guide" (1981), 29-30.
[451] See discussion of tetrachord in Chapter 7.

Two Motets by Busnoys: *Anthoni usque limina* and *In hydraulis*

Pythagorean mathematics are most clearly evident in Busnoys's two tenor motets, constructed around abstract principles of Greek music theory. Based on his propensity for using pseudo-Greek terms and the fact that both Adam von Fulda and Tinctoris refer to him by the title "magister," Paula Higgins has argued that Busnoys had a university education.[452] Whether or not he actually attained this distinction, he was clearly held in high esteem by his colleagues and expressed an academic interest in incorporating his interpretations of elements of Greek music theory into his compositions. Perhaps this emphasis on more esoteric aspects of music theory reflects the fact that for much of his career Busnoys was attached to the court of Charles the Bold, who was himself learned in music. As a member of the household of this musically interested and literate ruler, Busnoys may have been privy to discussion of abstract musical ideas. Since Greek music had perished with the Greeks, Busnoys happily took on the task of translating these abstract theoretical concepts into modern musical practice and explicitly incorporating them into his compositions.

With its anagrammatic signature and classical references (discussed in Chapter 3), the text and music of *Anthoni usque limina* draws attention to Busnoys's authorship and learning.

Figure 6.18: Tenor from Busnoys's *Anthoni usque limina,* BrusBR 5557[453]

"Monostempus silens
Sit tot anthipsilens"

One tempus silent
and then non-silent

"Modi sine me non
Nethesinemenon"

In the times not without me
[sound the note] nete synemenon [d]

The tenor is derived from a punning and rhyming rubric inscribed on a banderole that passes behind a bell at the bottom of the first and second opening in the unique source, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 5557 (shown in Figure 6.18). Although the exact meaning of this rubric remains slightly obscure, it is clear that any interpretation requires *nete synemenon* to be

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[452] Higgins, "*In hydraulis* Revisited" (1986). Also see Blackburn and Holford-Strevens, "Juno's Four Grievances" (2002), 170-4, for information on Busnoys's use of "pseudo-antique" inscriptions which they describe as "substituting Greek or astrological nomenclature for the normal Latin terms.

[453] Scanned from Wegman's facsimile of *Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Ms. 5557* (1989).

sung or struck multiple times during the two partes of the motet.[454] Busnoys makes this single

repeated note or drone, the ruling force in both partes of the motet. But how is this note from

the Greek Lesser Perfect system translated into the late-Medieval Gamut?

Figure 6.19: Example of the Gamut From Gaffurius, *Practica musice* (Milan, 1496)[455]
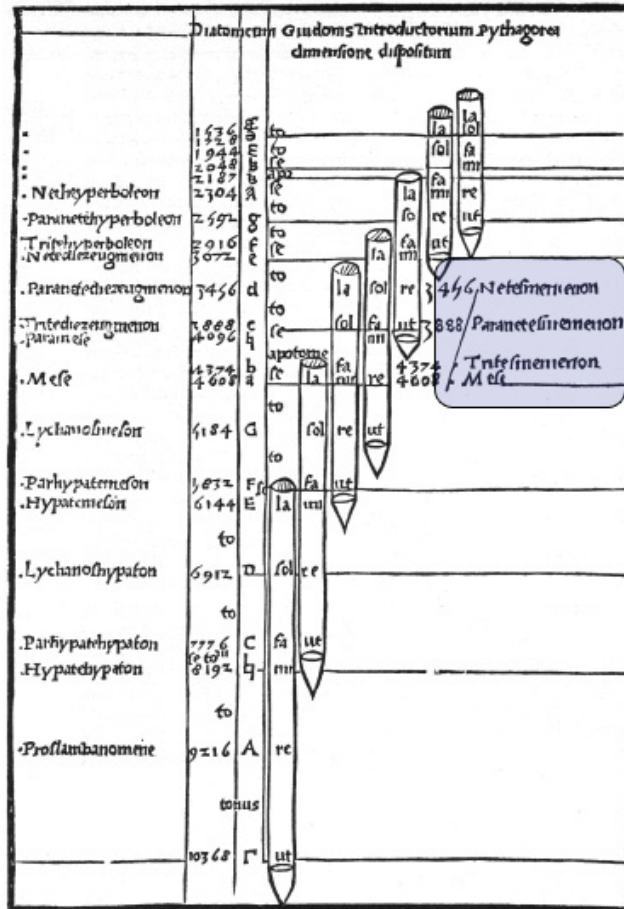
Figure 6.19 shows the standard way of mapping the Guidonian gamut onto the Greek Greater

and Lesser Perfect systems, demonstrating that *nete synemenon* was equivalent to the note d in

the conjunct *synemenon* tetrachord, beginning on a and including b-flat. Although the cantus

firmus consists of only one note, in accordance with the use of the *synemenon* tetrachord, each

voice in Busnoys's motet is supplied with a signature flat. Just as Gaffurius maps the

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[454] In the currently accepted interpretation, proposed by Flynn Warmington and recorded by Richard Taruskin in his commentary in the *Complete Works* of Busnoys, the tenor voice is interpreted in augmented tempus, a common practice in tenor motets and Masses. The result is a series of alternating rests and sounding ds. See Taruskin's commentary to *Collected Works*, vol. 5 (1990) 68-9.

[455] This diagram is also reproduced in Figure 7.4, where the format is discussed further.

relationships between the Greek labels, simple letter names and the hexachords in his diagram, so too Busnoys reinforces the ties between his use of *nete synemenon* as a cantus firmus and ancient Greek music theory, incorporating this archaic system into modern musical space and practice.

The implications of the tau-shaped cross and pendant bell illustration, shown in Figure 6.18, have been explained in various ways, from linking this piece and Busnoys with paraliturgical services and organizations dedicated to St. Anthony Abbot, to implying a performance technique of the "tenor" in imitation of a bell.[456] There is another connotation, however, that has not been considered which is also connected to Gaffurius's diagram in Figure 6.19 — the realization of theoretical concepts and numbers in the physical world, as embodied by the story of the discovery of the musical ratios by Pythagoras in the blacksmith shop, an ever-present story in discussions of music theory in the Medieval and Early Modern periods. The bell is clearly intended to be equivalent with *nete synemenon* or d, whether the tenor is sung or performed with a bell. In Gaffurius's diagram the hexachords are inscribed onto organ pipes. The lengths of the organ pipes, longer for lower and shorter for higher, are clearly intended to represent acoustic principles which require longer pipes for lower notes and reinforce the idea of the hexachord as an element of real practice and sounding music. Similarly the bell, implicitly interpreted as d above b-flat, anchors *nete synemenon* in the physical world, and bridges the gap between ancient Greek theory and the physical world as experienced by Busnoys.

Busnoys's interest in representing ideas from Greek and Latin music theory in his compositions is even more clearly evident in *In hydraulis*, his musical homage to Ockeghem (discussed in Chapter 3), which makes explicit reference to Pythagoras's interaction with sounding number. In the text of the prima pars, shown in Figure 6.20, Busnoys describes the scene as a moment of scientific observation as Pythagoras recognizes the connection between the first four superparticular ratios and musical intervals (for the text of the secunda pars see Figure 3.16).

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[456] Originally Wegman linked the piece to a confraternity in "*Anthoni usque limina*" (1988) and then revised his interpretation in "For Whom the Bell Tolls" (1998); see also Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (1959), 109.

1 In hydraulis quondam Pithagora	On an occasion when Pythagoras was speculating about the
Admirante melos pthongitates	tones in water organs and the tonalities of hammers, having
Malleorum secutus equora	considered the surfaces according to the inequalities of the
Per ponderum inequalitates,	weights, he discovered the essential natures of the muse [music].
5 Adinvenit muse quiditates.	
Epitritum ac **hemioliam,**	They (the differences between the weights of anvils in the
Epogdoi et **duplam** perducunt	blacksmith's shop) induce **epitritus** (4:3) and also **hemiola** (3:2),
Nam **tessaron pente** concordiam	**epogdous** (9:8) and even **duple** (2:1),
Nec non **phtongum** et **pason** adducunt	for they lead towards the concordant **4**th and **5**th,
10 Monocordi dum genus conducunt.	and also the **tone** and **octave** as long as they (the differences)
	arrange the division of the monochord.
	Translation Adapted from Howlett[457]

These intervals are first presented in lines 6-7 as speculative mathematical ratios in the context of Pythagoras' observations on the weights of the blacksmith's anvils and then identified in lines 8-9 by their musical terms (in bold and color coded in Figure 6.20). These four sounding intervals are encompassed by the compact tenor, the first *cursus* of which is shown in Figure 6.21.

Figure 6.21: Tenor from Busnoys, *In hydraulis* Berlin 40021, fol. 264v.[458]
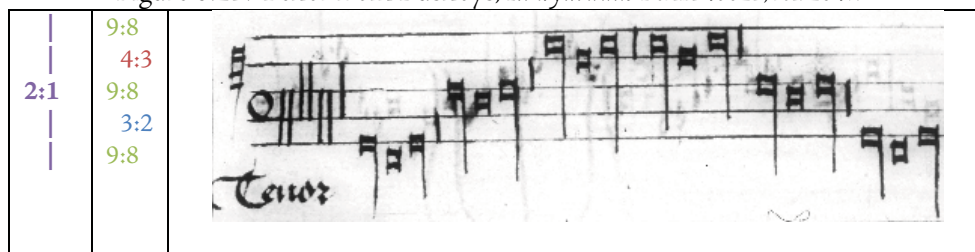
As John Stevens writes in his discussion of number symbolism and disposition in the Medieval chanson, "'number' (the Latin *numerus* translating the Greek *rhythmos*) is the fundamental reality; *musica* is the theory of its realization."[459] Music and harmonics are proof of the essential nature and proportional organization of the universe as proven by the work of the Pythagoreans. Through the combination of text and music Busnoys' reveals three levels of *musica* in his motet: in the text he first demonstrates 1) the connection of universal

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[457] Howlett, "Busnois' Motet *In hydraulis*" (1995).
[458] Scanned from microfilm.
[459] *Words and Music in the Middle Ages* (1986), 13.

proportions, expressed in weights and numbers, with 2) the resulting intervals of theoretical music. Finally these intervals are given 3) musical realization in performance of the repeating color or melody of the constructed cantus firmus. As in *Anthoni usque*, Busnoys has privileged the act of composition through references to the humanistic discipline of *Musica*.

Conclusion

The self-referential elements in all of these twelve diverse works serve a similar purpose, to highlight the work as a material object made through the skill of a humanistically educated, individual artist. Like the painterly tools and techniques presented in guild paintings of St. Luke, Ockeghem, Brumel, d'Amerval, Josquin, Obrecht, Tinctoris, and Domarto exploit the intricacies inherent to the mensural system of notation to highlight their complete mastery of the art. By creating single notations that can be interpreted in multiple ways, either through canonic techniques or the systematic application of different mensuration signs, these composers draw attention to their own knowledge and skill. Some of these pieces also demonstrate a more overt connection to speculative theoretical discourse by incorporating terms (Busnoys's motets), figures (Roelkin's *scala decemlinealis*) or systems (Obrecht's use of cumulative proportion borrowed from Tinctoris) associated with the quadrivial discipline of *Musica*.

All of these techniques "embed" the basic elements of music theory into the composition. They depend on the interaction between sounding music and the composition as notation on the page, thus engaging diverse kinds of viewers by challenging them to ponder the intricacies of the notational and theoretical systems of music. I argue that in a humanistic, courtly environment these compositions could function in a similar way to literary texts which Jardine and Grafton have shown were read and interpreted in a semi-public setting with the help of scholars.[460] Through a combination of encyclopedic tendencies, graphic elements or ambiguities, and terminology, these composers translated the theories and numbers of humanistic discourse about music into musical reality, or at least the potential of musical

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[460] *From Humanism to the Humanities* (1986), 22-23; and "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy" (1990).

reality, identifiable and digestible by musical amateurs viewing the notation. Through the medium of composed music as a fixed visual entity, these composers at once proved the theories of sounding number set forth in fifteenth-century treatises about music, but also validated and elevated the status of composed music and the composer before the eyes of literate, humanistic patrons.

Chapter 7:   Constructing the Composer: Symbolic use of the Hexachord in Compositions c. 1500

In contrast to Chapter 6 where I explored several different musical features, this chapter isolates a single and clearly recognizable feature from music theory and history—the hexachord.[461] Exemplified by either the Guidonian hand or the gamut of hexachordal positions, the hexachord is arguably the most ubiquitous image of late-medieval and early modern music theory.[462] There is a good historical basis for the centrality of the hexachord in the modern imagination since this figure appears in multiple kinds of sources written in the late Medieval and Early Modern eras, from practical manuscripts like antiphonaries and the opening sections of basic music theory treatises to large compendia of humanistic knowledge.[463] In addition, there were at least 30 Masses based on a hexachordal subject composed between 1493 and 1702.[464] The hexachord has fascinated modern musicologists too, with responses ranging from elaborate systems for the analysis of polyphonic compositions using the hexachord as a historical equivalent to modern scales, to others that

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[461] Although there were multiple terms used for this figure in the fifteenth century, including *deductio*, *proprietas*, and *schiere*, I will use the most common modern term "hexachord" to avoid confusion. Mengozzi has argued that this term, used first by Ramos, was central to a significant change in conceptions of solmization in the late fifteenth century, an issue that I will address in detail below. For Mengozzi's argument see the second half of his book *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (2010).

[462] Major recent discussions of the hexachord and its related diagrams include Weiss, "*Disce manum tuam*" (2005); K. Berger, "The Guidonian Hand" (2002); and Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (2005), especially chapter 3, "Basic Theory Treatises" and 4, "The Memorization of Organum, Discant, and Counterpoint Treatises," 85-158. Other important discussions of these topics include Canguilhem, "Main Mémorielle et Invention Musicale" (2009); Killam, "Solmization with the Guidonian Hand" (1988); Bent, "Diatonic *ficta*" (1984), 7-12; K. Berger, "Hand and the Art of Memory" (1981); Crocker, "Hermann's Major Sixth" (1972); Smits van Waesberghe, *Musikerziehung* (1969).

[463] Examples of the musical hands in practical sources include—a Cistercian antiphonary, Munich 7907, and a gradual, Melk 109. Exemplary treatises featuring the hexachord and a hand in the open sections are Frutolfus, *Breviarium de musica* (c. 1100), Elias Salomon, *Scientia artis musice* (1273), Prosdocimo, *Plana musica* (1412), and Gaffurius, *Practica musice* (1496). An example of a humanistic treatise that uses the hexachord as a musical symbol that will be discussed more below is the *Margarita philosophica* of Gregor Reisch, first published in 1503.

[464] For a list of later sixteenth-century Masses based on hexachord see Appendix B: Sixteenth-Century Masses Based on the Hexachord, based on Lester Brothers's dissertation, "The Hexachord Mass" (1973), where he provides a good overview of the seventeenth-century history of the hexachord.

attempt to minimize its importance for understanding composed music.[465] Despite its prominence in theoretical texts, both practical and speculative, the actual use of the hexachord and solmization in musical instruction in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is quite difficult to determine.[466] Whatever its use in pedagogical situations, the hexachord was clearly a prominent feature in discourse about music and as such was ripe for symbolic use as a cantus firmus and/or motive in polyphonic compositions.

I have isolated fourteen pieces composed between c. 1480 and c. 1530 that use the hexachord as a cantus firmus or structural element (shown in Table 7.1).[467] Although I have thoroughly surveyed the fifteenth-century repertoire for hexachordal compositions, the earliest pieces I have found were probably composed in the last decades of the century, most of them appearing for the first time in Petrucci's Venetian music publications.[468] These compositions range from extensive cantus firmus Masses to short motets or instrumental works and include both continental and English composers. The hexachord can be present either as a long-note cantus firmus, as in Brumel's Mass, which features all seven of the hexachords of the entire gamut, or as a simple but distinctive melodic feature, as in Agricola's extremely popular textless composition, *Cecus non judicat*. In some of the compositions it is featured as a second cantus firmus while in others a recognizable tune is transposed and transformed modally to begin on each step of the hexachord, as in both Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* and his motet-chanson.[469]

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[465] For hexachordal analysis see Pike, *Hexachords in Late-Renaissance Music* (1998); Russo, "Hexachordal Theory" (1997); C. Berger, *Hexachord, Mensur und Textstruktur* (1992); Chafe, *Monteverdi's Tonal Language* (1992); Hirschberg, "Hexachordal and Modal Structure" (1980); and Allaire, *Theory of Hexachords* (1972). For an argument that hexachordal solmization was not a significant part of music pedagogy and theory until the late fifteenth century see Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (2010) as well as his other articles, "Beyond the Hexachord" (2012); "*Si quis manus non habeat*" (2007); and "Virtual Segments" (2006).

[466] For the two most recent studies of this type see Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (2005), especially chapter 3, "Basic Theory Treatises" and 4, "The Memorization of Organum, Discant, and Counterpoint Treatises," 85-158; Canguilhem, "Main Mémorielle et Invention Musicale" (2009).

[467] It is possible that some of these pieces come from the 1470s since the source information for this period is particularly spare. Fallows argues that Josquin's *Ce povre medicant / Pauper sum ego*, despite the fact that it is for three voices, comes from the first decade of the sixteenth century. See *Josquin* (2009), 305.

[468] There are other pieces that use solmization syllables, especially as puns but they are outside the scope of this dissertation. I know of no earlier pieces that use the hexachord in isolation.

[469] For instances of it as a second cantus firmus against the *Ut queant laxis* tune see Table 7.6. The cantus firmus of Josquin's motet-chanson, *Ce povre medicant / Pauper sum ego*, is transposed down five steps of the natural hexachord from A la to DD re, so while it seems to evoke the hexachord, it does not complete it. See discussion of this piece in Chapter 3. The cantus-firmus-bearing bassus is shown in Figure 3.22.

Table 7.1: Compositions Featuring the Hexachord, *ca.* 1480-1530

Author	Title	First Source	Genres	Hexachord
Josquin	*Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*	VatS 197, c. 1492-5	Mass	-cantus firmus tranpsosed
Brumel	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	FlorBN 229, c. 1493	Mass	-main cantus firmus
Burton, Avery	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	OxfBL 376-381, c. 1528-30	Mass	-main cantus firmus
Ghiselin	*Missa De les armes*	Casa 2856, c. 1479-81	Mass sections	-cantus firmus -also uses tetrachord
Compere	*Virgo celesti*	Motetti A	Motet	-2nd cantus firmus
Mouton, Jean	*Exsultet conjubilando Deo*	Le Roy 1555	Motet	-2nd cantus firmus
Isaac	*O decus ecclesiae*	Berlin 40021, c. 1485	Motet	-cantus firmus
Josquin	*Ut Phebi radiis*	Motetti 4	Motet	-cantus firmus and textual element
Crispinus van Stappen	*Exaudi nos filia*	Motetti 5	Motet	-main cantus firmus
Josquin	*Ce povre medicant / Pauper sum ego*	LonBL 35087, 1505-6	Motet-chanson	-cantus firmus transposed
Senfl	*Lust hab ich gehabt zur Musica*	WienNB 18810, c. 1524-33	Lied	-textual element and musical feature
Festa, Costanzo	*Counterpoint 115*	BolC C36, 1602[470]	Textless	-2nd cantus firmus
Senfl	*Fortuna ad voces musicales*	RISM 1534/17	Textless	-2nd cantus firmus
Agricola	*Cecus non judicat*	Berlin 40021, c. 1485	Textless	-feature of tenor

The hexachord did not become a structural element of compositions until after the publication of Gaffurius's widely disseminated *Practica musice*. Stefano Mengozzi argues that it was the controversy around Gallicus and Ramos de Pareja's criticisms of Guido that solidified the sixteenth-century preoccupation with the hexachord.[471] By looking at its use in music theoretical writings, humanistic culture, and compositions c. 1500, I hope to tease out some of the diverse meanings of the hexachord and understand why composers and theorists gave it

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[470] Copy of a sixteenth century source that is now lost. See commentary to Festa, *Counterpoints*, ed. by Agee (1997).

[471] See Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (2010), especially chapter 7, "Gafori's Hand: Forging a New Guido for a New Humanist Culture" and his article "*Si quis manus non habeat*" (2007). See Appendix B: Sixteenth-Century Masses Based on the Hexachord for a list of later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Hexachord Masses drawn from the dissertation by Lester Brothers, "The Hexachord Mass" (1973). He focuses on the meaning of the hexachord in Baroque Masses.

such prominence and what its use as a cantus firmus can tells us about the status of music in the early modern period.

Petrucci Publishing with the Hexachord c. 1500

The prominence of the hexachord c. 1500 is confirmed by the fact that during his Venetian period of publishing activity, Petrucci brought out seven works (shown in Table 7.2) that use the hexachord structurally as a cantus firmus—four motets and three Masses. These pieces are contained in his three main publication types—a chanson collection, single composer Mass volumes, and motet anthologies—and Petrucci's prints ensured wide distribution of these pieces.[472]

Table 7.2: Hexachord-based pieces published by Petrucci in Venice, 1501-1508

Composer	Title	Date	Publication
Compere	*Virgo celesti*	1501	*Canti B*
Josquin	*Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*	1502	*Misse Josquin*
Brumel	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	1503	*Misse Brumel*
Ghiselin	*Missa De les armes*	1503	*Misse Ghiselin*
Josquin	*Ut Phebi radiis*	1505	*Motetti libro quarto*
Crispinus van Stappen	*Exaudi nos filia*	1508	*Motetti a cinque*
Isaac	*O decus ecclesiae*	1508	*Motetti a cinque*

All of these works present the hexachord in sustained note values in a single voice, laid out in a large-scale scheme which is a compositional constraint for the other voices, making the hexachord visible and immediately recognizable on seeing the music notation, even to a viewer with limited musical literacy.[473] Why would so many mature and internationally renowned composers, like Isaac and Josquin, base their compositions on this rudimentary kind of tenor?

Regardless of the individual composers' original motivations, Petrucci's inclusion of hexachordal pieces in multiple publications may indicate that they appealed to a broad, international market. This market certainly included amateur musicians—members of a class wealthy enough to purchase music prints and engage in music making—and also probably

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[472] Notably, except for reprints of the Josquin and Ghiselin Mass collections, Petrucci did not publish any hexachord-based compositions during his publishing activities in Fossombrone.

[473] Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* is the single exception, since it transposes the *L'homme armé* tune to each degree of the natural hexachord, beginning on c and going up a step with each movement. Petrucci ensures that the hexachordal connections of Josquin's *L'homme armé* setting will be recognizable to everyone by appending the phrase "super voces musicales" to the title.

book collectors—people not necessarily musically literate at all.[474] The hexachord, as a general image, would appeal to both of these kinds of buyers by validating their limited musical knowledge with a visible symbol of music. Petrucci's inclusion of so many of these compositions demonstrates that he believed that the hexachord was a desirable feature for compositions in the first decade of the sixteenth century.

Although these pieces differ in genre, length, and musical style, when the hexachordal tenors are aligned they look remarkably similar, revealing two basic ways of approaching the presentation of the hexachord for which I have coined the terms — "progressive" or "complete" (shown in Figure 7.1 and tabulated in Table 7.3).[475] The motets by Isaac (*O decus*) and Josquin (*Ut Phebi*) both present a progressive statement of the hexachord in breves, adding or taking a note away with each statement. Josquin uses the ascending form in the prima pars, descending in the secunda pars. Isaac cycles through the entire process in a single pars. In the Berlin manuscript, the tenor of *O decus* is only written once, on the opening for the prima pars, because it remains exactly the same for both partes, despite the mensuration change in the other voices. *Ut Phebi* is the only motet that includes the solmization syllables in all of the other voices as well, a feature that will be discussed more fully later in this chapter, and this is also the only piece to present the hexachord in canon between two voices.[476]

Figure 7.1: Hexachordal tenors in Motets and Masses Published by Petrucci in Venice

Isaac, *O decus ecclesiae:* Prima and secunda pars are identical
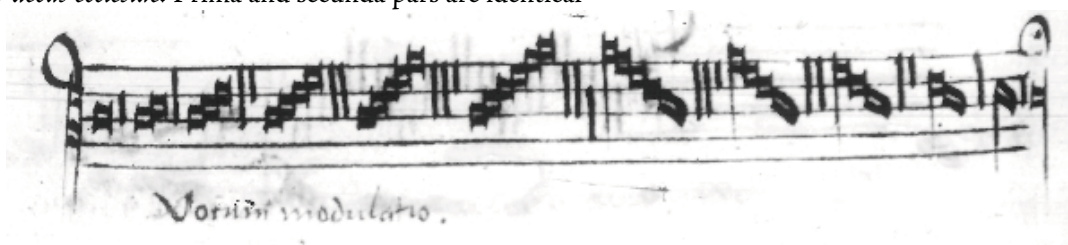
Scanned from microfilm of Berlin 40021, fol. 181v.[477]

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[474] For a discussion of potential markets for the motet prints see Cumming, "Petrucci's Publics" (2010).

[475] Figure 7.1 excludes Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé super voces*, since the hexachord is not easily visible, but it is included in Table 7.3.

[476] This same kind of canon on two versions of the hexachord is an unnotated feature of a later Mass setting by Curtio Mancini, *Missa Papa Clemens VIII cum 6 vocibus*, from the last decade of the sixteenth century. For more on this piece see L. Brothers, "The Hexachord Mass" (1973), 76.

[477] I have reproduced the manuscript version of this tenor because Petrucci's formatting places it on two lines, making it more difficult to see the symmetry.

Josquin, *Ut Phebi radiis* Prima pars: Tenor on soft hexachord and Bassus on natural hexachord

Image scanned from microfilm of 1505², *Motetti libro quarto*, fol. 37v (tenor) and 102r (bassus) (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek).

Compere, *Virgo celesti*

Image scanned from facsimile edition of 1502, *Canti B numero cinquanta*, fol. 3r (Civico Museo, Bologna).

van Stappen, *Exaudi nos filia*: Prima and secunda pars are nearly identical

Image scanned from facsimile of 1508¹, *Motetti a cinque libro primo*, fol. 33v (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek).

Brumel, Kyrie from *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*
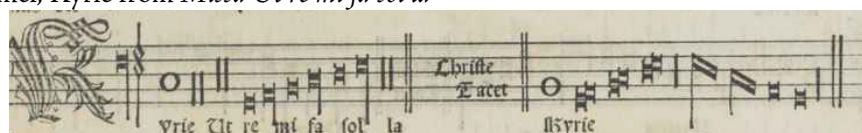
Image downloaded from from *Missae Brumel* (RISM B4643).[478]

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[478] *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, web, http://www.onb.ac.at.

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Ghiselin, Kyrie from *Missa De les armes*
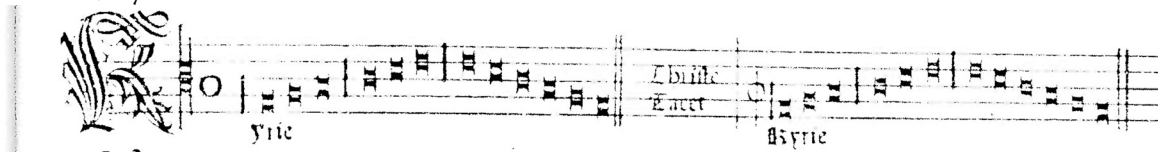
Image scanned from facsimile edition of Petrucci, *Missarum liber* (1973).

In the prima pars the bassus presents the ascending soft hexachord followed a breve later by the natural hexachord in the tenor voice. In the secunda pars the tenor leads with the descending natural hexachord, followed at a breve by the bassus, again with the soft hexachord. Compere, van Stappen, Brumel, and Ghiselin, on the other hand, present the complete hexachord, ascending, and the sections conclude with the descending form, except in Compere's extremely short motet.[479] In the two motets by van Stappen and Compere the ascending form is presented three times, with each statement diminished proportionally, a feature common in isorhythmic motets. Since the Masses are significantly more complicated, I have just included the initial cantus firmus statements from the Kyrie I for each and will discuss the remaining movements near the end of this chapter. The basic features of the hexachord pieces are presented in Table 7.3, grouping them together by their related approaches to the hexachord.

Table 7.3: Features of hexachordal motets and Masses published by Petrucci

Composer	Title	vv	Pars	Hexachord	CF vv	Asc.	Desc.	Presentation
Isaac	*O decus ecclesiae*	5	2	N	T	X	X	Progressive
Josquin	*Ut Phebi radiis*	4	2	N & S (H)	B & T	X	X	Progressive
Compere	*Virgo celesti*	5	1	S	T2	X		Complete
van Stappen	*Exaudi nos filia*	5	2	N	T	X	X	Complete
Brumel	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	4	na	All	T & S	X	X	Complete
Ghiselin	*Missa De les armes*	4	na	All + Tetrachords	T & S	X	X	Complete
Josquin	*Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*	4	na	Natural	T	X		Transpositional constraint

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[479] Finscher argues that this may indicate that this was a single section of a longer motet. See commentary in *Loyset Compère* (1964).

The pre-existent tenor in a piece of Renaissance polyphony generates meaning in relation to the other voices and its previous associations.[480] A cantus firmus can function to enhance the appropriateness of a composition to occasional usage, either sacred or secular.[481] David Rothenberg and others have shown how the liturgical and social implications of pre-existent tenors worked to situate motets in a variety of performance contexts, providing a range of meaning rather than a single liturgical usage. Speaking about the importance of recognizing the subgenres of the motet, Julie Cumming points out that the musical features of a composition, such as cantus firmus presentation and texture, generate meaning in relation to the field of other polyphonic compositions and generic norms.[482] So what job does the hexachordal tenor perform in these compositions? The hexachord, although it is not a chant or a secular song, does have a wide range of associations, but unusually for a cantus firmus these are drawn from music theory and, by the late fifteenth century, from music history.

Figure 7.2: Example of hard and natural hexachords from
Lanfranco, *Scintille di musica* (Brescia, 1533)[483]

Although the tenors from Petrucci (shown in Figure 7.1) are single voices extracted from polyphonic compositions, they are indistinguishable visually from examples of the interval of the sixth (shown in Figure 5.1) or the hexachord (see Figure 7.2 for an example of the

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[480] The classic text on this subject is by Edgar Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet, 1420-1520* (1963). For some of the important recent discussions of meaning in cantus firmus compositions see the works of Anne Walters Robertson, "The Savior, the Woman, and the Head of the Dragon" (2006), and "The Man with the Pale Face, the Shroud, and Du Fay's *Missa Se la face ay pale*" (2010); and also David J. Rothenberg, *Flower of Paradise* (2011), and "The Most Prudent Virgin and the Wise King" (2011).
[481] Mattfeld, "Some Relationships between Texts and Cantus Firmi" (1961), Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (1999); Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims* (2002); and Rothenberg, *Flower of Paradise* (2011).
[482] Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (1999), 26.
[483] Lanfranco also uses the hexachord on his title page. The ascending and descending versions form the shape of an hourglass with all of the sand in the upper chamber, depicted with words describing all the musical knowledge that will be presented in the following pages and enjoyed during leisure time. In this image music and time are fused into a single symbol in the context of a music treatise in the vernacular, accessible to musical amateurs with time to pass in musical pursuits. See Hatter, "*Col tempo*" (2011).

presentation of the hexachord from a didactic treatise in Italian).[484] These figures are used in

any number of theoretical treatises and are related to depictions of the Guidonian hand (for an

example of a hand see Figure 7.3). Since the primary associations of the hexachord seem to be

educational and historical, and not religious, what events or liturgical feasts would occasion

compositions based on the hexachord?

The use of a pedagogical tool in a place generally occupied by a segment from the

sacred repertoire of plainchant, or less commonly, a popular secular song, has made

understanding these pieces difficult. Analyzing the almost incomprehensible text of Josquin's

Ut Phebi, William Prizer and Jaap van Benthem have both argued that it was composed for a

meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece, but neither tackles the implications of the puzzling

choice of cantus firmus nor asks whether the hexachord had a particular appeal to this

group.[485] Citing contemporary religious writings, Willem Elders has proposed that in

polyphonic compositions the hexachord should be understood as a symbol of Mary, who was

sometimes called the *scala celestis* or "stairway to heaven" in devotional writings.[486] He proposes

that the ascending form represents the Virgin as the way to heaven and the descending form,

her role as the conduit of God's embodiment on earth. While this is an attractive solution for

some cases it seems unlikely to be the primary meaning of the hexachord, since only two of the

sixteen pieces based on the hexachord (shown in Table 7.1) include Marian content in their

texts. I propose to examine the broader implications of the hexachord, demonstrating that

these pieces, like the pieces considered in chapter 6, were part of musicians' own efforts to

promote themselves and the professional status of the composer.

How did the Hexachord Mean in the Early 16th Century?

Why did so many composers begin to use the hexachord as a basis for their

compositions c. 1500 and what did the hexachord mean in late fifteenth-century culture? In

this chapter I will focus on Northern Italy, where all of these composers were active and where

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[484] The example of the interval of a sixth comes from Gaffurius, *Practica musice* (Milan, 1496), folio a v.

[485] Prizer, "Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries," (1985); van Benthem, "A Waif, a Wedding and a Worshipped Child," (1987).

[486] He cites a version of the Litany of Loreto set by de Monte, the fifteenth-century poet Leonardo Giustiniani, and the late-fifteenth-century theologian Domenico Benivieni as sources for this idea. "The *soggetto ostinato* as a Contextual Sign" (1994), 84-89.

the pieces were printed. Certainly the most common diagram associated with the hexachord and solmization is the Guidonian hand, which assigns the notes and syllables of the complete gamut to the fingertips and joint of the left hand.[487] Beginning in the early twelfth century and lasting at least into the mid-eighteenth century, this image, often labeled as the *manus Guidonis*, was transmitted in a wide variety of sources — inscribed into empty pages or spaces in chant manuscripts, probably intended for didactic use, and also as illustrations in printed editions of classical texts, like its use in the commentary of an early sixteenth-century Italian translation and edition of *De Architectura* by Vitruvius (see Figure 7.3).[488]

Figure 7.3: Guidonian hand from the commentary for Giovanni Battista Caporali's edition and translation of Vitruvius, *De Architectura* (Perugia: Bigazzini, 1536), fol. 111v

In its classic form the hand depicted is the left hand, with the letter names and solmization syllables inscribed on the joints and fingertips.[489] The lowest G on the modern bass clef,

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[487] Although the hand did not originate with Guido it was normally associated with him in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, so I will continue to refer to it by this name.

[488] In this print the hand and a diagram of the Greek pitch names and intervals are presented right next to each other in book V on folio 111v, within an extended commentary on the original text which is significantly indebted to Gaffurius. The hand as a symbol of music is also present in the upper right corner of the woodcut title page. This print is available online through the *University of Heidelberg*, web, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de.

[489] Susan Weiss gives a broad overview of the variety and cultural situation of musical hands over almost 1000 years of history in her article "*Disce manum tuam*" (2005).

gamma ut, is almost always placed on the tip of the thumb. Subsequent notes follow a spiral pattern, associated with other mnemonic devices and memorial uses of the hand in other disciplines.[490] In the fifteenth and sixteenth century a staff is regularly inscribed into the palm with the ascending and descending form of the hexachord, similar to the example from Lanfranco in Figure 7.2 and the tenors from the motets and Masses in Figure 7.1.[491] Although this figure was not new in the fifteenth century, it has long been acknowledged that the *manus guidonis* was at the center of a controversy about innovations in music pedagogy and theory that raged for more than 30 years in Northern Italy during the second half of the fifteenth century.[492] This conflict inspired the invective of eloquent music theorists and fueled the creation of multiple treatises defending Guido and the system of solmization. What has escaped notice so far is that composers were also pledging their allegiance to a "traditional" concept of music pedagogy through these compositions based on the hexachord, just as they were building a musical genealogy of composers through their musicians' motets and laments.

In his *Expositio manus*, written *c.* 1472–73 in Naples, Tinctoris treated the subject of the Guidonian hand and solmization reverently and thoroughly. This work sets the backdrop for the literary exchange of the 1480s because in many ways it is traditional and unobtrusive, and yet reveals how professional musicians explained aspects of basic music pedagogy in Latin for mature readers. This work includes a traditional Guidonian hand as well as other diagrams of the hexachords, or *deductiones* as he calls them, and explains in detail the didactic function of solmization, emphasizing how this element of Christian music pedagogy maps onto Greek music theory. Although dedicated to a fellow singer at the Neapolitan court, two of the three extant copies of the treatise were clearly created as presentation manuscripts for courtly libraries and were copied in the 1490s.[493] Since the dedicatee of this treatise, as a professional

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[490] Weiss, "*Disce manum tuam*" (2005), 45.

[491] Interestingly in the woodcut from the Vitruvius treatise, the artist failed to include a clef, negating the validity of the hexachord as a way of fixing melodic relationships, or perhaps indicating that it could occur at different pitch levels.

[492] Moyer, *Musica Scientia* (1992); Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (2010) and "Constructing Difference" (2008); Blackburn, "Music Theory and Musical Thinking after 1450" (2001).

[493] The singer is named in the dedication as Johannes de Lotinis. The manuscripts include: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS II 4147, the least ornate but most accurate copy; Valencia, Biblioteca General i Històrica de la Universitat, MS 835, an ornate courtly manuscript including a portrait of Tinctoris; Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2573, possibly a gift for Beatrice on her return from Hungary. The sources are discussed in

singer, was not in need of this kind of rudimentary musical instruction, the actual intended audience is slightly ambiguous. It may have been envisioned as a resource for other literate music instructors, but I believe that mainly it was created for the benefit of courtly and scholarly readers, the noble recipients of the elaborate manuscript collections of Tinctoris's works, to be appreciated in the public reading environments described by Grafton and Jardine.[494]

Although Tinctoris's work is not highly original in its content, the very act of writing an entire treatise on the hand and solmization in such detail is somewhat remarkable, since this type of material was generally part of the oral tradition or included in practical chant or didactic sources. Although Mengozzi argues that Guidonian hexachordal solmization was primarily of scholarly interest, others, including Anna Maria Busse Berger, have shown how solmization fit into oral and pedagogical traditions.[495] Mengozzi looks only at written sources and fails to take into account how they fit with the primarily oral pedagogical traditions, and he ignores the *regula del grado* treatises entirely.[496] Instead this short treatise by Tinctoris is included in manuscript compendia dedicated to an array of music theoretical topics, most of them tending towards practical aspects, but certainly geared to learned readers, readers previously more concerned with speculative musical topics. Tinctoris cites the authority of the "Greeks" multiple times in this short treatise on the hand, elevating lowly musical practice by its association with and musical expression of Greek theory.[497] Placing the hand at the center of basic music pedagogy, Tinctoris highlights its contribution to continuity between classical theorists and contemporary practical musicians.

Woodley, "Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS II 4147" (2007), available online through *Theoretical Works of Johannes Tinctoris*, ed. by Woodley, web, http://www.stoa.org/tinctoris/tinctoris.html which will soon be replaced by the new online edition and related content: *Tinctoris*, Woodley, Dean, and Lewis, web, http://earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris.

[494] *From Humanism to the Humanities* (1986). Discussed in Chapter 5.

[495] See Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (2005), 119-140.

[496] Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (2010).

[497] For example, in Chapter 1 he gives an extensive discussion of the use of Gamma for the low G at the bottom of the staff. He states, "And in my opinion the creator of this method [Guido], wishing it to be called by this name, adopted the name of the Greek letter by itself, so that he could properly honour the Greeks as the greatest originators of the art of music, from whom the Latins received this same art." Translation by Ronald Woodley currently accessed from http://www.stoa.org/tinctoris/expositio_manus/expositio_manus.html but soon to be migrated to the Early Music Theory website http://earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/.

As Karol Berger and others have shown, a closely related image is the ladder or *scala generalis*—basically the hand in tabular form.[498] The *scala generalis*, which I discussed in Chapter 6 in relation to pieces by Busnoys and Roelkin, displays the seven hexachords from *gamma ut* to *ee la* on a graph or staff of ten lines.[499]

Figure 7.4: "Guido's *Introductorium*," from Gaffurius, *Practica musice* (Milan, 1496)[500]
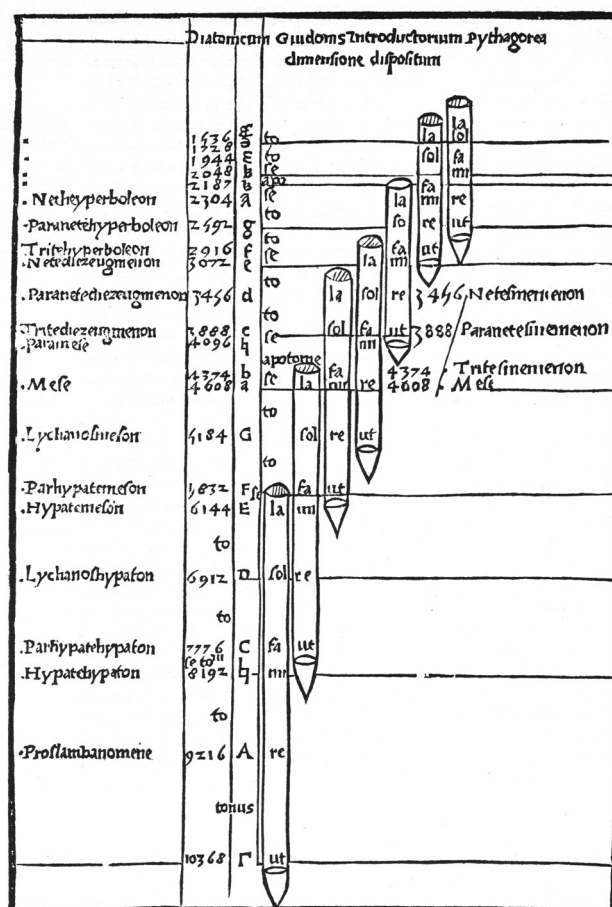
Gaffurius knew Tinctoris in Naples between 1478-80 so it is not surprising that the scala diagram in his *Practica musice* (shown in Figure 7.4) illustrates the link between classical Pythagorean music theory and Christian Guidonian music pedagogy and practice, continuing

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[498] Karol Berger actually conflates the two images in his survey while Mengozzi excludes *scala* diagrams from his tabulations of sources including depictions of the hand. This results in drastically different understandings of the influence of the "hand." See K. Berger, "Hand and the Art of Memory" (1981), 89; and Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (2010), 71.

[499] See especially the figures and discussion in the subsection "Composition on the ten-line staff by Roelkin."

[500] This diagram is also reproduced in Figure 6.19, where it is discussed in relation to Busnoy's *Anthoni usque limina*.

the process central to the *Expositio manus*. Gaffurius explicitly states that his diagram of the seven hexachords came from the end of "Guido's *Introductorium*," the common title for a compilation of writings believed to be by Guido as they were known in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[501] Guido is cited as an authority by Gaffurius in his *scala* diagram, like the various classical authors flagged with their names in the margins of his elegantly formatted, printed treatises. Gaffurius's *scala* places letter names at the central axis of the diagram, the nexus between Christian music pedagogy and classical music theory. Theory, represented by Greek labels and ratios, is presented to the left, except for the synemenon tetrachord that must be labeled on the right because of limited space. Christian pedagogy, represented by hexachords contained in pseudo-proportional organ pipes, is displayed to the right.[502] This blending of the practical with the speculative at the very beginning of Gaffurius's treatise proclaims the continuity and eminence of the musical tradition. Gaffurius's diagram was extremely influential, and this format was reproduced by many later theorists, including Cochlaeus, Ornithoparchus, and Claudio Sebastiani, and also in non-musical sources, including the Vitruvius translation noted above.[503]

Brumel's Hexachord Mass: the Gamut as cantus firmus

The image of the *scala generalis* has its direct musical counterpart in Brumel's Mass on the hexachord.[504] This Mass, discussed in Chapter 6, is notable both as the earliest extant Mass based on the hexachord and the only Mass to use all seven hexachords of the gamut in order from lowest to highest, basically setting the entire *scala generalis* or hand as a cantus firmus. Figure 7.5 shows the systematic distribution of the hexachords throughout Brumel's Mass by mapping them onto the *scala* diagram as it is presented in the Brussels manuscript

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[501] Interestingly he also uses the term "introductorium" to mean the diagram itself. Gaffurius, *Practica musice* (1496), fol. a i and a ii. On the title "Introductorium" for a compilation of Guido's writings into the sixteenth century see Palisca and Pesce, "Guido of Arezzo" on *Grove Music Online*, web, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[502] See previous discussion of this image in Chapter 6.

[503] Cochlaeus, *Tetrachordum musices* (Nürnberg: Weyssenburger, 1511). See the edition of Ornithoparchus in *A Compendium of Musical Practice*, ed. by Reese and Ledbetter (1973). Sebastiani, *Bellum musicale* (1563), reproduces in Weiss, "*Disce manum tuam*" (2005), 59. See book V, folio 111v of Vitruvius, *De Architectura (1536)*, available from *University of Heidelberg*, web, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de.

[504] Wolfgang Fuhrmann read an excellent study of this piece the Med-Ren Conference in Certaldo, Italy, 2013, entitled "A Humble Beginning: Brumel and the Ut-re-mi-fa-sol-la Tradition," forthcoming in the *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*.

version of Tinctoris's *Expositio manus*. Although notated in the tenor part, the cantus firmus begins in the first Kyrie in the bass register at the bottom of the texture with the lowest hard hexachord, or *deductio*, on *gamma ut*.[505] Although there are tacet sections and rests, large segments of the Mass ordinary text are set around multiple iterations of a single hexachord notated in the tenor, with each movement setting the next version in ascending order.

Figure 7.5: Mapping the distribution of the hexachords of in Brumel's *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la* onto the *scala generalis* illustration from Tinctoris, *Expositio manus*[506]

Distribution of
Brumel's cantus firmus

Voice	Movement	
Tenor:		
	Kyrie	
	Gloria	
	Credo	
	Sanctus	
Superius:	Agnus I	
	Agnus II	
	Agnus III	

Finally, in the three Agnus dei movements, the hexachord moves into the superius voice, and each of the three repetitions of the Agnus text sets a different version, beginning with the *quinta deductio* on middle *c sol fa ut* and culminating with the *septima deductio* ending on *ee la* at

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[505] *Deductio* is an older term for the hexachord and will be discussed more below. For more information on different labels see Mengozzi, "Virtual Segments" (2006).
[506] My photograph from Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS II 4147.

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the top of the treble staff. Brumel's Mass was very popular in the early fifteenth century, with multiple complete and partial concordances (see Table 6.3). Sections of the Agnus movement, where the hexachord is in the superius, seem to have been particularly popular in secular, northern Italian sources containing mixed repertoire, and also in intabulations for instrumental performance.[507]

In the Mass, the hexachord is restricted to the cantus-firmus bearing voice throughout, except in the opening three-voice section of the Kyrie, where the hard hexachord, shown in Figure 7.6, is presented by the altus voice. The hexachord is notated as a series of three two-note ligatures, resulting in a series of even breves of much longer value than the other voices. This notation causes this figure to stand out both aurally and visually.[508]

Figure 7.6: Opening of Altus voice from Brumel, *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*[509]
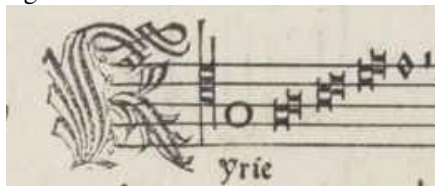
This section, shown in Figure 7.7, is markedly spare and imitative. The figure that is presented in the superius against the first two notes of the altus hexachord, "ut re," is repeated by the bassus against the second ligature of the altus, "mi fa."

Figure 7.7: Opening of the Brumel, *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*[510]

Brumel creates a simple pair of contrapuntal modules using invertible counterpoint at the tenth.[511] The accompanying figure, or counterpoint, is restricted to the natural hexachord, using every syllable at least once. The thin texture of the opening section of Brumel's Mass ensures that this repeated two-voice figure is clearly audible and also highlights the presence of the ascending hexachord, which is the highest voice when it is singing with the bassus.

The simplicity of an ornate voice over a stepwise ascent recalls the musical exercises in simple counterpoint treatises, like the "rules" in the Vatican organum treatise, from the mid-thirteenth century, which lists various figures that can be sung against all the steps of the hexachord.[512] Similar examples and exercises are included in the closely related *regula del grado* family of treatises. Discussing the version of the *regula del grado* treatise in Washington, Busse Berger states that in the "longest section of the treatise, the author lists for every single tenor progression possible within a hexachord a suitable counterpoint progression, and he does this for every single *grado*. All of the counterpoint progressions are within the same hexachord and in contrary motion."[513] In the Vatican treatise the upper voice is identified by the first and last solmization syllables written below, while the whole series is organized by the solmization syllables of notes in the lower voice. As Anna Maria Busse Berger has pointed out, each voice is usually restricted to a single hexachord.[514] Both Peter Schubert and Busse Berger have argued that many of these repetitive lists of examples were intended to be memorized and formed an important part of basic musical education.[515]

It is as though Brumel is beginning his hexachordal Mass with an allusion to a counterpoint exercise that might have been used in a music classroom, highlighting the pedagogical associations of using the gamut as a cantus firmus.[516] The presentation of cantus

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[511] A module is a block of counterpoint, in two or more voices, that is repeated. For references for this term see footnote 117.

[512] Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolican Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 3025. For a discussion of this source see Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (2005), 121-130, and Immel, "Vatican Organum Treatise Re-Examined" (2001).

[513] Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (2005), 136. Also on the *gradi* family see Fuller, 496; and Scattolin, "La Regola del 'Grado'" (1979), 30.

[514] Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (2005), 120.

[515] Schubert, "Counterpoint Pedagogy" (2002), 505-6; Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (2005), 140.

[516] Peter Schubert discusses Pierre de la Rue's use of a similar example of improvisable invertible counterpoint at the beginning of his *Salve Regina* II. Schubert, however, is showing how improvisation informed composition, and

firmus material in an upper voice at the opening of the Kyrie is a common feature in cyclic Masses, signaling the associations of the cantus firmus in an easily audible way at the beginning of the work. Brumel used every possible means to announce the presence of the hexachordal cantus firmus and conceived of it as the guiding principle of the work, a role that was traditionally sanctifying or occasional. The display of invertible counterpoint within a single hexachord in the opening refers to the hexachord as a pedagogical tool not just for plainchant instruction, but for the process of learning polyphony through the hexachordally-based "rules" of improvisation recorded in simple counterpoint treatises. By then systematically presenting every *deductio* of the gamut, highlighting it as a central aspect of music theory and fifteenth-century music pedagogy, Brumel foregrounds his role as a creator of contrapuntal music and ushers in the tradition of hexachordal compositions that continued through the sixteenth century and beyond. While this work is clearly comprehensive, like the pieces discussed in Chapter 6, there remain questions about why Brumel deemed the hexachord appropriate as a cantus firmus. What was particularly important about the hexachord in the late-fifteenth century that generated a flowering of motets, instrumental fantasias, and a tradition of polyphonic Mass setting spanning two centuries? I propose that the heated exchange of ideas about music education and history in late-fifteenth-century Italy is central to understanding the continued use of the hexachord as a cantus firmus.

Conflict Regarding Music Education

Although the hexachord and the gamut are most often associated with Guido d'Arezzo, Dolores Pesce and Stefano Mengozzi have pointed out that the complete system of solmization and mutation, as we understand them today, was developed over time in the centuries after Guido wrote his treatise and was certainly not the only pedagogical method used during the late-medieval period.[517] Guido only gives a brief mention of using the six syllables of "Ut queant laxis" in his *Epistola ad Michaelem* and, in fact, these are only one of two possible sets of syllables that Guido proposed using. Dolores Pesce argues that his purpose, in

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I am arguing that the composer was intentionally alluding to improvisation in his composition. Schubert, "From Improvisation to Composition" (forthcoming).

[517] Pesce, "Guido d'Arezzo, *Ut queant laxis*" (2010); and Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (2010).

accord with developments in modally organized tonaries and musical notation, was to develop

a system for teaching students to recognize the arrangement of tones and semitones around a

particular pitch, increasing singers' reliance on notated music and decreasing the amount of

time necessary to train new singers, who previously had to memorize everything.[518] Guido's

motivations were both pedagogical and political—to improve the quality and efficiency of

musical education, and also to promote his system over those of others, including that of the

monochord. The documents he produced were compiled, transmitted together, and

reinterpreted for use by later generations, including the addition of variations on the

ubiquitous "Guidonian" hand or *scala generalis*. By the middle of the fifteenth century most

theorists were unaware of Guido's actual distance from the "Guidonian" hand and it seems

possible that they also attributed to him aspects of the improvisational systems that developed

using the hand or solmization as a point of reference.

Shortly after Tinctoris wrote his thorough treatment of the hand, *Expositio manus*, as a

"concise and useful teaching method" in Naples, a significant conflict arose among scholars and

musicians active in northern Italy, particularly in Bologna.[519] In 1482 Bartolomeo Ramos de

Pareja published his famously incendiary treatise, *Musica practica*, but the spark of dissent was

lit in the early 1460s by the Carthusian monk and humanist Johannes Gallicus. Although it

was not the only issue, Guidonian solmization was the most highly visible topic in the conflict.

Gallicus harshly criticized contemporary practices around solmization and mutation, calling

them "impure" and full of "verbosities."[520] This is apparent especially when he is writing about

the pitfalls of the fifteenth-century educational system and the experiences of certain

"students." Gallicus writes:

> There are some who, doing their best at trying this method, learn these trifles by heart, but before
> they have mastered what they wish to learn, they give up in the middle of the enterprise, bogged
> down by its sheer verbosity and having already *spent quite a lot of money*. Others learn those

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[518] See the critical text and translation of the *Epistola* by Pesce in her *'Regule rithmice,' 'Prologus in antiphonarim,' and 'Epistola ad michahelem'* (1999), 437-531. For a detailed discussion of Guido's pedagogical goals see Pesce, "Guido d'Arezzo, *Ut queant laxis*" (2010).

[519] This is the first sentence of Chapter 1 "On the definition of the hand and its distinguishing features." Translation by Ronald Woodley accessed from the *Theoretical Works of Johannes Tinctoris*, ed. by Woodley, web, http://www.stoa.org/tinctoris/tinctoris.html.Soon to be available from *Tinctoris*, Woodley, Dean, and Lewis, web, http://earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris.

[520] For an excellent contextualization of the implications of his word choices see Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (2010), 159-63.

absurdities, to call them plainly, after not a small effort. But filling their mouths everyday with nothing but fa ut, ut fa, sol ut, ut sol, and the like, and *seized by tedium*, they leave in the end their singing master, as ignorant as they had started.[521]

The passage quoted above suggests that his "students" may not be young choirboys, the normal participants in the traditional model for musical education in an ecclesiastical context.[522] He describes them as people with "quite a lot of money" to spend on their musical education and with the luxury of being "seized by tedium" during music lessons without receiving the physical punishment that was regularly administered to inattentive choirboys for their lack of focus.[523] The students Gallicus was referring to were probably wealthy clerics or secular patrons. Perhaps some were the second and third sons of wealthy Italian families who, having taken holy orders later in life, but not having received the traditional education of a cleric, needed to learn to read music in order to participate in the musical and prayer life of their communities. The arduous picture of repetition and memorization that he paints recalls the rote memorization associated with chant education, and discant manuals or *regula del grado* treatises. Perhaps these "verbosities" were improvisations, that offended his ear and the ears of other purists in the church, and also aggravated older, part-time, music students.[524]

Gallicus wrote his treatise from a humanistic and reformist point of view, arguing for the renewal of modern ecclesiastical practice and pedagogy through a return to an older, idealized musical past, closer to antiquity.[525] Although the contemporary practices around solmization received harsh treatment from his pen, Gallicus was one of the few fifteenth-century theorists to analyze the content of Guido's writings. In doing so he separated Guido's actual pedagogical contributions from the later accretions that Gallicus viewed as problematic,

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[521] Translation from Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (2010), 154. Emphasis mine.

[522] For more on educational practices see Murray, Weiss, and Cyrus, eds. *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (2010); and Brand, "A Medieval *Scholasticus* and Renaissance Choirmaster" (2010), and "Liturgical Ceremony at the Cathedral of Lucca" (2006).

[523] For more on the experiences of choirboys see Boynton and Cochelin, "The Sociomusical Role of Child Oblates" (2006), 3-24, and Borgerding, "Imagining the Sacred Body" (2006), 25-48, in *Musical Childhoods & the Cultures of Youth*. See Figure 7.22 for an illustration of a choirboy with his birch switch.

[524] Rob Wegman has uncovered evidence of a severe backlash against polyphonic music, in particular a reaction against the financial resources tied up with it, and expressed in the sixteenth century in protestant movements away from endowments and professional singers in church. *Crisis of Music* (2005).

[525] "...aliquid novi fabbricare nolo, sed veram huiusce rei doctrinam brevem ac perfacilem, qua nos piius ille Dei servus canere docet per litteras, innovare contendo..." vol. 2, p. 4. Mengozzi translates this passage and notes the emphasis on letter names rather than solmization.

showing that Guido was a teacher and that his goals could have been met by other means, some of which are actually contained in Guido's treatises and letters, although they had been generally ignored. Mengozzi has pointed out that, while Gallicus recognized the utility of solmization, his preference was for a pedagogical system that relied on letter names instead of solmization syllables.[526] His musical examples use letter names inscribed on the staff next to the note heads, duplicating and annotating the musical notation. This system presupposes literacy and a reliance on notated sources rather than memory, again implying that Gallicus was proposing a system of education for mature, literate, and wealthy students, those capable of owning and reading copies of his books.

Like Tinctoris and Gaffurius, Gallicus is at pains to explain the associations between Greek theory and Christian musical practice. One of these links that had long-lasting impact is his explanation for why Guido chose a system of six syllables, a standard question raised in Medieval music treatises. He points out that this was the smallest unit containing all three species of tetrachord, emphasizing that the most important aspect of accurate performance of chant is simply recognizing the different arrangements of tones and semitones.[527] In the earliest extant source his argument is accompanied by a crude diagram of the *scala* (shown in Figure 7.8) depicting the three species of tetrachord in the hard and natural hexachords.[528]

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[526] See Mengozzi's chapter 6, "Normalizing the Humanist: Johannes Gallicus as a 'follower of Guido'," in *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (2010), 141-80.

[527] "Nimirum necesse fuit Guidonem, cuius propositum erat, quam breviter totum exprimere cantum has sex nec plus ne minus alias huiusmodi totidem fabricare syllabas. Quis enim nesciat per ba, be, bi, bo, bu, bam, it fieri potuisse, ver par aliud quippiam simile? Quicquid etenim canendo proferre velis, observa tonum et semitonium et optimum erit? Volens autem ille ritum, quem tunc modulando voces communis usus habebat, in manu sinistra tamquam in portatili tabula sicuti sunt oardinare..."
Mengozzi's translation: "Since Guido's purpose was to find a concise formula for articulating all songs he had to concoct no more and no fewer than those six syllables, or other similar ones. Indeed, who does not know that he could have achieved the same goal by using ba, be, bi, bo, bu, bam, or some other labels? In sum, seeking to visualize on the left hand or on a portable table that method which was common in his time for modulating musical sounds..." shown in Table 6.1, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (2010), 168-70. Mengozzi points out that this argument was also made by Jacques of Liège, but it is unclear if Gallicus knew this source. See Mengozzi's discussion on p. 100.

[528] I say crude because unlike the other very beautiful and carefully laid out examples in this source, including a realistic "manus Guidonis" and fold-out monochord with mechanical specificity, both probably added later by a professional scribe, there are a few infelicities in this one. The two clefs, f and c, rather than being placed on the staff as they would be in normal musical notation or a more standard *scala* diagram, are placed outside the graph, perhaps because of space constraints, and there are two extraneous rows at the top of the diagram. Both mistakes seem odd if they were made by a musician, either Burtius or Gallicus. Perhaps they were not really professional musicians at all, but more humanistically educated, knowledgeable, and passionate amateurs.

Figure 7.8: *Scala* diagram from Gallicus, *Ritus canendi*, London,
British Library, Add. 22315, fol. 48r[529]
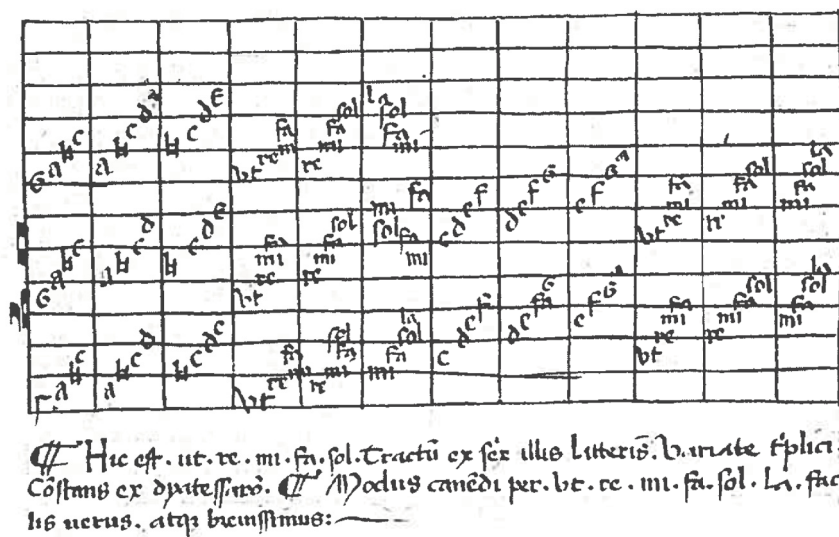
The scribe, probably the Italian music theorist, Nicolaus Burtius, used both letter names and

solmization syllables arranged on the lines and spaces of the *scala*, with octave equivalencies

shown in the same vertical column. Gallicus's criticisms of contemporary practices involving

solmization syllables and his connection between the Greek tetrachords and the Guidonian

gamut together laid the foundation for the Northern Italian conflict and the ossification of the

Guidonian hand as a symbol of traditional and eventually Catholic music, after the

Reformation.[530] Laid out in chronological order, Table 7.4 shows the progression of terms and

diagrams used for discussion of solmization and mutation in relevant Italian theoretical

sources.

To varying degrees and with different objectives Ramos, Burtius, Hothby, and

Gaffurius all reiterate and embellish Gallicus's discussion of the relationship between the

Greek tetrachord and the Christian hexachord. As Stephano Mengozzi has pointed out,

Ramos's tongue-in-cheek discussion of the relationship between tetrachords and hexachords

was the site of the first use of the term "hexachord" in relation to systems of six solmization

syllables.[531]

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[529] Scanned from Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (2010), 172.
[530] Weiss, "*Disce manum tuam*" (2005), 47-50.
[531] Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (2010), 182-86.

Table 7.4: Italian Theoretical Sources Discussing Solmization and Mutation

Author	Titles	Time	Terms for hexachord	Diagrams
Gallicus	*Ritus canendi*	*c.* 1458-64	"sex syllabas"[532]	-monochord -hand -scala of tetrachords
Tinctoris	*Expositio manus*	*c.* 1472–73	"deductiones"[533]	-hand -scala
Hothby	*Calliopea legale*	*c.* 1460-70	"schiere"[534]	-scala
Ramos	*Musica practica*	1482 May & June	"exachordum"[535]	-Guidonian hand -Ramosian hand
Hothby	*Excitatio quaedam*	*c.* 1482	"syllaba Guidonis"[536]	-monochord
Gaffurius	Bergamo draft of *Practica musice*	*c.* 1483	"deductione"[537]	*Unknown*
Burtius	*Musices opusculum*	1487	"voces Guidonis"[538] "exacordum guidonis"[539]	-scala of hexachords -scala of tetrachords
Gaffurius	*Practica musice*	1496	"exachordum"[540]	-scala

Ramos uses the term "hexachord" derogatorily, as his discussion invokes hyperbolic ridicule of the unnecessary complications involved in having overlapping segments of six notes and the idea of inherent "sixthness."[541] In later discussions, however, this term came to replace the older term, "deductio," which had been used by both Tinctoris and Gaffurius in the early draft of his *Practica musice*. Missing from Ramos's text is Gallicus's discussion of the species of tetrachords contained in the hexachord, an aspect invoked by Hothby and embellished by Burtius in their

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[532] *Ritus canendi*, ed. by Seay (1981), 51.

[533] "The *Expositio manus*," trans. by Seay (1965), 45-8. "Chapter VI: De deductionibus" is an explanation of the naming of each set of six syllables, including the diagram shown in Figure 7.5.

[534] Hothby, *La calliopea legale*, trans. by McDonald (1997), 23. McDonald translates it as "hexachord" beginning on 98.

[535] In the opening sentence of Chapter 4 and on p. 55 in Miller's translation. Ramos, *Musica practica*, trans. by Miller (1993).

[536] Idiosyncratically, Hothby uses the word *voces* to indicate the letter names of each note. Seay, *Tre tractatuli*, trans. by Seay (1964), 36-9.

[537] Discussed, transcribed and translated in Table 7.3 of Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (2010), 194-204. In this table he shows the significant changes that Gaffurius made to his work between the Bergamo draft and the printed version of the treatise. I have not had a chance to view this source, relying on Mengozzi's transcription and translation, so I do not know how the diagrams contained in it compare to those in the printed version.

[538] Burtius, *Musices opusculum*, ci, on p. 47 of Miller's translation.

[539] Burtius, *Musices opusculum*, ci verso, on p. 48 of Miller's translation.

[540] First used on a ii, describing the scala produced on the following page. Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (2010), Table 7.3, 194-204. See footnote 30 above.

[541] Ramos, *Musica practica* (1482), 10; Ramos, *Musica practica*, trans. by Miller (1993), 65.

reactions to Ramos.[542] In the printed version of *Practica musice* Gaffurius picked up the term and ran with it, adapting the tetrachordal interpretation of the hexachord into his *scala*.[543] By making it central to their teleologically constructed arguments for modern musical practice as an expansion of Greek theoretical principles they strengthened the hexachord with the authority of the ancients and forged an easily recognizable link with contemporary pedagogical practice, essentially a Christianization of classical music theory.[544]

Ghiselin' Missa *De les armes*: The Hexachord / Tetrachord as Cantus Firmus

The musical counterpart to the interpretation of the hexachord as an expansion of the tetrachord is in the tenor of the slightly mysterious *Missa De les armes* printed by Petrucci in his *Misse Ghiselin*. Although the source for the strange title of this Mass remains unidentified, the tenor has long been recognized for its hexachordal content. In the commentary to the complete works edition, Clytus Gottwald simply called it a hexachord Mass, yet unlike the straightforward presentation of Brumel and later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century composers of hexachordal Masses, this cantus firmus is an odd collection of abstract musical figures (shown in Table 7.5), including but not limited to the hexachord.[545]

Table 7.5: Figures Developed in the cantus firmus of Ghiselin, *Missa De les armes*

Section	Cantus firmus voice	Musical figure	Rhythmic value
Kyrie	tenor	hard hexachord	breves
Gloria	tenor	tetrachords	longs and dotted longs
Credo	tenor	leaping 3rds	dotted longs
Et iterum	tenor	neighbor 2nds	longs
Sanctus	tenor	tetrachords	breves
Osanna	tenor	hard hexachord	breves
Agnus dei	tenor	hard, soft, and natural hexachords	longs
Agnus II	tenor & bassus in canon	leaping 4ths	longs
Agnus III	superius	neighbor 2nds	dotted longs

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[542] Hothby, *Excitation quaedam* in *Tre tractatuli*, trans. by Seay (1964), 39; Burtius, *Musices opusculum*, trans. by Miller, (1983), 48.

[543] This is most striking in Mengozzi's comparison of the version of Gaffurius's *Pratica musicae*, printed in 1496, and the extant manuscript draft of the same treatise from Bergamo, ca. 1483. Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (2010), 185-6; L. Brothers, "The Hexachord Mass" (1973), 22.

[544] For a detailed discussion see Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (2010), chapter 7, "Gafori's Hand: forging a new Guido for a new humanist culture," and "Virtual Segments" (2006), 463-7.

[545] Similar to patterned cantus firmi found in improvisation treatises. For an example see *The Buxheim Organ Book*, facsimile (1963), 46.

The hexachord statements occur in the Kyrie, one section of the Osanna, and the Agnus dei I, but also included are intervallic leaps and series of tetrachords. Although at first this may seem like a random assortment, I argue that it is meant to resemble a series of rudimentary solmization exercises, exploring the boundaries of hexachordal solmization through tetrachords, intervallic repetitions, forced mutation, and also standard patterns against which to practice improvisation.

The cantus firmus of the Mass opens with an unambiguous presentation of the hard hexachord in breves in the tenor, both the ascending and descending form. This is repeated in the second Kyrie with diminution (shown in Figure 7.9).

Figure 7.9: Cantus firmus for the Kyrie I and II of Ghiselin's *Missa De les armes*[546]

ut re mi | fa sol la | la sol fa mi re ut   ut re mi | fa sol la | la sol fa mi re ut
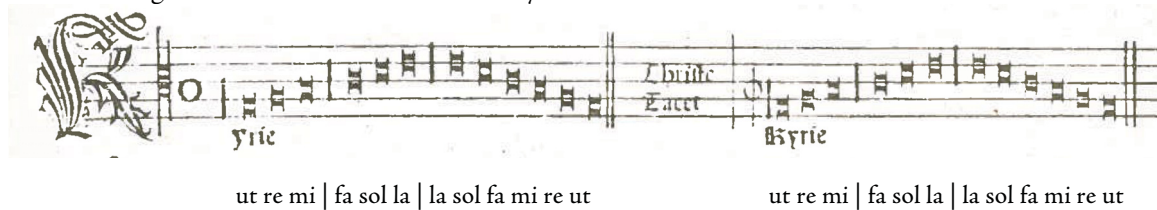
The Gloria displays both the ascending and descending tetrachord in longs in the "Et in terra" and then in dotted longs in the "Qui tolis." The tetrachord is stated four times in each form and each statment, separated by rests, is transposed up or down a step.

Figure 7.10: Cantus firmus for the Gloria of Ghiselin's *Missa De les armes*

ut re mi fa | re mi fa sol | mi fa sol la | fa sol la **fa**[547]   **fa mi re ut** | la sol fa mi | sol fa mi re | fa mi re ut

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[546] All of the following examples of Ghiselin's *Missa De les armes* are scanned from the facsimile edition of Petrucci, *Missarum liber* (1973).

[547] There are a number of different ways that this tetrachord could be solmized, including "ut re mi fa" to emphasize its similarity to the first tetrachord. The point is that it extends beyond a single hexachord, testing the viewer's knowledge.

The first three tetrachords stay within the hard hexachord, demonstrating the three species of fourth as discussed by Gallicus, Burtius, and Hothby, while the fourth iteration pushes one note outside the bounds of the hexachord, testing the viewers' knowledge of how to mutate into the next hexachord.[548] The two sections of the Sanctus that are composed around a cantus firmus, shown at the top of Figure 7.11, present the exact same ideas, hard hexachord and four tetrachords, but in reverse order and compressed form. Finally in the Agnus dei I, the hexachord is presented in all three of its incarnations, hard, soft, and then natural, both ascending and descending (shown at the bottom of Figure 7.11).

Figure 7.11: Cantus firmus for the Sanctus and Agnus dei I of Ghiselin's *Missa De les armes*

ut re mi fa | re mi fa sol | mi fa sol la | fa sol la fa sol   ut re mi fa sol la | la sol fa mi re ut

hard   soft   natural   natural   soft   hard

All of the cantus firmus section based on interval patterns that return to the same note are centered on the hard hexachord, pushing out around the edges, challenging the singer or viewer to demonstrate their understanding of mutation, an issue at the heart of the late-fifteenth-century conflict about theory and criticized by Ramos. In the "Patrem" the tenor enters on *d sol* in the hard hexachord, and sings a series of four thirds down, see Figure 7.12.

Figure 7.12: Cantus firmus for "Patrem" in the Credo of Ghiselin's *Missa De les armes*

sol mi sol / fa re fa / mi ut mi / la fa la   re fa re / mi sol mi / fa la fa / re fa re
Tacet section for "Et incarnatus est"

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[548] Gallicus dicussion of the tetrachord is provided in footnote 527, with the translation by Mengozzi from his *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (2010), 168-70; Burtius, *Musices opusculum*, trans. by Miller, (1983), 48; and Hothby, *Excitation quaedam* in *Tre tractatuli*, trans. by Seay (1964), 39;

This is remarkably similar to patterned cantus firmi found in improvisation treatises such as Conrad Paumann's *fundamenta* in the Buxheim organ book among others.[549] Like the tetrachords in the Gloria and Sanctus, the final iteration forces the singer to mutate to the natural hexachord. The next section inverts the interval, retaining the same starting notes but in reverse order. After a short rest the tenor starts a series of thirds leaping up, beginning on *a sol fa ut* and ending on *d la sol re* (shown in Figure 7.12). This also forces the singer to mutate to the natural hexachord for the final statement. It seems possible that Petrucci is presenting his resolution of an original version where the tenor was presented as a verbal canon, as Petrucci or his editor had done this for other pieces based on complex riddles, like Ockeghem's *Ut heremita solus*.[550] These canons could have included references to repeatitions of a combination of solmization syllables, an interval, or hexachords. The *Et iterum* section (shown in Figure 7.13) sets a series of five lower neighbour tones or seconds, beginning on g and rising to d and then returning to g.

Figure 7.13: Cantus firmus for "Et iterum" in the Credo of Ghiselin's *Missa De les armes*

sol fa sol / re ut re / mi re mi / fa mi fa / sol fa sol / sol fa sol / fa mi fa / mi re mi / re ut re / sol fa sol

The first and final statements require the singer to mutate into the natural hexachord, again pushing the limits of the hexachordal system at the boundaries and creating a pleasant symmetry. Figure 7.14 and Figure 7.15 show the canon between the tenor and bassus voices in the Agnus dei II.

Figure 7.14: Canonic cantus firmus for the opening of Agnus II of Ghiselin's *Missa De les armes*[551]

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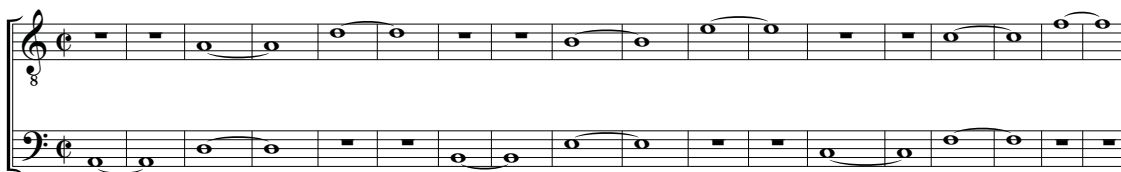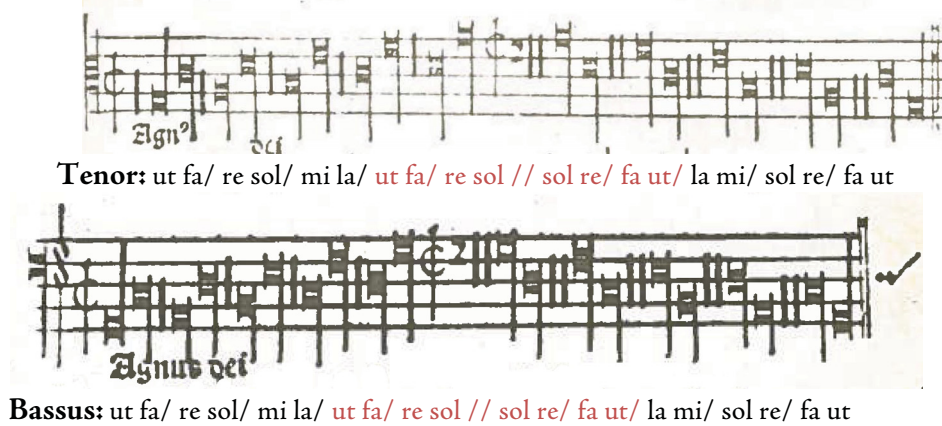
[549] For an example see *The Buxheim Organ Book*, facsimile (1963), 46.
[550] Blackburn, "Canonic Conundrums" (2001).
[551] My transcription from the facsimile edition of Petrucci, *Missarum liber* (1973).

This extremely simple canon is built from fourths, giving the melodic outline of the tetrachordal tenors of the Gloria and the first section of the Sanctus. Canonic instructions could easily refer to the tenor for the Gloria, advising the singer to leave out the middle notes, or something like that.

Figure 7.15: Tenor and Bassus for the Agnus dei II of Ghiselin's *Missa De les armes*

Tenor: ut fa/ re sol/ mi la/ ut fa/ re sol // sol re/ fa ut/ la mi/ sol re/ fa ut

Bassus: ut fa/ re sol/ mi la/ ut fa/ re sol // sol re/ fa ut/ la mi/ sol re/ fa ut

Although the cantus firmus is soley in the tenor for most of Ghiselin's Mass, the final section places the cantus firmus in the superius, which sings the same series of lower neighbour tones that the tenor sang during the *Et iterum* section of the Credo, shown in Figure 7.16.

Figure 7.16: Cantus firmus for the Agnus dei III of Ghiselin's *Missa De les armes,* superius

sol fa sol / re ut re / mi re mi / fa mi fa / sol fa sol / sol fa sol / fa mi fa / mi re mi / re ut re / sol fa sol

The emphasis on the relationship between hexachords, tetrachords, and principles of mutation in different movements of the same Mass indicate that Ghiselin was responding to contemporary music theoretical debates and the new interpretation of the six syllables of Guido as the modern expansion of and improvement on the Greek tetrachords.

The relationship between the hexachord Masses of Brumel and Ghiselin goes deeper than the similarity between their presentations of the hexachords. Ghiselin's sudden switch to the highest voice for the final section may be an allusion to Brumel's Mass, where the use of the full gamut pushes the cantus firmus into the high register for the entire Agnus dei. Both pieces

use the same mensuration (O, or perfect tempus) and open with the same octave g and a remarkably similar duo between superius and altus (shown in Figure 7.17 and Figure 7.7). Although in Ghiselin's Mass the altus does not sing a complete statement of the hexachord, it does ascend a fifth, anticipating the first entry of the cantus firmus in the tenor, after two breves. However, the most striking similarity between the two openings is between the melodic figure in the superius parts.

Figure 7.17: Opening of Ghiselin's *Missa De les armes*[552]

The first four notes and rhythms in Ghiselin's Kyrie are identical to the opening of Brumel's superius (shown in Figure 7.7). The rest of the phrase in Ghiselin's Mass is basically just transposed up a third with slight rhythmic variation. It is as though Ghiselin is responding to the content of Brumel's Mass based on the gamut diagram and its educational use for teaching solmization, mutation, and counterpoint. Ghiselin provides a subtle reworking that emphasizes the complexities of contemporary arguments around solmization practice and mutation. Ghiselin and Brumel, like many others, invest these elements with sanctity by placing them in the role traditionally reserved for chant, paving the way for the many hexachord Masses written by Catholic composers in the following centuries.

In addition to the appropriation of the term "hexachord" as an expansion of the tetrachords of the Greek Greater Perfect System, many *scala* diagrams of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries grafted the tetrachords of the *enchiriadis* tradition onto the gamut of

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[552] Ghiselin-Verbonnet, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Clytus Gottwald, vol. 1 (1961), 38.

hexachords and letter names in their *scala* diagrams.[553] David Cohen traces this merging of the tetrachords of the Greek Greater Perfect System with the *enchiriadis* tetrachords to a succession of the south German theorists from the eleventh century who created a system of modal theory.[554] This was not an easy match and required a certain amount of adjustment since the *enchiriadis* system encompossed four disjunct tetrachords (all of the same species consisting of tone-semitone-tone) plus two additional notes, resulting in eighteen notes (shown in Figure 7.18), while the traditional gamut contained twenty notes.

Figure 7.18: Notational system of the enchiriadis traditon for
Cohen, "Notes, Scales, and Modes" (2002).
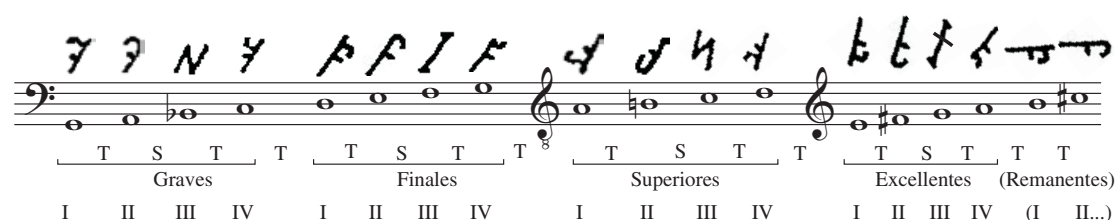
Figure 11.5   The *Enchiriadis* scale system and Daseian notation
(I = *protus*, II = *deuterus*, III = *tritus*, IV = *tetrardus*)

This resulted in a certain amount of variety in the way late fifteenth century theorists applied the terms in their diagrams of the *scala*.[555]

Hexachord as a Symbol of *Musica* in Humanistic Compendia of Knowledge

By the early sixteenth century the connections between the term and concept of the "hexachord" and the Greek tetrachord were present in a multitude of sources and were intended to be provided as an affirmation of the classical roots of modern musical practice and

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[553] Adam von Fulda, *De musica* (1490); Ornithoparchus, *Musice active micrologus* (Leipzig, 1517); Philomathes, *Musicorum libri quatuor* (Vienna, 1512); Ladislaus de Zalka, [Musica]; Monachus; Bonaventura da Brescia.
[554] Cohen, "Notes, Scales, and Modes" (2002), 351. Also see Crocker, "Hermann's Major Sixth" (1972), 33-4.
[555] See examples in Ornithoparchus, *Musice active micrologus* (Leipzig, 1517); Philomathes, *Musicorum libri quatuor* (Vienna, 1512). In his commentary on the canonic instructions for Josquin's *Vive le roy*, Leofranc Holford-Strevens revealed a similar instance of the conceptual conflation of the tetrachord and hexachord in a composition. He points out that in order to correctly interpret the canonic instructions the term "tetrachord" must be understood to be synonymous with musical concept of the "hexachord." *New Josquin Edition*, Commentary to Vol. 28, ed. by Fallows (2005), 438-9. The canonic instructions are reproduce in Figure 6.17.

the affirmation of the place of practical musical instruction in the Liberal Arts.[556] It is in the gloss to the section of Vitruvius' *De architectura* on Greek tetrachords that the Guidonian hand shown in Figure 7.3 is reproduced.[557] The hexachord also turns up in the musical section of compendia of the *studia humanitatis*, like the *Margarita philosophica* of Gregor Reisch, first published in 1503.[558]

Figure 7.19: Frontispiece to Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* (1503)[559]

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[556] Mengozzi bases this argument on a careful reading of the changes that Gaffurius made to his Practica musice but also asserts that this was not the intention of Guido. *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* (2010), 36.

[557] The chapter, entitled "De l'harmonia," and gloss begin on 109v. Available at: http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/vitruvius1536/0212.

[558] Ferguson, "The *Margarita philosophica* of Gregorius Reisch" (1929), 195. The first edition is viewable and downloadable online on *The Getty Research Institute*, web, https://archive.org.

[559] All images from Reisch *Margarita philosophica* (1503) were downloaded from the copy available through the *Getty Research Institute*, web, https://archive.org.

In the frontispiece to the first edition of Reisch's comprehensive treatise, *Musica* is depicted along with personifications of the six other liberal arts, between the Classical authorities, Aristotle and Seneca, on earth and the divine early church fathers, including Pope Gregory, in heaven (see Figure 7.19). *Musica* is identified both by the label on the band beneath the figures and also by her proximity to musical instruments—a lute at her feet and a harp in her hands.[560] This encyclopedia of humanistic learning, written as a dialogue between master and pupil, was reprinted ten times throughout the sixteenth century, in both authorized and unauthorized versions, and was used as a basic school text. As confessor to Emperor Maximilian I, Reisch was an influential figure and his treatise is representative of ideals of education in the early sixteenth century and contemporary perceptions of music as a cultural object.

The prominence of solmization and the hexachord in the section on music reinforces the centrality of these concepts to a general audience of literate people in the early sixteenth century. Book five, composed of fols. 97-110 from the total 301 folios for the entire volume, is dedicated to two separates tracts on music, divided into speculative and practical music.[561] The speculative section includes a large foldout diagram of the *scala*, pasted into the text in the chapter on the monochord, between fols. 101-2.[562]

Figure 7.20: Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* (1503), fol. 105v

A discussion of solmization is central to the second section or tract on practical music, which

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[560] Each personified liberal discipline can be identified by a representative object or gesture. For more information see Masi, "Iconography of the Liberal Arts" (1974).
[561] A similar division into speculative and practical is found in the sections on book 4 on arithmetic, book 6 on geometry, and ostensibly in book 7, which is divided into astronomy and astrology.
[562] The edition includes only three pasted in folded plates. The other two are a diagram of the invention of the minor semitone and a map of the world.

includes two full pages of examples of musical notation with mutation points indicated in the staff (shown in Figure 7.20). Although they are all presented on a staff of four lines, these examples use gradually changing clefs to explore the entire gamut, beginning in the low register and touching *gamma ut*, and slowly progressing up to dd on the top of the *scala generalis*. Letter names with their relevant solmization syllables are printed into the spaces between the staves and in the margins, indicating the intended pivot point for each small section. In the copy available from the Getty Research Institute, shown above, there are also hand-written annotations, scribbled into the staff lines and between the notes, showing the direction of mutation on a pivot point by reversing the order of the syllables for the notes within the staff. This indicates that one of the owners of this copy analyzed the solmization content and probably attempted to use the examples as vocal exercises. The printer of the text included textual and graphic marginal annotations, flaggin both key terms and citing authorities. On fol. 104, near the beginning of the practical music section, the margin contains a diagram of a four-line staff without a clef containing six notes ascending and descending, representing the hexachord of syllables discussed in the text (see Figure 7.21).[563]

Figure 7.21: Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* (1503), fol. 104

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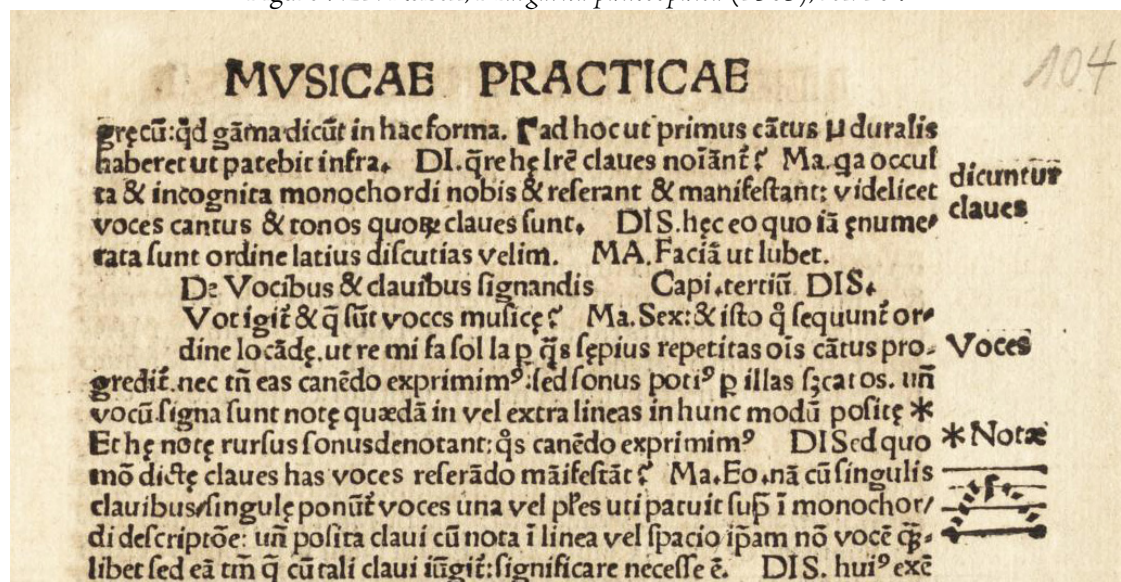
[563] Reisch does not use the term "hexachord" but instead refers to the seven groups of six "voces" as "ordine."

The hexachord is also the central object in the introductory, full-page illustration that begins the section on music, shown in Figure 7.22. In accord with the woodcut illustrations for the other liberal arts, this picture is dominated by the figure of the Lady *Musica*. She is holding a tablet containing a double staff featuring the ascending and descending form of the natural hexachord, right in the middle of the page. This double staff depicts the hexachord in two different notations, with mensural notation on the top and hufnagel notation on the bottom.[564] I believe that this is meant to depict the relationship between the sacred body of plainchant, represented by the hufnagel hexachord and music as a liberal discipline, represented by the mensural hexachord. Most chant sources from German-speaking lands from the fifteenth-century were notated in hufnagel notation, giving this representation of the liberal art of music both sacred and practical overtones. The act of presenting the systems of six notes in both notations employs the figure of the hexachord as a bridge between Christian musical traditions and humanistic learning.

Figure 7.22 portrays Pythagoras with his hammers and weights on a scale on the right side of the page, and a variety of instrumentalists representative of different earthly musical practices, including the poet with his lute, made clear with the label "poeta" in later versions of the woodcut.[565] Right in front of *Musica* the figure of a young boy, symbolically moving into the figurative musical classroom, carries both a stylus and paper or tablet in his right hand and, slightly ominously, a birch switch in the left, implying his status as a student and the disciplinary action he will receive should he fail to achieve.[566] Implicitly this illustration uses the hexachord to place modern musical practices and ecclesiastical pedagogy at the core of a contemporary understanding of music as a liberal art.

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[564] Although the descending form is not complete in the first edition, it is made clear and complete in later versions, which also include more figures and labels for the different figures.

[565] Multiple copies from different print runs and printers are available from the *Munich Digitization Center*, web, http://www.digital-collections.de.

[566] The student figure is also depicted in an illustration on fol. 3 entitled "Typus Gramatice." In this illustration the student is much younger and is being presented with a tablet containing the alphabet. It is interesting that students are most prominent in these two illustrations, reinforcing the connection between the grammar and music, the major subjects covered in the traditional educational model of the choir school or *maîtrise*.

Figure 7.22: Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* (1503), fol. 97

The prominent inclusion of the hexachord as a basic element of a liberal arts education ensured that a wide swath of society, particularly the wealthy merchant and gentlemen classes, would recognize it right away and associate it with musical practice and pedagogy. The multi-faceted meaning and popular appeal of the hexachord made it an excellent choice as a cantus firmus in a wide variety of motets in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Interpreting the Hexachordal cantus firmus in Motets Printed by Petrucci

As in Gaffurius's *scala* and the representations of the liberal discipline of *Musica* in music theoretical works and humanistic compendia of knowledge, references to classical learning are combined with ecclesiastical practice in some of the motets published by Petrucci, including Josquin's *Ut Phebi radiis*, Isaac's *O decus ecclesiae*, and Compere's *Virgo celestis*. Returning to these pieces now, having considered the way that the hexachord was represented

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and understood by one of the prime markets for Petrucci's prints, humanistically educated members of the upper middle class, can give us insight into the way that the hexachord functioned as a cantus firmus.

Josquin's *Ut Phebi radiis*

Josquin's motet is the only piece from this time period to present the hexachordal cantus firmus in canon.[567] Like the Mass settings by Brumel and Ghiselin, Josquin takes a comprehensive approach to the hexachord, presenting all three versions at the same time. The hexachord is stated in unvaried breves in the canonic cantus firmus at the time interval of a breve and the pitch interval of a fifth between the bassus and tenor, thus incorporating both the soft and natural hexachords. For the last statement at the end of the prima pars (shown in Figure 7.23) the altus enters a semibreve before the bassus with the hard version of the hexachord, also stated in unvaried breves. Thus using syncopation Josquin creates a rising 5-6 sequence that adds harmonic movement to the simultaneous performance of the three hexachords.

Figure 7.23: All three hexachords in Josquin, *Ut Phebi*, 56-62[568]

The superius voice remains silent for most of this passage, allowing the listener's attention to be drawn to the lower voices while they present all three of the standard hexachords simultaneously.

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[567] This device is used in a late-sixteenth century Mass by Curtio Mancini, Missa Papa Clemens VIII cum 6 vocibus. In this mass the hexachordal cantus firmus is not notated, but must be realized through canonic instructions. Though there is a canon of leaping 4ths in the Ghiselin mass, it is not a hexachord that is treated canonically.
[568] Elders, *New Josquin Edition* (2009), vol. 25.

The text of *Ut phebi* is also based on solmization syllables. Each poetic line begins textually and musically with the same syllables presented by the tenor and bassus.

Figure 7.24: Text for Josquin, *Ut Phebi radiis*

	PRIMA PARS		SECUNDA PARS
1	**Ut** Phebi radiis soror obvia sidera luna		**La**tius in numerum canit id quoque celica turba,
	Ut reges Salomon sapientis nomine cunctos,		**Lasso le**ge ferens eterna munera mundo:
	Ut remi pontum querentum velleris aurum,	10	**La sol fa** ta mina clara prelustris in umbra,
	Ut remi faber instar habens super aera pennas,		**La sol fa mi** tana de matre recentior ortus,
5	**Ut remi fas sol**vaces traduccere merces,		**La sol fa mi re** ta quidem na non violata,
	Ut remi fas sola Petri currere prora,		**La sol fa mi re ut** rore ta na Geodeon quo.
	Sic super omne quod regnas, O virgo Maria.	14	Rex, O Christe Jesu nostri deus alte memento.

This constraint results in some dubious and at time incomprehensible meanings, particularly in the second half where the syllables are presented in reverse order, from la to ut.[569] The motet is further shaped by its hexachordal content because Josquin sets each occurrence of the solmization syllables in the text of the upper voices to the corresponding notes in one of the three hexachords. This strict imposition of the hexachord, as a structuring element in both the tenor and in the imitative texture of the two upper voices, saturates the motet and makes it impossible for the listener or singer to ignore Josquin's impressive manipulation of the most basic element of music pedagogy and his formidable role as the work's creator.

Although the meaning of the text is only vaguely discernible, it is clear that the poet, possibly Josquin or an acquaintance, was enthusiastically mixing standard Christian icons with classical references (shown in bold Figure 7.25).[570] Supplications are made to Mary and Jesus respectively in the final lines of the two halves, but references to Apollo and key stories from Greek mythology, like Jason and Daedalus, add depth to solmization laiden texts. The reference to the golden fleece of Jason from line 3 of the prima pars returns in the secunda pars as the fleece of Gideon (shown in line 13 of Figure 7.24), again blending Christian and

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[569] Leofranc Holford-Strevens has told me that he does not believe that there is a precise translation, but that the game of completing the descending hexachord was the more important goal. For another interpretation of the text see van Benthem, "A Waif, a Wedding and a Worshipped Child" (1987).

[570] Klaas van der Heide argues for attributing the text to Jean Molinet on the basis of a similar use of solmization syllables in a poem in praise of a musician. See van der Heide, "New Claims for a Burgundian Origin" (2005), 21, and Molinet, *Les faictz et dictz*, ed. Dupire (1932), 804-5 for the text. I think that the use of solmization syllables for poetic effect was a more widespread phenomenon, with examples from Poliziano in Italy among many others. The meaning of the secunda pars is so obscure that I have chosen not to include a translation. The translation that is used the most often, also in the NJE, is that of Virginia Woods Callahan from "The Riddle of the Text Resolved" (1979).

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Classical symbols, similar to the way the tetrachord and hexachord were blended in music theory texts.[571]

Figure 7.25: Classical and Christian Elements in Josquin, *Ut Phebi*

1	Ut **Phebi** radiis soror obvia sidera **luna**	As the **Moon**, sister of **Phoebus**, rules with her rays the stars in her path
	Ut reges Salomon sapientis nomine cunctos,	As Solomon rules all kings in the name of the wise,
	Ut remi pontum querentum **velleris aurum,**	As the oars of those in quest of the **golden fleece** rule the sea
	Ut remi **faber** instar habens super aera **pennas,**	As the artificer (**Daedalus**), having **wings** instead of an oar, rules the upper air,
5	Ut remi fas solvaces traduccere merces,	As it is the task of the oar to convey perishable wares,
	Ut remi fas sola Petri currere prora,	As it is the destiny of Peter to navigate by means of one Ship
	Sic super omne quod regnas, O virgo Maria.	So thou, O virgin Mary, rulest over all that is.

Although the Moon is not necessarily a Classical symbol, the text emphasizes her relationship to Phoebus, representative of the sun, implicitly evoking astrology and the concept of celestial harmony. Celestial harmony is most famously depicted on the frontispiece of Gaffurius's *Practica musice*, another diagram that combines ecclesiastical and classical elements.[572] Gaffurius adapted his frontispiece illustration (shown in Figure 7.26) from a diagram in Ramos's *Musica practica* of 1482. In the woodcut from Gaffurius, Apollo reigns over the celestial bodies and the modes, lute in hand, while angelic musicians play string instruments perched atop the clouds. Ramos derived his discussion and diagram from Boethius and Martianus Capella, citing them in his lenthy discussion of the topic. Gaffurius, however, does not give Ramos credit for his contribution, perhaps because of their conflict and enmity, discussed previously.

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[571] The implications of the reference to the golden fleece have been the most discussed feature of this work. See van Benthem, "A Waif, a Wedding and a Worshipped Child" (1987) and Prizer, "Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries" (1985).

[572] For more information on this woodcut and its use in Gaffurius's later treatise, *De Harmonica Musicorum Instrumentorum Opus* (1518), see Haar, "The frontispiece of Gafori's *Practica musicae*" (1998).

Figure 7.26: Frontispiece from Gaffurius's *Practica musice*[573]
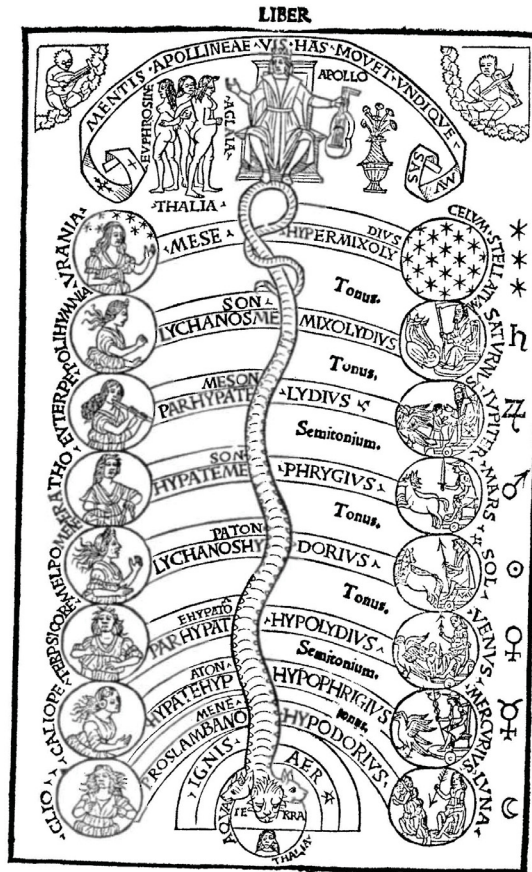
Isaac's *O decus ecclesiae*

Although only fragments of the text of Isaac's motet remain, making it impossible to discover textual references to the Classical learning we see in Josquin's motet, the relationship between the hexachordal tenor and bassus does seem to emphasize the continuity of Greek theory and ecclesiastical practice. The carefully constructed symmetry of the hexachordal tenor (shown at the top of Figure 7.27) communicates an ideal of ordered, ecclesiastical pedagogy and the glorified figure of Guido. In the secunda pars Isaac uses temporal displacement to highlight the relationship of the tenor with another voice, the Pythagorean bass. In each of the segments boxed in red in Figure 7.27 the bassus sings one of the intervals beginning and ending

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[573] Image scanned from Gaffurius, *Practica* music (1496), facsimile edition (1979).

on c that are derived from some of the basic superparticular ratios (octave, fifth, fourth, and second) against a statement of the hexachordal cantus firmus.[574]

Figure 7.27: Tenor and Bassus from Isaac, *O decus ecclesiae*, secunda pars (Berlin 40021)
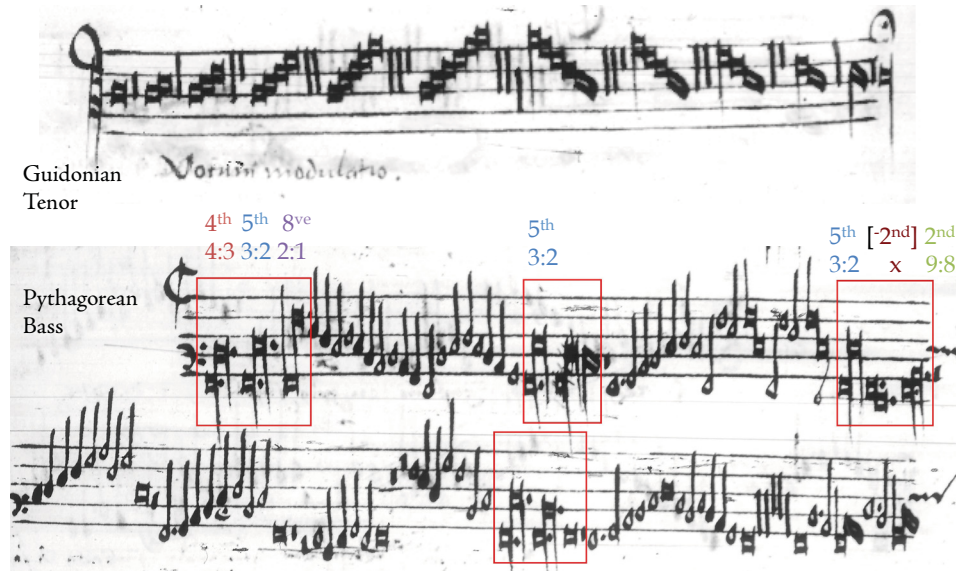
Each of these intervals was integral to introductory discussions of music theory through the story of Pythagorus's discovery of the connection between ratios and intervals, discussed in Chapter 6 in relation to Busnoys's *In hydraulis*.[575] Except the minor semitone inthe third box, all of these intervals were included by Busnoys in the tenor and text of his motet in honor of Ockeghem. For students being introduced to music in their studies of the Liberal Arts, the superparticular ratios were clear evidence of the mathematical basis of music and celestial harmony. Isaac draws attention to these voices by writing the bassus and tenor in significantly longer note values than the other voices, separating them aurally and highlighting their function as the compositional basis for the other voices, which are composed around them.

When the bassus is not singing with the tenor it is written in the same note values as the other voices. In these sections the bassus tends to define hexachordal and tetrachordal figures. Just after the first red box in Figure 7.27, the bassus sings a series of three descending tetrachords, a standard figure in Renaissance music, but significant in this particular context. Just before and after the second red box it has a descending and then an ascending natural

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[574] He clearly includes both a major and a minor second and it is impossible to know his exact tuning, but the implication of superparticular radios is still evident.

[575] See Figure 6.20 and Figure 6.21 for the text and constructed tenor of Busnoys's motet.

hexachord. Finally the second staff opens with a statement of the hard hexachord, followed quickly by two more natural hexachords, so a total of five lines defining a hexachord in two staves of music. As Josquin did, Isaac permeates his motet with basic elements of music theory. Like the marginal annotations in Gaffurius's *Practica musice* and Reisch's humanistic text, Isaac is stating that contemporary ecclesiastical pedagogy as described by Guido relies on the aural principles and ratios defined by the Greek philosophers.

Compere's *Virgo celesti* and Guido's hymn

The text of Compere's *Virgo celesti* lacks the overt classical references of Josquin's highly original text, setting a fairly standard Marian prayer. Likewise, the overt reference to Greek theory in the structure of Isaac's bassus is missing. Instead the connection between discussions of theory and musical practice are brought out in Compere's motet through the combination of two cantus firmi with associations to music pedagogy and the historical figure of Guido. In addition to the three statements of the hexachord in the tenor secundus, this figure is also stated at the beginning and end of the motet in the altus voice. The first motive that the altus sings is the ascending form of the soft hexachord (see Figure 7.28), just like the altus from the Kyrie I in Brumel's Mass.

Figure 7.28: Hexachord statements in the altus of Compere's *Virgo celesti*, m. 1-4[576]

This statement in semibreves by the highest sounding voice in the texture brings the hexachord to the awareness of singers, listeners, and patrons before the first statement in the

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[576] Scanned from *Canti B*, ed. by Hewitt (1967), 92.

tenor. In the partbook fragments from St. Gall (SGallS 463) the notation of the hexachord at the beginning of altus includes hemiola coloration, and hence after the first normal semibreve there is series of four black semibreves and a black breve (shown in the box at the beginning of the first staff in Figure 7.29). These darkened notes emphasize the hexachord visually.

Figure 7.29: Hexachords in the altus of Compere's *Virgo celesti* from SGallS 463[577]

At the end of this short motet the altus sings the descending form of the same hexachord, this time presented as two tetrachords, shown within another box in the figure above as well as in Figure 7.30. Set against the final sustained d la of the tenor this descending hexachord brings closure to this extremely short, pithy motet.

Figure 7.30: Hexachord statements in the altus of Compere's *Virgo celesti*, m. 24-28[578]

The other cantus firmus is a paraphrased version of a tune associated with the famous hymn for St. John, *Ut queant laxis*, presented in the tenor primus. The tune is not the same as

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[577] Pages from the fascimle of SGallS 463 or the *Tschudi Songbook* were downloaded from the website *E-codices: Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland*, web, http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/.
[578] Scanned from *Canti B*, ed. by Hewitt (1967), 93.

the one Guido used for teaching solmization syllables, which does not seem to have been widely used in the liturgy of St. John in the Middle Ages. Although the tune for *Ut queant laxis* that Compere used in this setting was associated with other hymn texts its inclusion in a motet that also foregrounds a hexachord suggests that the composer was using it to make a reference to Guido. I know of two other works from the sixteenth century that combine the hexachord with *Ut queant laxis*: Festa's "Counterpoint 115" and Lassus's short five-voice setting of the hymn, *Ut queant laxis* (shown in Table 7.6).[579]

Table 7.6: Hexachord pieces with versions of *Ut queant laxis*

Author	Title	Date	Genres	Tune
Compere, Loyset	*Virgo celesti*	by 1502	cantus firmus motet	Alternate hymn tune
Festa, Costanzo	Counterpoint 115	1530s	textless counterpoint	Alternate hymn tune
Lasso, Orlando di	*Ut queant laxis*	by 1582	cantus firmus motet	Guido's tune

All three works are brief settings, each consisting of a single pars only. In Festa's work, part of an extensive collection of short, semi-didactic pieces exploring different facets of contrapuntal practice, the tune used is not Guido's melody, but closer to the one used in Compere's motet.[580] In the brief setting of the hymn text by Lassus, the tenor dramatically intones the solmization syllables at the beginning of each phrase of the text, with the other voices declaiming the rest of the text homorhythmically, but not utilizing the chant tune (shown in Figure 7.31). In the final phrase the tenor sings twice sings a falling fifth, which is both a paraphrase of the final phrase of Guido's tune (shown at the bottom of Figure 7.32) and completes the descending hexachord, like the altus in Compere's motet. In all of these pieces the pedagogical implications of the hexachord are linked to ecclesiastical practice by pairing it with the hymn of St. John, evoking the figure of Guido and emphasizing the musical medium.

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[579] For an edition of the Festa see *Counterpoints*, ed. by Agee (1997), 228-9, commentary on 286. Agee points out that the title counterpoint is probably incorrect since all the pieces in BolC C36, a collection of textless compositions, are labled with numerical designation with feminine endings, while *contraponto* is masculine. For Lassus's motet see *The Complete Motets* 12, ed. Oettinger (2006), 98-99.

[580] In the commentary Agee incorrectly cites the tune paraphrased in the second cantus voice as the one from the *Liber Usualis* (1961), 1504, or Guido's version. It is clearly much closer to the tune used in Compere's motet. Festa, *Counterpoints*, ed. by Agee (1997), 286.

Figure 7.31: Opening phrases of Lassus, *Ut queant laxis*, m. 1-5[581]

Figure 7.32: Final phrase of *Liber* tune compared to Lassus, *Ut queant laxis*, tenor m. 17-22[582]

Conclusion

In these motets and Masses based on the hexachord the composers used multiple compositional devices to draw attention to their clever use of the chief emblem of music pedagogy as a cantus firmus. Through the theoretical treatises of Gaffurius and his contemporaries the hexachord had become symbolic of the link between Greek theory and contemporary ecclesiastical practice. Hexachord-based compositions provide an interesting view of the way that musicians were responding and reacting to current debates and trends in music theoretical discourse. When Brumel presented the entire gamut as a cantus firmus he valorized this tool as a central element for teaching both monophonic and polyphonic music, through reference to mensural practice in the Credo and simple counterpoint exercises in the opening of the Kyrie. Ghiselin built upon the ideas presented in Brumel's work, expanding his

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[581] Scanned from *The Complete Motets* 12, ed. Oettinger (2006), 98.
[582] Scanned from *The Complete Motets* 12, ed. Oettinger (2006), 99. *Liber Usualis* (1961), 1504.

hexachord into tetrachords and the kind of repetitive cantus firmus patterns commonly employed in counterpoint instruction. In their hexachordal motets Josquin and Isaac both drew upon and elaborated the argument for the classical roots of the hexachord, Josquin through allusions to mythology and astrology, and Isaac through the superimposition of the hexachordal tenor over the Pythagorean super particular ratios in the bass. As a cantus firmus, the hexachord should be understood primarily as a symbol of the discipline of music and the musical profession more generally.

Figure 7.33: Title page from Lanfranco, *Scintille di musica* (Brescia, 1533)[583]

> SPARKS OF MUSIC by Giovan Maria Lanfranco from Tetentio Parmigiano, which show
>
> how to read plainchant and polyphony, the shapes of note values, the proportions,
>
> the modes, counterpoint, and the division of the monochord, with the
>
> tuning of various instruments, from which is born
>
> a way, whence each person can learn
>
> by himself the syllables
>
> Ut Re Mi Fa Sol La. La Sol Fa Mi Re Ut.
>
> Translation by Julie Cumming

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[583] Scanned from facsimile edition 1970.

The hexachord was a highly recognizable tool of the musical trade, invested with meaning for both musical and non-musical consumers. Hexachord-based motets and Masses promoted music's place in the *studia humanitatis*, by presenting a musical symbol used in encyclopedic works of humanistic learning, like the *Margarita philosophica* of Gregor Reisch, as a structural principal and making it recognizable to an amateur viewing the score. This concept is exemplified by the format of the title page of Lanfranco's *Scintille di musica* (Brescia, 1533), a music textbook in Italian, marketed to amateurs. It it layout, shown in Figure 7.33, the text is arranged into the shape of an hourglass. The upper portion contains a list of the technical terms and the musical knowledge (translated at the bottom of Figure 7.33) to be presented in the following pages. The edges of the empty lower portion are defined by the syllables of the hexachord. The "voce di *Ut re mi fa sol la*," made highly visible and symbolic here on the front page, represent the future pleasure and enjoyment that a reader and potential buyer can anticipate when they have purchased this text and invested the effort and time needed to learn its contents. Through the familiar shape of the hourglass and the prominent display of the ascending and descending hexachord, music is marketed as a valued pastime to the upper and upper-middle class consumers of printed music theory texts.

Certainly a knowledgeable, musical patron was likely to be interested in hexachords and solmization syllables as is attested to by the account of a Mantuan diplomat visiting Ercole I d'Este. He writes that he found Ercole "in the midst of several singers," where he was singing "not songs but *la sol fa* on books of Masses for his amusement."[584] While this may have been amusement for Ercole, these compositions were special kinds of musical prayers for composers who were constructing and reconstructing their place as professionals and intellectuals in the early modern world.

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[584] Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara* (2009), 150-1.

Chapter 8:   Conclusion

Tu sola consola: Memorial and Professional Identity in Josquin's Prayer Motet

Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo nutrix* is perhaps the ultimate musical prayer for musicians and the perfect culmination of this study of self-referential features in music of the late-fifteenth century.[585] It merges textual and musical elements discussed in Parts I and II of this dissertation in a single motet. Josquin's motet combines a personal acrostic (as in Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar*, see Chapter 2), a universal plea for musicians (as in the anonymous *Decantamus in hac die*, see Chapter 3), and a cantus firmus that is emblematic of both the Virgin Mary (patron saint of musicians, see Chapters 1 and 2) and the musical "tools of the trade" (as in the Masses of Ockeghem and Brumel, see Chapter 6 and Chapter 7). As Thomas Brothers has pointed out, there are significant similarities between Josquin's *Illibata* and the two self-referential motets by Busnoys, *In hydraulis* and *Anthoni usque*, similarities which Brothers attributes to their genre. Bothers argues that these three motets all bear "Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition," also the title of his article.[586] I propose, however, that it was more than just an issue of genre, but also a self-conscious effort to evoke the power of a tradition of musical works for the spiritual and professional benefit of living composers.

The text of the two partes of Josquin's well-known motet are clearly differentiated in content and style, a fact that has bothered modern musicologists. The prima pars of *Illibata* incorporates an acrostic indicating the name of a musician, similar to the names included in other musicians' motets (as an acrostic in the motetus voice of Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar* in Chapter 2 and the initial and final text phrases of Busnoys's *Anthoni usque limina* in Chapter 3).[587] The text for the prima pars (shown in Figure 8.1) forms two stanzas of six decasyllabic lines, rhymed aabaab and then bbcbbc. In contrast the text of the secunda pars (shown in

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[585] For a few of the many discussions of *Illibata de virgo nutrix* see Antonowycz, "*Illibata dei virgo*" (1976); Sherr, "Josquin's Roman Style" (1988); Macey, "*Illibata dei virgo nutrix* and Galeazzo Maria Sforza" (1994); Clutterham, "Dating Josquin's Enigmatic Motet" (1997); Rodin, *Josquin's Rome* (2012).
[586] (1991), 37-45.
[587] Shown in bold font in Figure 8.1, this acrostic was discovered by Albert Smijers in 1925, and established the composer's preferred spelling of his own name as "Josquin Des Prez." See "Een kleine bijdrage over Josquin" (1925), 313–19.

Figure 8.2) divides easily into three basic sections, an ABA' form. The two A sections are typical of rhymed liturgical poetry, following the same poetic form as the *Ave Maria* prayer (5+5+5 syllables), and each five-syllable segment ends with one of the two rhymes of the angelic salutation, -um or –a. The B section is less metrical and more idiosyncratic, but is likewise reminiscent of devotional and liturgical texts, including a quote from the Song of Songs.

The text of the prima pars blends pseudo-classical imagery with Christian figures, similar to the *scala* diagram in Gaffurius's *Practica musice*, and references to the act of musical prayer, as in the texts of many of the musicians' motets and laments discussed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. The letters of the acrostic and important words are highlighted in bold in Figure 8.1, and classical references are underlined.

Figure 8.1: Text for Josquin, *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*, prima pars

	Illibata dei virgo nutrix	Spotless virgin, nurse of God;
	Olympi tu regis o genetrix	o you mother of the <u>Olympian King</u>,
	Sola parens verbi puerpera,	who alone gave birth to the Word,
	Que fuisti **Eva** reparatrix,	who has made good the sin of **Eve**,
5	**V**iri nephas tuta mediatrix,	and are the mediator for man's sin,
	Illud clara luce dat scriptura.	as the scriptures clearly tell us.
	Nata nati alma genitura	Born of your son to be his mother,
	Des ut <u>leta musarum factura</u>	grant that the <u>joyous handiwork of the Muses</u>
	Prevaleat ymis et sit '**ave**'[588]	shall prevail in our hymns and **be like an 'Ave'**
10	**R**oborando sonos, ut **guttura**	strengthened by sounds, and that our **throats**
	Efflagitent, laude teque pura	may call out to you with pure praises
	Zelotica arte clamet '**ave**.'	and may with zealous art shout: **'Ave'.**

Translation adapted from Elders[589]

Mary is the mother of "the Olympian King" (line 2), Jupiter as Christ, and she also repairs the sin of Eve (line 4). Music and singing are invoked in a pseudo-classical context and as a means of prayer. First, Mary is asked to grant the singers success in the "joyous handiwork of the Muses" (line 8), expressed in the singers' prevailing "hymns," perhaps indicating specifically the act of writing music or composing, which is followed directly by a reference to the act of

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[588] In Petrucci's *Motetti a cinque* the words "sit ave" are replace by "suave." The version in Petrucci could easily have been a typographical error ("it" replaced by "u"). Since Jesse Rodin has convincingly argued that this piece was composed while Josquin was in Rome (*Josquin's Rome* (2012), 93-4), I accept the VatS 15 text as the correct version.

[589] Commentary to Vol. 24, *New Josquin Edition* (2007), 32.

singing ("throats call out to you," lines 10-11). That these "hymns," the work of the Muses, are intended to be understood as written music, is reinforced by the presence of two references to the bible, both as "the Word" (line 3) and "scripture" (line 6). Both of these references use the bible as a means to establish the authority of a written text. The first equates Christ with the written "Word" (*verbum)* and the second uses the Word/Christ to establish Mary's efficacy as a mediator.

The most elaborate textual construction is where the singers ask for aid in the act of performing musical prayers in lines 10-12. These phrases highlight the physical act of singing by asking the Virgin to consider specifically their throats (*guttura)*, the source of both their voices and their praises of her. As in Compere's *Sile fragor* (Chapter 3), this motet asks for strengthened sounds and voices in the context of both Marian prayer and the Muses (see lines 4 and 6 of Figure 3.20). In addition to highlighting the throat, these lines by Josquin are full of references to sound: "sonos," "efflagitent," "clamet," and possibly also "laude." The final line of text is the highpoint of this pars, describing the ideal action of the singers: zealous expression of the angel Gabriel's salutation, the "Ave." As in Compere's *Omnium bonorum plena* (Chapter 3), Josquin refers to the "Ave" as a symbol for musical offerings to Mary in lines 9 and 12.[590] The idea of Mary as the antidote for Eve's sin in the garden is common in late-Medieval Marian prayers. Medieval texts allude to the fact that when read backwards, the name "Eva" becomes the greeting used by Gabriel, "Ave," another sort of word puzzle, like the solmization puns and acrostics discussed in chapter 2, 6, and 7.[591]

The secunda pars is an expansion of this single, but richly symbolic word "Ave," and represents the idealized act of musical prayer described in the prima pars, a sort of a song within a song. There is no convincing acrostic to compliment that of the prima pars.[592] Instead

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[590] For the use of the *Ave* as a symbol for musical devotions see Hatter, "Reflecting on the Rosary" (2012).

[591] In the discussion after my paper for the special session "Notation as Mode of Thinking" at the CESR, organized by Katelijne Schiltz and Wolfgang Fuhrmann, all the the participants had a fruitful discussion of the serious implications of ludic elements in fifteenth century culture. I look forward to the completion of Katelijne's book, *Music and Riddle Culture in the Renaissance* (forthcoming 2015), for a thorough discussion of various aspects of this topic.

[592] For the debate around the acrostic of the prima pars and proposed acrostics for the secunda see Smijers, "Een kleine bijdrage over Josquin" (1925); van den Borren, "Une hypothèse concernant le lieu de naissance de Josquin" (1957); Titcomb, "The Josquin Acrostic" (1963); Clutterham, "Dating Josquin's Enigmatic Motet" (1997). In

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of an acrostic, each textual line begins with a greeting addressed to Mary—always *Ave* in the A

sections of the secunda pars and *Vale* or *Salve* in the B section.

Figure 8.2: Text for Josquin, *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*, secunda pars

A	**Ave** virginum decus hominum, coelique porta.	Hail, adornment of virgins and men, door to heaven.
	Ave lilium flos humilium, virgo decora.	Hail, o lily, bud of humility, gracious virgin.
	—	—
B	**Vale** ergo tota pulchra ut luna, electa <u>ut sol</u> clarissima gaude.	Greetings therefore, completely beautiful as the moon, elect <u>as the sun,</u> most brilliant one, rejoice.
	Salve tu sola consola amica <u>la mi la</u> canentes in tua laude.	Hail to you, sole beloved, console them, who sing <u>"la mi la"</u> in your praise!
	—	—
A'	**Ave** Maria, mater virtutum veniae vena,	Hail Mary, mother of virtues, vein of forgiveness.
	Ave Maria, gratia plena, dominus tecum.	Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with you.
	Ave Maria, mater virtutum. Amen	Hail Mary, mother of virtues. Amen
		Translation adapted from Elders[593]

Perhaps this is an extension of the word play on EVA–AVE, discussed above, as both "Vale"

and "Salve" include the letters of the word "Ave" and are prominent in other important Marian

prayers, like the *Salve Regina.* John Milsom has noted that in the A' section of the secunda pars

"the text suddenly assumes a new level of directness, exchanging its previously rich humanistic

language for a simple trope of the *Ave Maria,* a prayer as familiar to fifteenth-century

Christians as the Lord's Prayer itself."[594] In the second line of the A' section, the entire first

phrase of the *Ave Maria* prayer is finally quoted in full, fulfilling the allusion that began with

the first mention of "Eve" in line for of the prima pars (see Figure 8.1).

The first line of the B section is from Song of Songs 6:9, but is also used in a well-

known Magnificat antiphon, *Virgo prudentissima.* The *Virgo prudentissima* chant was regularly

used as the basis for polyphonic compositions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[595] It

reinforces some of the Classical imagery of the prima pars, invoking astrology through the

moon and the sun. In contrast to most of the text of the secunda pars, which resembles generic

devotional material, the second line of the B section is certainly unique to this motet because it

addition Willem Elders includes an alternate acrostic that he credits to Herbert Kellman in his Commentary to
Vol. 24, *New Josquin Edition* (2007), 31.

[593] Commentary to Vol. 24, *New Josquin Edition* (2007), 32.

[594] "Motets for Five or More Voices" (2000), 285.

[595] For a discussion of musical settings of this prayer and its association with Maximilian I, see Rothenberg, "The
Most Prudent Virgin and the Wise King" (2011).

asks for aid for those who sing "la mi la," the solmization syllables for the notes of the motto that forms the tenor of this very motet. The vowels of these syllables are the same as those in the name of the patroness of musicians, "Maria." Like many of the other pieces discussed in this dissertation, this phrase ("la mi la canentes") draws attention to the act of singing and to the specialized knowledge and tools that musicians use in the act of musical prayer.

The contrast in style between the texts of the prima and secunda partes is reinforced by a contrast in musical style, including different approaches to mensuration and text setting. The prima pars is entirely in O and also uses major or perfect modus, an unusual and esoteric practice indicated by the notation of long rests as consisting of three breves, rather than the more usual arrangement of long rests representing two breves (see Figure 8.3).[596] Just as the classical references and structure of the text for the prima pars heighten its style, the conscious evocation of perfect modus broadens the awareness of temporal relationships in this section. In contrast, the secunda pars begins in cut C, the most common mensuration sign at the turn of the sixteenth century, resulting in all the voices functioning on the same basic temporal level. Similarly, while the prima pars displays markedly sinuous, melismatic contours and lengthy duos, the secunda pars is primarily syllabic, built of short homorhythmic duos, evoking the texture of simple devotional music like laude, and reflecting the unpretentious prayer text.

Figure 8.3: Interpretive levels of the cantus firmus of Josquins, *Illibata dei virgo*[597]

Source of soggetto cavato:	Ma-ri-a	Ma-ri-a	Ma-ri-a
Syllables from VatS 15:			
-soft hexachord on F	La mi la	[sol re sol]	La mi la…
-fictive hexachord on B♭		La mi la	
Letter names:	d a d		d a d
		g D g	

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[596] See the discussion in perfect modus and modus disposition in Brothers, "Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition" (1991).

[597] Image scanned from microfilm of 1508¹, *Motetti a cinque libro primo*, fol. 21r (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek).

In *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*, Josquin fused the text and musical setting by incorporating solmization syllables emblematically into the basic structures of the motet and referring to them in the text and music of all the voices in the B section of the secunda pars. The cantus firmus (shown in Figure 8.3) consists of an ostinato figure on the notes d-a-d and g-D-g. The tenor from Petrucci's *Motetti a cinque* (shown at the top of Figure 8.3) shows the basic skeleton for the entire prima pars, consisting of three groups of six perfect long rests and three perfect long notes, and reinforcing the implied grouping by perfect maximas, longs and breves. In VatS 15 the syllables, "la mi la" are written beneath each reiteration of this motto, regardless of whether the notes are d-a-d from the soft hexachord, or g-D-g from the fictive hexachord on B♭.[598] Based on the Marian subject of the text and Josquin's use of *soggetto cavato* in other pieces, including both the *Missa Hercules dux Ferrariae* and *Missa La sol fa re mi*, this motive is generally understood to derive from the vowels of the name of the patron saint of musicians, "Maria."[599]

The inclusion of solmization syllables as the basic structure of both the humanistically influenced prima pars and the more familiar, prayer-based secunda pars highlights the shared reliance of the community of musicians on practical music and the role of the tools of the trade in the professional and spiritual advancement of musicians. The centrality of music as a topic for this piece is underscored by two places in the B section where solmization syllables, usually confined to the tenor, escape into the text and music of the other voices.[600] The first instance (shown in Figure 8.4 A) is during the first phrase of the B section of the secunda pars at the words "tota pulchra ut luna, electa **ut sol**." Beginning with the superius, all the voices except the tenor sing G-D or an ascending *ut sol* in the hard hexachord, a musical pun on the words, "ut sol" or "as the sun."[601] The tenor simultaneously sings the "la mi la" motto in the same rhythmic values as the other voices, but in the soft hexachord. This little bit of text is from the

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[598] Rather than the alternate solmization as of "sol re sol" in the natural hexachord on C.

[599] Sherr, " Josquin's Roman Style" (1988). Patrick Macey argues that this refers to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, his patron in Milan; "*Illibata dei virgo nutrix* and Galeazzo Maria Sforza" (1994), 197.

[600] Jesse Rodin has pointed out another spot where the ostinato is stated in another voice. With the final statement of the cantus firmus in the prima pars, the bassus sing the la-mi-la motive in shorter note values, m. 76-78. Unlike the examples in the secunda pars, however, this does not coincide with the solmization syllables in the text. *Josquin's Rome* (2012), 65-66.

[601] Reminiscent of the "ut" solmization puns in the triplum of Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar*.

Song of Songs 6:9, but it is also part of the *Virgo prudentissima* Magnificat antiphon, a text

commonly set to music. Although the chant melody of *Virgo prudentissima* does not have a G-

D (*ut* sol) at these words, in their motets based on this tune both Josquin and Isaac abandon

the chant to exploit the potential for a musical pun, aligning these syllables with their musical

equivalent.[602]

Figure 8.4: Solmization syllables in all the voices of Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo*[603]

At the second phrase of the B section, beginning with the word "Salve" (see Figure 8.2),

when Josquin asks Mary to save the singers who sing "la mi la," the ostinato figure explodes out

of the tenor. In Figure 8.4 B the Contratenor I and II and the Bassus join the tenor, singing the

"la mi la" motto and pervading the texture with this reference to solmization, a tool of basic

music pedagogy. The superius, though it is provided with the same text as the other voices, is

excluded from the solmization pun on "la mi la," but it turns out to be making its own

statement about solmization through repetitive statements of the descending soft hexachord

(shown in green rectangles in Figure 8.5). Just before the other voices perform the "la mi la,"

the superius sings an asending gg-dd fifth, the same "ut sol" from Figure 8.4 A. It then mutates

on the dd *sol* to *la*, and sings a descending soft hexachord (see the red rectangle at end of staff 3

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[602] Beginning in m. 175 of Isaac's *Virgo prudentissima*, transcribed in *Weltliche Werke*, ed. by Johannes Wolf, vol. 32 (1959); and m. 68 in Josquin's motet, ed. by Elders, vol. 25, *New Josquin Edition* (2009).
[603] Note values are halved in this transcription by Loren Carle. You can find these two excerpts in m. 118-21 and m. 130-35 of the edition by Elders in the *New Josquin Edition*, vol. 24, (2007).

in Figure 8.5). At the beginning of the B section of the text (shown in a purple rectangle at the end of the second staff of Figure 8.5), the superius line sings a descending *la-mi* (dd-aa) tetrachord in four semibreves, marking the beginning of the text line containing the first solmization pun. The repeated figure in the A' section (shown in blue rectangles) is a hexachord broken up into two tetrachords, almost exactly replicating the descending hexachord in the altus at the end of Compere's *Virgo celesti* (shown in Figure 7.29 and Figure 7.30). Like the superius in Senfl's *Fortuna ad voces musicales*, Josquin confines the hexachord to the top voice in the texture.[604] Thus all the voices participate in the solmization puzzle or pun that is set forth in the tenor.

Figure 8.5: Hexachords and tetrachords in Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo*, superius, 2nd pars[605]

Petrucci's text underlay in *Motetti a cinque* brings out these points of intersection between solmization, text, and music in *Illibata* (shown in Figure 8.4), showing that it was meaningful to an early sixteenth century audience. The contratenor primus book has infrequent text underlay for the secunda pars, but he places both of these solmization puns in the appropriate spaces, shown in Figure 8.6. At the end of the final staff on folio 43^{v} the words "ut sol" (shown in in a pink rectangle) are carefully placed beneath the g-d, after a long segment

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[604] Could this, like the "ut"s in the triplum of Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar*, associate it with choirboys? Perhaps not at the Sistine chapel, where they did not use choirboys, but more generally. Senfl's motet is included in Appendix A, but was not discussed in this dissertation.

[605] From *Motetti a cinque (Venice, 1508)*, accessed through the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, web, http://www.onb.ac.at.

with no indications for the text. Similarly, on 44ʳ "la mi la" has been placed under D-A-D (in a green rectangle), in the middle of another section devoid of text.

Figure 8.6: Petrucci's *Motetti a cinque*, Contratenor primus, fol. 43v and 44r[606]
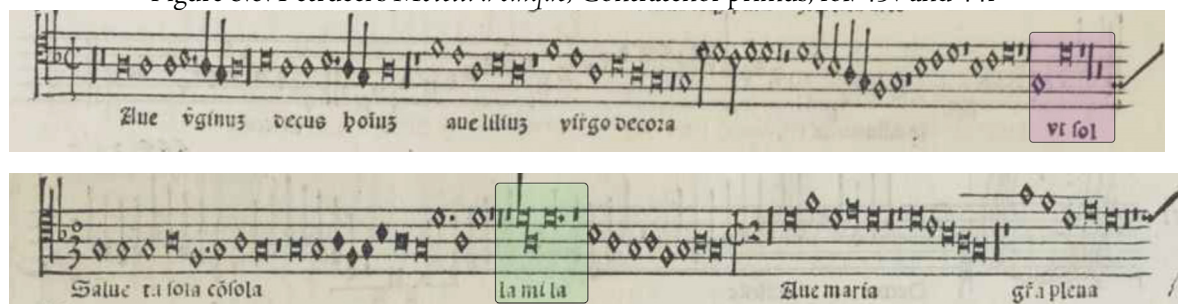
Thus, like the careful underlay and accidentals in both of the manuscript sources for *Omnium bonorum plena* (discussed in Chapter 3), we can see how another professional musician, Petrucci's music editor, responded to the self-referential content in a musical prayer for musicians', acknowledging this ludic element of the composition and bringing it to the awareness of subsequent readers and users of his edition. Bringing these solmization puns out in this manner is certainly aligned with the multiple publications that included compositions that displayed the hexachord as a tenor, discussed in chapter 7.

In this context the solmization content in Josquin's prayer text, "Salve tu **sola** con**sola** amica **la mi la** canentes in tua laude" (translated as "Hail to you, sole beloved, console them, who sing "la mi la" in your praise!"), functions on multiple symbolic levels:[607] 1) as a request for the singer or singers of the tenor line of this particular piece, which is the voice performing the "la mi la" ostinato; 2) as a prayer for all the performers, since at this point the "la mi la" motive and hexachord have pervaded the text and texture; 3) and, since the symbolic cantus firmus stands for "Maria" the patron saint of musicians, this can also be interpreted as a universal request for the entire community of musicians. As creators of enduring written musical Marian prayers, composers were master users of the tools of the musical trade, arranging them for the benefit of their own rememberance and for the benifit of their whole community.

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[606] Accessed through the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, web, http://www.onb.ac.at.
[607] As far as I can tell the "sola" is not realized in the musical setting.

Tinctoris and the *primi compositores*

In Chapter 19 of his *Complexus effectuum musices* (c. 1474-75) Johannes Tinctoris affirms the social and intellectual distinction between the ephemeral music of performance and the enduring art of what he calls the the *primi compositores*. In the first segment of text in Figure 8.7 Tinctoris provides a list of well-known musicians who have been "endowed with glory," spanning multiple generations in roughly chronological order from Dunstable to Obrecht.[608]

Figure 8.7: Excerpt from Ch. 19 of Tinctoris, *Complexus effectuum musices*

Nostro autem tempore, experti sumus quanti plerique musici gloria sint effecti. Quis enim Joannem Dunstaple Guillelmum Dufay, Egidium Binchois, Joannem Okeghem, Anthonium Busnois, Joannem Regis, Firminum Caron, Jacobum Carlerii, Robertum Morton, Jacobum Obrecht non novit.	In our time we have experienced how very many musicians have been endowed with glory. For who does not know John Dunstable, Guillaume Dufay, Gilles Binchois, Johannes Ockeghem, Antoine Busnoys, Johannes Regis, Firminus Caron, Jacob Carlier, Robert Morton, Jacob Obrecht?
Quis eos summis laudibus non prosequitur, quorum **compositiones per universum orbem divulgate,** dei templa, regum palatia, privatorum domos summa dulcedine replent.	Who does not accord them the highest praises, whose **compositions, spread throughout the whole world,** fill God's churches, kings' palaces, and private men's houses, with the utmost sweetness?
Traceo plurimos musicos eximiis opibus dignitatibusque donatos, quoniam et si honores ex hiis adepti sunt, **fame immortali** quam **primi compositores** sibi **extenderunt**, minime sunt conferendi.	I say nothing of the very many distinguished musicians who have been presented with outstanding wealth and dignities, for although they have obtained honours from them, these are not at all to be compared with the **immortal fame** that the **first composers** have **prolonged** for themselves.
Illud enim fortune, istud autem virtutis opus est. Unde Virgilius Oeneidos libro decimo: Stat sua cuique: dies breve et irreparabile tempus Omnibus est vite, sed **famam extendere factis.** Hoc virtutis opus."	The former [performer] belongs to fortune, but the latter [composer] to virtue. Whence Vergil, in the tenth book of the Aeneid, "Each has his appointed day; short and irretrievable is the span of life for all; but to **prolong fame by deeds**—that is the task of virtue."
From TML[609]	Translation from Wegman[610]

Wegman suggests that the inclusion of Obrecht in this list causes a little wrinkle in the dating of this treatise, since he was only a teenager in 1475, the date provided in the Prologue.[611] I suggest that it is further evidence of Tinctoris's desire to foreground the continuity of the

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[608] Caron, Carlier and Morton seem to be slightly out of a correct chronological order.
[609] *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum (TML)*, web, http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu.
[610] "Obrecht and Erasmus" (2011), 117.
[611] See "Obrecht and Erasmus" (2011), 117-21.

musical tradition, pointing both back to established masters of the past generation, like Dunstable and Binchois, who were remembered through their works, and also forward to Obrecht, a promising young practitioner, just beginning to find his compositional voice. Like the musicians' motets and laments discussed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, and the guild paintings of St. Luke, Tinctoris is reinforcing the continuity of the creative tradition between different generations.

It becomes clear in the following text that the glory and universal acclaim accorded to these musicians is on account of their "compositions spread through the whole world" (shown in bold in the second section of Figure 8.7). This is a direct reference to the portability and durability of written music, as opposed to the ephemerality of musical performance. He goes on to say that in contrast to the glory and gifts of Fortuna, accorded to many famous "musicos" or performers, the "primi compositores" have established a more enduring fame through musical works made by their own hands. These scores can be transported across Europe to "fill God's churches, kings' palaces, and private men's houses, with the utmost sweetness." His point is reinforced by the quote from a Classical authority, Book X of Virgil's *Aeneid*, "Each has his appointed day; short and irretrievable is the span of life for all; but to **prolong fame by deeds**—that is the task of virtue." Thus, enduring virtue is made and extended through "factis," translated by Wegman as "deeds," but which, in the context of the rest of this passage, is better understood as "made things" or "works."[612] Like the compositions incorporating musical "tools of the trade," discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, Tinctoris evokes the "madeness" of written, composed musical works, promoting composition as a distinct musical activity and profession.

Josquin's *Illibata* and many of the other self-referential compositions have posed something of a problem for modern audiences. We have found ourselves unable to cope with the extreme contrast between the two partes in Josquin's *Illibata*, and we have also felt unsure about how to interpret the "in-jokes" and solmization puns in other seemingly serious compositions, like *Sile fragor* and *O decus ecclesiae*. If we understand these pieces as remnants of the memorial culture of guilds and confraternities of musicians, these problems are easily

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[612] For some of the key article in the debate around what Tinctoris means by the term "facta" or "resfacta" see Ferand, "What is *Res Facta?*" (1957); Bent, "*Resfacta* and *cantare super librum*" (1983); Blackburn, "On Compositional Process" (1987); and Wegman, "From Maker to Composer" (1996).

resolved. In these works the interaction between musical and textual elements experienced through performance as well as the visual features of the primary sources allow us to comprehend these works in a way that is particularly complex and colorful. Katelijne Schiltz talks about musical riddles as being interrogative, or demanding of the reader, and also interactional, implying an interpretive group with the skills and motivation to discover their answers.[613] The self-referential compositions discussed in this dissertation similarly imply the presence of readers skilled and invested in the process and materials of musical prayer. Like the paintings created by painters for their own altars and communal spaces, these compositions are enduring artifacts of the community of musicians active in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. While the itinerant lifestyle of ecclesiastical singers did not allow them, for the most part, to establish formal guilds, these compositions, transferable across the same routes that the performers traveled, created a virtual community and maintained connections between musicians and patrons in different places and across centuries, even to our own time.

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[613] From her presentation at the CESR special session "Notation as Mode of Thinking" on 30 May 2014. See her new book *Music and Riddle Culture* (forthcoming 2015).

Sources and Sigla

Manuscript Sources

Short / RISM	Full Citation	Date	Provenance
BarBC 454	Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, Ms 454	1500-34	Spain
BasUB F. IX. 25	Basel, Universitäts-Bibliothek, Ms F. IX. 25	16th c.	Netherlands
BerK 78 B 17	Berlin-Dahlem, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 B 17	1470s	Paris
Berlin 40021	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Mus. 40021	c. 1485-1500	Torgau
BerlPS 40031	Berlin, former Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Mus. 40031 (*olim* Z 31)	c. 1525-50	Germany
BM Add 31922	British Museum Additional Ms 31922	c. 1510-20	England
BM Add 29401-5	British Museum Additional Mss 29401-5	c. 1613	Norfolk
BolBM A.71	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna Ms. A.71	1510-5	Bologna
BolC C36	Bologna, Civico Bibliografico Musicale Ms. C36	1602	Mantua
BolC Q 17	Bologna, Civico Bibliografico Musicale Codex Q 17	1490	Florence
BolC Q 18	Bologna, Civico Bibliografico Musicale Codex Q 18	early 16th c.	Bologna
BrusBR 228	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, Ms 228 (Alamire scriptorium)	by 1516	Mechlin
BrusBR 5557	Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 5557	1460-80	Bruges?
BufSUNY M/02	Buffalo, State University of New York, Music Library Ms M/02/A3/p	c. 1520	North Italian / South German
Cambrai 124	Cambrai, Mediathèque Municipale, Ms. 125-128 (Olim 124)	1542	Bruges
Capirola MS	Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MS minus VM 140 "Capirola MS"	1517	Venice
Chantilly 564	Chantilly, Musèe Condé, 564 (formerly 1047)	c. 1390	France
ChicNL M91	Chicago, Newberry Library, MS VM 1578 .M91 "Newberry Partbooks"	1528-29	Florence
Chigi Codex	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Chigi C VII 234	1498-1503	Brussels
CopKB 1872	Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Ms 1872	1541-43	Denmark
CopKB 291	Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Ms Thott 291-8	1470s	Dijon
DijonBM 517	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, Manuscript 517	c. 1465-9	France
DresSL 1/D/6	Dresden, Sächsische Landsbibliothek, Ms. Mus. 1/D/6 (*olim* Oels)	1560-80	Silesia
FlorBN 229	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Banco Rari 229	1492-3	Florence
FlorC 2439	Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, Ms. Basevi 2439	c. 1508	Brussels/ Mechlin

GothaF A98	Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Schloss Friedenstein (formerly Landsbibliothek), Ms. Chart. A 98, "Gothaer Chorbuch"	by 1545	Torgau
JenUB 32	Jena, Universitäts-Bibliothek, Cod. Mus. 32	1495-1500	Wittenberg
Krakow 40634	Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Ms. Mus. 40634	ca. 1515-20	Vienna?
KrakPAN 1716	Kraków, Biblioteka Polskiej Adademii Nauk, Ms. 1716 ("Lublin Keyboard Tablature")	1537-9	Krakow
LeiML 1440	Leiden, Museum in de Lakenhal MS 1440	1559	Netherlands
LeipU 1494	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms 1494	c. 1490-1504	Leipzig
LeipU 49/50	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Thomaskirshe 49 (1-4)	1558	Leipzig
LeuvHC C1	Leuven, Collection of G. Huybens MS C1	after 1550	Antwerp
LonBL 35087	London, British Library, Ms Add. 35087	1505-6	Bruges
LonBL Add 10336	London, British Library, Add. 10336	c. 1500	England
LonLP 466	London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 466	1526	England
LucAS 238	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 238	c. 1470	Bruges
LucSSM A.8	Lucca, Seminario di San Martino, A.8	1576-7	Italy
Medici Codex	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laureziana, MS Acquisti e doni 666	1518	Italy
ModBC Mus. X	Modena, Duomo, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare MS Mus. X	c. 1520-30	Italy
ModE alpha.X.1.11	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, A.X.I.II.	c. 1448	Ferrara
ModE M.1.13	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS M.1.13	1481	Ferrara
ModE M.1.2	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms M.1.2	c. 1505	Ferrara
MonteA 871	Monte Cassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia. MS 871	1480-1500	Italy
MunSB 1536	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica MS 1536	1583	Bavaria
MunSB 3154	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica MS 3154 "Leopold Codex"	c. 1466-1511	Innsbruck
MunSB 46	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica MS 46	1555-63	Bavaria
MunSB 7	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica MS 7	1512-30	Belgium
Oporto 714	Oporto, Biblioteca Pública municipal, MS 714	1460-7	Italy
OxfBL 376-381	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Mus. Sch. E. 376-381 (Forrest-Seather part books)	1528-30 and later	
ParisBNF 15123	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 15123 Pixérécourt Chansonnier)	c. 1580-4	Florence
ParisBNF 1597	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1597 (Lorraine Chansonnier)	c. 1500	Paris
PerBCA 1013	Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, MS 1013	1509	Venice
PiacFM s.s	Piacenza, Archivio del Duomo, Catalogo del Fondo Musicale	1530s?	Italy

PozU 7022	Poznan, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka im. Adama Michiewicza, MS 7022	c. 1500	Lviv?
PragP 47	Prague, Strahov Monastery Library, MS D.G.IV.47	1460-80	Bohemia or Silesia
ReggioSP s.s.	Reggio Emilia, Archivio della Chiesa di San Prospero, Mss. s.s.	c. 1534-37	Ferrara
RomeC 2856	Rome, Bibli. Casanatense, MS 2856	c. 1479-81	Rome
SegC s.s.	Segovia Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. s. s.	c. 1502	Spain
SevBCC 5-1-43	Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina 5-1-43	15th c.	Spain
SGallS 462	St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 462	1510-c. 1530	Paris
SGallS 463	St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 463 "Tschudi Liederbuch"	c. 1540	Switzerland
SGallS 464	St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 464	c. 1510-20, c. 1540	Switzerland
SGallS 530	St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 530 ("Sicher Keyboard Tablature")	c. 1503-31	St. Gall
SienaBC K.I.2	Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli'Intronati, K. I. 2	c. 1500	N. Italy
Speciálník Codex	Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech v Hradci Králové, II A 7 (Speciálník Codex)	late 15th - early 16th c.	Prague
StutWL I 47	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbilbiothek, Cod. Mus. I 47	1507	Bavaria
ToleBC 21	Toledo, Achivio y Biblioteca Capitulares del la Catedral Metropolitana	1549	Spain
TrentC 88	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio MS 1375	c. 1456-60	Trent
TrentC 89	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio MS 1376	c. 1460-80	Trent
TrentC 91	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio MS 1378	c. 1460-80	Trent
UlmS 237	Ulm, Münster Bibliothek, Von Schermar'sche Familienstiftung, Ms. 237	1515-c. 40	Flemish?
VatCG XII.2	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Giulia XII.2	1543	Rome
VatCG XII.4	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Giulia XII.4	1536	Rome
VatS 14	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina Ms. 14	1472-81	Naples
VatS 15	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Capella Sistina Ms. 15	ca. 1495-1500	Rome
VatS 154	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 154	1543-60	Italy
VatS 197	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina Ms 197	c. 1492-5	Rome
VatS 24	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 24	c. 1538-50	Rome

VatS 35	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Capella Sistina Ms. 35	c. 1487-90	Rome
VatS 41	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Capella Sistina, Ms. 41	c. 1503	Rome
VatS 45	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Capella Sistina Ms. 45	1511-14	Rome
VatS 63	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Capella Sistina, Ms. 63	c. 1480-90	Rome
VatS 93	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 93	1580s	Rome
VatSP B80	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. San Pietro B 80	1464-74	Rome
VerBC 757	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, 757	c. 1500	Italy
VerBC 758	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, 758	c. 1500	Verona
WarBU 2016	Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Oddzial Zbiorów Muzycznych 2016 (was in Breslau)	c. 1500	Poland
WienNB 11778	Wien Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 11778	1521-5	Brussels
WienNB 11883	Wien Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriften- und Inkunabelsammlung, Ms. 11883	1500-1515	Low Countries
WienNB 18810	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriften- und Inkunabelsammlung, Ms 18810	1524-33	Augsburg or Munich
ZwicRS 32	Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek MS XXXI 32	late 16th c.	Bavaria
ZwicRS 73	Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek MS 73	c. 1550	Bavaria

Print Sources

Short / RISM	Full Citation	Contents
BL K.8.b.7.(5.)	Tenor, [A book of 12 motets by Layolle, (Lyon, ca. 1525)]	Motets
Canti B	*Canti B numero cinquanta* (Venice: Petrucci, 1502) [RISM 1502/2]	Chansons
Canti C	*Canti C* (Venice: Petrucci, 1504) [RISM 1504/3]	Chansons
du Chemin 1570/C1718	*Les meslanges de Maistre Pierre Certon* (Paris: du Chemin, 1570)	Chansons, psalms, etc.
Faber 1550	Heinrich Faber, *Ad musicam practicam introductio* (Nuremberg: Johann Montanus & Ulrich Neuber, 1550)	Treatise
Faber 1568	Heinrich Faber, *Ad musicam practicam introductio* (Mühlhausen: Georg Hantzsch, 1568, reprint 1571)	Treatise
Finck 1556	Hermann Finck, *Practica musica* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1556)	Treatise
Fries 1554	Johann Fries, *Brevis musica isagog* (Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1554)	Treatise
Glareanus 1547	Heinrich Glareanus, *Dodecachordon* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1547)	Treatise
Heyden 1537	Sebald Heyden, *Musicae, id est, artis canendi libri duo* (Nuremberg: Johannes Petreius, 1537)	Treatise
Heyden 1540	Sebald Heyden, *De arte canendi… libri duo* (Nuremberg: Johannes Petreius, 1540)	Treatise
Misse Brumel	*Misse Brumel* (Venice: O. Petrucci, 1503) [B4643]	Masses
Misse Ghiselin	*Misse Ghiselin* (Venice: Petrucci, 1503) [RISM G1780]	Masses
Misse Josquin	Misse Josquin (Venice: Petrucci, 1502)	Masses
Motetti 4	*Motetti libro quarto* (Venice: O. Petrucci, 1505) [RISM 1505/2]	Motets
Motetti 5	*Motetti a cinque libro primo* (Venice: O. Petrucci, 1508) [RISM 1508/1]	Motets
Motetti A	*Motetti A* (Venice: Petrucci, 1502) [RISM 1502/1]	Motets
Motetti C	*Motetti C* (Venice: O Petrucci, 1504) [RISM 1504/1]	Motets
RISM 1507/6	Spinacino, *Intabolatura di lauto, libro secondo* (Venice: Petrucci, 1507)	Intabulations
RISM 1520/3	*Motetti novi et chanzoni franciose a quatro sopra doi* (Venice: Antico, 1520)	Motets
RISM 1520/4	*Liber selectarum cantionum quas vulgo mutetas appellant* (Augsburg: Grimm & Wirsung, 1520)	Motets
RISM 1532/6	*Sextus liber duas missas habet* (Paris: Attaingnant, 1532)	Masses
RISM 1534/17	*Der erste Teil. Hundertainundswentzig newe Lieder.* (Nuremberg: Formschneider, 1534)	Lieder
RISM 1534/5	*Liber tertius: viginti musicales quinque, sex, vel octo vocum motetos habet* (Paris: Attaingnant, 1534)	Motets
RISM 1538/3	*Secundus tomus novi operis musici, sex, quinque et quatuor vocum* (Nuremberg: Formschneider, 1538)	Motets
RISM 1538/8	*Symphoniae iucundae atque adeo breves quatuo* (Wittenberg: Rhau, 1538)	Motets
RISM 1539/1	*Liber quindecim missarum* (Petreius: Nürnberg, 1539)	Masses
RISM 1545/15	*Le septiesme livre contenant vingt & quatre chansons a cincq et a six parties* (Antwerp: Susato, 1545)	Chansons, laments
RISM 1545/2	*Concentus octo, sex, quinque, & quator vocum, omnium iucundissimi* (Augsburg: Ulhart, 1545)	Motets

RISM 1546/8	*Selectissimae symphoniae compositae ab excellentibus musicis* (Nuremberg: Montanus and Neuber, 1546)	Motets
RISM 1547/5	*Liber tertius sacrarum cantionem quatuor vocum, vulgo moteta vocant* (Antwerp: Susato, 1547)	Motets
RISM 1554/16	*Motetti del Labirinto a cinque voci* (Venice: Scotto, 1554)	Motets
RISM 1554/30	*In epitaphiis Gasparis Othmari* (Nuremberg: Montanus and Neuber, 1554)	
RISM 1558/4	*Novum et insigne opus musicum* (Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber, 1558)	Motets
RISM 1564/1	*Thesaurus musicus continens selectissimas* (Nuremburg: Montanus & Neuber, 1564)	Motets
RISM 1564/16	*Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche* (Venice: Gardano, 1564)	Greghesche
RISM 1564/2	*Thesauri musici tomus secundus* (Nuremberg: Montanus and Neuber, 1564)	Motets
RISM 1566/17	*Di Cipriano de Rore il quinto libro di madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1566)	Madrigals
RISM 1568/6	*[Novi atque catholici thesauri musici] Liber Quintus et ultimus…* (Venice: Gardano, 1568)	Motets
RISM 1582d	*Sacrae cantiones quinque vocum* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1582)	Motets
RISM 1589/17	*Jakob Paix Intabulations, Thesaurus motetarum* (Strassburg: B. Jobin, 1589)	Motets
RISM M 4017	*Selecti aliquot moduli, & in 4, 5, 6, & 8 vocum harmoniam distincti, liber primus* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1555)	Motets
RISM M1407-1555	*Joannis Mouton sameracensis musici praestantissimi selecti aliquot moduli, & in 4, 5, 5 & 8 vocum* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1555)	Motets
RISM V 27	*Jacobi Vaet Flandri Modulationes*, Liber secundus (Venice: Gardano, 1562)	Motets
Scotto JM 1565	*Motetti di Jachet da Mantoa a cinque voci. Libro primo di novo ristampati* (Venice: Scotto 1565)	Motets
Wilfflingseder 1563	Ambrosius Wilfflingseder, *Erotemata musices practicae* (Nuremberg: Christoph Heussler, 1563)	Treatise
Zanger 1554	Johann Zanger, *Practicae musicae praecepta* (Leipzig, 1554)	Treatise

Appendices

Appendix A: Music about Music and Musicians

This table provides source information on almost 100 pieces that display self-referential features, either textual or musical. It is organized into five approximate time periods of composition (indicated below) and is then sorted alphebetically by composer. The number of voices is noted in the fourth column, with a number in parenthesis indicating the original number in cases where some of the voice parts are now lost. The four following columns indicate the relevant chapter in this dissertation. The (x) shows that a piece is relevant to a chapter but was not included in any of its tables or discussion. The ninth column lists pieces derived from *soggetto cavato*, a topic that was not possible to discuss in this study but is nonetheless relevant and may indicate a future area for investigation. The sources for the sigla listed in the final column can all be found in the tables for Manuscript Sources and Print Sources, provided above.

Appendix B: Sixteenth-Century Masses Based on the Hexachord

This table list all the Masses composed during the sixteenth century which include the hexachord as a structural device. It is also organized by time period and includes the number of voices and at least one source for the piece. Some of these are lost and we only know about them because they are mentioned in letters or treatises. For more information on these and the later seventeeth- and eighteenth-century Hexachord Masses please consult Lester Brothers's dissertation, which I have relied heavily on in compiling this table: "The Hexachord Mass: 1600-1720." PhD diss.: University of California, Los Angeles, 1973.

Time Periods:
0) 1390-1450
1) 1450-1470
2) 1470-1510
3) 1510-1530
4) 1530-1600

Appendix A: Music about Music and Musicians

Composer	Title	Time	vv.	2 & 3	4	6	7	Add.	Sources
Andrieu	*Armes amours*	0	4		x				Chantilly 564; MS. Paris, Bibl. Nat. 840, f. 28 [text only]
Binchois	*Novum cantum molodie*	0	4	(x)					ModE A.X.I.II
Dunstable	*[tenor from treatise]*	0	1 (3?)			(x)			LonBL Add. 10336; LonLP 466
Anon.	*Ave mundi spes Maria*	1	8			(x)			MunSB 3154; Trent 89
Anon.	*La plus grant chiere de jamais*	1	3	(x)					Dijon BM 517 (only source with this text); ParisBNF 15123 "Seiay des"; FlorBN 229 "Seiay des..."
Busnois	*Anthoni usque limina*	1	5 to 4	x		x			BrusBR 5557
Busnois	*In hydraulis*	1	4	x		x			TrentC 91; MunSB 3154
Compere	*Omnium bonorum plena*	1	4	x					TrentC 91; VatSP B80
d'Amerval, Eloy	*Missa Dixerunt discipuli*	1	5			x			VatS 14
Domarto, Petrus	*Missa Spiritus almus*	1	4			x			LucAS 238; TrentC 88; PozU 7022; VatS 14; ModE M.1.13
Du Fay	*Ave regina celorum III*	1	4	x					VatSP B80
Du Fay	*En triumphant de Cruel Deuil*	1	3		x				Oporto 714
Du Fay	*Fulgens iubar / Puerpera, pura parens*	1	4	x					ModE A.X.I.II
Ockeghem	*Missa Cuiusvis toni*	1	4			x			VatS 35; Krakow 40634; Chigi Codex; RISM 1539/1
Ockeghem	*Missa Prolationum*	1	4			x			Chigi Codex; WienNB 11883
Ockeghem	*Mort tu as navré / Miserere*	1	4		x				DijonBM 517; MonteA 871
Ockeghem	*Prenez sur moi*	1	3 x 1					x	CopKB 1872; Canti C; Dijon BM 517

Composer	Title	Time	vv.	2 & 3	4	6	7	Add.	Sources
Agricola	*Cecus non judicat*	2	3					x	Berlin 40021; SGallS 462; Bol Q 17; RISM 1538/9; Speciálník Codex; LeiU 1494; MunSB 3154; SegC s.s.
Agricola	*Pater meus agricola est*	2	3	(x)					Motetti 4
Agricola, Ghiselin	*Alexander / Ghiselin*	2	2	(x)					PerBCA 1013
Anon.	*Bonus et miserator dominus*	2	5					x	BolC Q 18
Anon.	*Decantemus in hac die*	2	4	x					Motetti 4
Anon.	*Deus fortitudo mea*	2	4					x	BolC Q 18
Anon.	*Il estoit ung bonhomme*	2	4				(x)	x	ParisBNF 1597
Anon.	*Musica, quid defles?*	2	4		x				RISM 1538/8
Anon.	*Solfa mi re*	2	4					x	BolC Q 18
Anon.	*Spes mea*	2	4					x	BolC Q 18
Brumel	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	2	4			x	x		Misse Brumel; VatS 45; Stut I.47; fragments: FlorBN 229; PerBCA 1013; Heyden 1540; VerBC 757; SienaBC K.I.2; BolC Q 18; Speciálník Codex, and intabulations: RISM 1507/6; and Capirola MS
Busnois	*Maintes femmes*	2	4					x	Canti C; SevBCC 5-1-43
Compere	*Sile fragor*	2	4	x					VatS 15; Speciálník Codex; Motetti A; Chigi Codex; BarBC 454; VerBC 758
Compere	*Virgo celesti*	2	5				x		Canti B; SGallS 463; SGallS 464
Crispinus van Stappen	*Exaudi nos filia*	2	5 (4)				x		Motetti 5
de la Rue, Pierre	*Plorer, gemir, crier / Requiem*	2	4		x				FlorC 2439
Ghiselin	*Las mi lares vous donc*	2	3					x	RomeC 2856
Ghiselin	*Missa De les armes*	2	4				x		Misse Ghiselin; RomeC 2856 (3vv Christe only)
Isaac	*O decus ecclesiae*	2	5	(x)			x		Motetti 5; Berlin 40021; LeipU 1494 (in two diff. places)

Composer	Title	Time	vv.	2 & 3	4	6	7	Add.	Sources
Isaac	*Rogamus te piisima virgo / La mi la sol*	2	4					x	Motetti C; FlorC 2439; BM Add 31922; BolC Q 18; others in boorman
Isaac	*Virgo prudentissima*	2	6	(x)				x	SGallS 464; SGallS 463; CopKB 1872; RISM 1520/4; BufSUNY M/02; ZwicRS 32; RISM 1520/4; RISM 1538/3; RISM 1558/4; RISM 1589/17
Josquin	*Absolve, quaesumus, Domine / Requiem*	2	6		x				ToleBC 21
Josquin	*Ce povre medicant/ Pauper sum ego*	2	3	x			x		BrusBR 228; FlorC 2439; LonBL 35087
Josquin	*Illibata Dei virgo*	2	5	x				x	Motetti 5; VatS 15
Josquin	*Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae*	2	4					x	BarcBC 681; BolC R142; BolSP 31; BrusBR 9126; BasU F.IX.25; HerdF 9821; JenaU 3; and more
Josquin	*Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*	2	4				x		VatS 154; BasUB F. IX. 25; JenUB 32; ModE M.1.2; WienNB 11778; VatS 197; VatCG XII.2; Misse Josquin
Josquin	*Missa La sol fa re mi*	2	4						VatS 41; Misse Josquin and many others
Josquin	*Nymphes des bois / Requiem*	2	5		x			x	Medici Codex; RISM 1545/15; Motetti 5
Josquin	*Ut Phebi radiis*	2	4				x		UlmS 237; Motetti 4
Josquin	*Virgo prudentissima*	2	4					x	DresSL 1/D/6; HradKM 7; MunU 322-5; SGallS 463; Gp 1537; M&N 1559-2; Motetti A; 1 intabulation
Josquin	*Vive le roy*	2	4			x		x	Canti C
Obrecht	*Inter praeclarissimas virtutes / Estote fortes in bello*	2	4	(x)		x			SegC s.s.
Obrecht	*Mille quingentis / Requiem*	2	4		x				FlorC 2439; SegC s.s.; Motetti C
Obrecht	*Regina celi*	2	2			x			SegC s.s.
Pareia, Ramos de	*Mundus et musica et totus concentus*	2	4 x 1						Flor BR 229
Pipelare	*Ave Maria.../quae peperisti*	2	5					(x)	Motetti 5
Tinctoris	*Difficiles alios delectat pangere cantus*	2	3			x			PerBCA 1013

Composer	Title	Time	vv.	2 & 3	4	6	7	Add.	Sources
Anon.	Absolve, quaesumus, Domine / Requiem	3	7		x				PiacFM s.s
Anon.	Puzzle Canon V	3	3					x	Henry VII Ms
Anon.	Fletus date et lamentamini	3	5		x				LeuvHC C1 (contrafactum of Nymphes des bois)
Appenzeller, Benedictus	Musae Jovis	3	4		x				Cambrai 124; RISM 1545/15
Baston, Josquin?	Eheu dolor / Requiem	3	6		x				ParisBNF 1597
Burton, Avery	Missa Ut re mi fa sol la	3	5?				x		OxfBL 376-381
Dunstable	Puzzle Canon III	3	3						BM Add 31922
Fayrfax	Mese Tenor (puzzle)	3	4						BM Add 31922
Fayrfax	Paramese Tenor (Puzzle)	3	4						BM Add 31922
Festa, Costanzo	Counterpoint 115	3	5				x		BolC C36
Fevin, Robert de	Missa La sol fa re mi	3	4		(x)			x	MunSB 7
Gombert	Musae Jovis	3	6		x				RISM 1545/15
Lloyd, John	Puzzle Canon I	3	4						BM Add 31922
Lloyd, John	Puzzle Canon II	3	4						BM Add 31922
Moulu, Pierre	Mater floreat florescat	3	4	(x)					Medici Codex
Mouton, Jean	Exsultet conjubilando Deo/Sine macula beatus Romanus/Pater ecclesiae, Romane	3	8	(x)	x		x		RISM M1407-1555; RISM 1564/1; MunSB 1536
Mouton, Jean	Qui ne regrettoit le gentil Fevin?	3	4		x				RISM 1520/3
Richafort	Requiem (possibly for Josquin)	3	6		(x)				RISM 1532/6; LeiML 1440; ModBC Mus. X; MunSB 46
Senfl	Fortuna ad voces musicales	3	4				x		RISM 1534/17

Composer	Title	Time	vv.	2 & 3	4	6	7	Add.	Sources
Senfl	*Lust hab ich gehabt zur Musica*	3	4	(x)			x		WienNB 18810
Verdelot	*Recordare domine / Parce domine*	3	5		x				ChicNL M91; VatG XII.4; RISM 1534/5 and others
Vinders	*O mors inevitabilis / Requiem*	3	7		x				MunSB 1536; RISM 1545/15; RISM 1564/2
Anon.	*Ergone conticuit*	4	4		x				RISM 1547/5
Certon, Pierre	*Musiciens, chantre melodieux*	4	6 (5)		x				du Chemin 1570/C1718
Festa, Costanzo	*Counterpoint 104*	4	5					x	BolC C36
Festa, Costanzo	*Counterpoint 96*	4	4					x	BolC C36
Festa, Costanzo	*Counterpoint 98*	4	4	(x)					BolC C36
Gabrieli, Andrea	*Sassi, Palae, Sabbion, del Adrian lio*	4	5		(x)				RISM 1564/16
Jachet of Mantua	*Dum vastos Adriae/Josquini antiquos*	4	5	(x)					RISM 1554/16; Scotto JM 1565
Lassus	*Ut queant laxis*	4	5				x		RISM 1582d
Othmayr	*Non secus atque olim*	4	5?		x				RISM 1546/8; ZwicRS 73
Palestrina	*Quai rime fur si chiare*	4	4						RISM 1555
Regnart	*Defunctorum charitates*	4	7		(x)				RISM 1568/6; MunSB 1536 and others
Rore, Cipriano de	*Concordes adhibete / Vive Adriane*	4	5		x				RISM 1566/17
Vaet, Jacobus	*Continuo lachrimas / Requiem aeternam*	4	6		x				RISM 1558/4; RISM V 27
Byrd	*Ye sacred muses*	4	5		(x)				BM Add. Mss 29401-5

Appendix B: Sixteenth-Century Masses Based on the Hexachord

Composer	Title	Time	vv.	Sources (not complete concordances)
Brumel	Missa Ut re mi fa sol la	2	4	Misse Brumel; See App. A for complete list.
Ghiselin	Missa De les armes	2	4	Misse Ghiselin; RomeC 2856 (3vv Christe only)
Burton, Avery	Missa Ut re mi fa sol la	3	5(6)	OxfBL 376-381
Ammon, Blasius	Missa Ut re mi fa sol la	4	4	Missae quauor vocibus (Vienna: Formica, 1588) [A 941]
Boluda, Ginés de	Hexachord Mass	4	?	Lost Toledo source
Felis, Stefano	Missa super voces musicales La sol fa re mi ut	4	6	Nürnberg, Landeskirchliches Archiv, Ms 33 f. 62-129; another MS and a print.
Kerle, Jocobus de	Missa Ut re mi fa sol la	4	4	Sex Misse (Venice: Gardano, 1562) [K 446}
Mancini, Curzio	Missa Papa Clemens VIII cum 6 vocibus	4	4 (6)	VatS 93 (Canon seu Modus Canenci dicram : Missam super six Stellas)
Morales, Critobal	Missa Ut re mi fa sol la	4	4	TaraAC 5; GranCR s.s.; and others
Palestrina	Missa Ut re mi fa sol la	4	6	Missarum liber tertius, 4–6vv (Rome, 1570) [P 664] and others
Pontio, Pietro	Hexachord Mass	4	?	Lost
Rosselli, Francesco	Missa La sol fa mi re ut	4	5	LucSSM A.8
Vinci, Pietro	Missa Ut re mi fa sol la	4	6	Missarum cum quinque, sex, & octo vocibus, liber primus (Venice: Scotto, 1575) [V 1659]

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